THE HISTORY OF MANCHESTER:

BY

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MDCCLXXV.

MEM.

SOME PASSAGES OF THIS VOLUME, THAT ARE REFERRED TO IN THE FORMER, HAVING SHIFTED THEIR PLACES BY A SMALL ALTERATION IN THE ARRANGEMENT OF THIS, IT IS PROPER TO APPRIZE THE READER, THAT THE REFERENC[illegible] THERE

In p. 116 to B. II. ch. ii. ſ. iv should be to B. II. ch. iii. ſ. i.
In p. 169 to B. II. ch. ii. ſ. [illegible] ——— B. II. ch. ii. ſ. iv.
In p. 186 to B. II. ch. iii. ſ. ii ——— B. II. ch. iv. ſ. ii.
In p. 233 to B. II. ch. vi. ſ. i ——— B. II. ch. vii. ſ. ii.
In p. 256 and 281 to B. II. ch. iv. ſ. ii — B. II. ch. vi. ſ. i.
In p. 269 and 270 to B. II. ch. iv. ſ. i — B. II. ch. v. ſ. ii.
In p. 282 to B. II. ch. iii. ſ. iv ——— B. II. ch. v. ſ. i.
In p. 364 to B. ii. ch. viii. ſ. iii ——— B. II. ch. [illegible] ſ. iii.

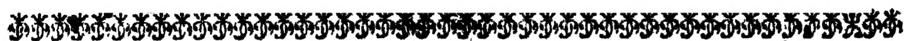
And

In p. 429 to B. II. ch. vi. ſ. ii ——— B. II. ch. viii. ſ. i.





THE HISTORY OF MANCHESTER.



BOOK THE SECOND.



CHAP. I.

THE TRUE AND REAL STATE OF THE PROVINCES AT THIS CRISIS — THE CONDUCT OF THE PROVINCIALS — AND THE INVASION OF THE SAXONS.

I.

THE interiour condition of Roman Britain, at this period, has been ſtrangely miſ-repreſented by all our hiſtorians. They deſcribe the Provinces as entirely drained of their warriours, exhauſted of their ſpirit, and incapable of defence. And they exhibit the Provincials acting without conduct and fighting without courage, too ignorant to erect even a wall of ſtone, and juſt ſkilful enough to con-

ſtruct

Sect. I. struct one of turf only. This false representation was begun by Gildas, and copied afterwards by Bede; and has been faithfully transcribed by every historian from both. And it is not merely the heightened pencilling of an historical fancy, just in the drawing, and overcharged only in the colouring. It is absolutely unjust in itself, and contradicts equally my former accounts and the truth.

It has been long and earnestly disputed by the Welsh and English, whether the Britons had any records of their publick transactions, in the ages that preceded the Roman arrival on the island. The affirmative has been maintained by the former, too zealous for the credit of their own romantick annals; and the negative by the latter, too eager in their reasonable opposition to them. And the question is to be decided in favour of the Welsh. The Britons had no written monuments, before the settlement of the Romans or the reign of Cunobeline; because they were un-acquainted before with the use of letters. But, that they had some un-written accounts of their previous history, is shewn by the incidents which Richard and Ptolemy have transmitted to us from it, the descent of the Belgæ upon Britain, the migrations of the Britons to Ireland, and the encroachments of the Cantii on Middlesex[1]. These, subsisting in poetical traditions and oral narratives to the time of Cunobeline or the conquests of Claudius, would then be committed to writing, and were consulted by Ptolemy and transcribed by Richard. And the Roman Britons were equally conversant with these and the Roman annals of their country. Introduced very early, as Dion Cassius shews us[2], to an acquaintance with general history by their conquerours, they would be equally introduced to the particular and recent one of their own island. And the Roman and British accounts in all probability continued constantly in the kingdom, and were here copied for the geographer of Alexandria and here inspected by the monk of Westminster. But, as the latter were overlooked by Nennius[3], so the former were unknown to Gildas. Gildas could find in Britain no narratives of the transactions

within it, even for the period of the Roman residence among us[3]. He could not discover here even the Roman accounts of their own proceedings in the island. Nor did he meet with them on the continent, where he supposed many of them to have been carried by the British fugitives, and he obtained the materials that compose his British history[4]. And the foreign relations, which he has handed down to us, are all a gross and palpable contradiction to the genuine annals of Britain.

The first conquests of the Romans in the country, which were won by successive efforts and effected with considerable difficulty, are represented by this author as the easy fruits of an instant submission in the natives[5]. The conquerours immediately settled forces in their new dominions, and constructed colonies and erected stations for them; but are declared by Gildas to have instantly recalled their troops, and to have left only governors in Britain[6]. And, on the gallant attempt of Boadicia to throw off the yoke of the Romans, we see not Suetonius marching steadily from Anglesey through hostile kingdoms and revolting nations, in order to join the rest of his army and suppress the insurgents; but we find the senate formally apprized of the revolt, and an army hastily ordered from the continent[7]. Thus ignorant as he was of the brave opposition which the Britons shewed to Suetonius, and of the bloody engagement which they maintained with him, he condemns them for not preventing with a fleet, or obstructing with an army, the passage or descent of the Romans from Gaul, and makes the latter land without opposition, and the former fall without resistance[8]. Afterwards also, instead of extending gradually the Roman conquests by new forces, and multiplying the colonies and stations successively, over the rest of Flavia, and over all Secunda, Maxima, and Valentia; he again transports the forces to Italy, and again leaves only governors in Britain[9]. And the five legions and their auxiliaries, which the Romans kept here for a considerable part of their residence with us; the three and their accompaniments, which they maintained to the fourth century; and the two and the

numerous

Sect. I. numerous aids, which they continued to the fifth, these are all annihilated by the foreign histories of Gildas, and occasional armies substituted in their room; armies sent only three times in nearly four centuries, once against Boadicia, then immediately after the year 388, and lastly in the following century [10].

These, and many more, are the great contradictions to the annals of Britain in the historical notices of Gildas. And equally from such a one is his charge of barbarous ignorance in the natives derived. The two walls, which I have shewn to have been erected in the second and third centuries and garrisoned in the fourth and fifth, are represented by him as still unbuilt or not existing in the fifth [11]. We see also the Romans of this century advising the Provincials to carry a wall from sea to sea, where one had been carried near three ages before [12]. And we find them actually erecting another for them, where one had been erected more than two before [13]. The rampart of Antoninus is ignorantly attributed by Gildas to the Britons, and that of Severus as ignorantly ascribed to the Romans, of the fifth century. The bullwark of the Britons and the wall of Antoninus were both built betwixt the friths of Forth and Clyd, and composed of turf [14]. And the fence of the Romans and the barrier of Severus were equally raised betwixt the Eden and Tyne, and made of stone [15]. The present, very visible, remains demonstrate only one rampart of stone to have been ever erected at this place, and only one of turf constructed at that [16]. And both appear in actual perfection, secured by their original number of towers, and manned with a considerable body of forces, at the late period of the Notitia, and even within 14 or 15 years before the departure of the Romans [17].

The brand of ignorance therefore, which is fixed upon the natives for building this rampart of turf, affects not the Britons of the fifth century, but stigmatizes the Romans of the second. And the former really merited the censure as little as the latter. Long before the coming of Plautius, the islanders were well acquainted with the mechanical arts in general,

as I have already proved. They even appear to have been intimately conversant with some of the best principles of practical architecture, and have left us very extraordinary specimens of their taste and skill in the many Druidical temples of the island. And long before the Roman departure, as I have equally shewn, they had all the arts considerably improved among them. In the second and third centuries, they extracted a rich variety of metals from the beds of our minerals [18]. And in the sixth they erected a number of strong and lofty structures, composed them judiciously of stone and brick, and formed them in no inelegant style of building [19].

So absolutely false is the charge of barbarism against the Britons of this period, which has been regularly transmitted from pen to pen through a succession of 1200 years. And equally false are the other imputations upon them, though they have been equally repeated by all the historians from Gildas to Mr. Hume. The Britons indeed had too many Romans in the island, to be either ignorant of the arts of architecture, unpractised in the requisites of war, or unfurnished with a number of gallant and experienced soldiers [20].

The loss, which they sustained in the un-successful attempt of Maximus on the imperial diadem, hath been aggravated greatly by Gildas and the British writers [21]. And a single incident shews it. If the Britons had been deprived of so large a number of their warriours as these authors alledge, they would not, they could not, have engaged in the speedily succeeding attempt of Constantine. In both, they lost a considerable detachment of their forces. But in the populous state of the tribes within the island, and in the rotation of military service among the islanders, such losses could not greatly affect their character for war, or wound their general welfare. They certainly could not have carried away all the military spirits of the island, and left the rest exposed to the insults of every invader. And we shall see the succeeding wars immediately find a train of gallant officers in the Provinces, and immediately lead into the field numerous armies of the Provincials.

In

Sect. I. In that grand convulsion of half the globe, which was occasioned by the subversion of an old and mighty empire; in the daily fall of nations, and the universal wreck of kingdoms, around them; the Britons naturally acted with trepidation at first. But they soon recovered themselves, and became equal to the trying occasion. And, while the other nations of Europe submitted to every ravaging barbarian without opposition, the Britons encountered their numerous invaders, faced them in every quarter of the island, fought them from kingdom to kingdom and from city to city, and with an unexampled resolution of spirit contended with them even for 800 years.

At this signal period indeed, the five provinces in general and our own county and parish in particular seem to have advanced very high in the scale of political perfection. And they even seem to have attained a more considerable degree of refinement, and to have actually existed in a more flourishing condition, than any of them knew for many, very many, centuries afterward. All the improvements of the Romans had necessarily been introduced among us. Our mines were worked with the greatest skill [22]. And our towns were decorated with baths, temples, market-places, and porticos [23]. Our architects were even so remarkably numerous and good, that a body of them was sent by Constantius into Gaul, to rebuild the ruined Augustodunum with the greater magnificence [24]. And so universally diffused were the riches of the kingdom, that even after the lapse of many centuries, and merely from the scatterings of negligence or the concealments of fear, the sites of all the greater cities in the Provinces remain generally to the present times in-exhaustible mines of the Roman wealth. But the ravages of two destructive wars, the Saxon and Danish, and the two settlements of foreigners ferocious and rude among us, threw the nation, the county, and the parish three or four centuries back in the progress of improvements; and successively re-plunged us all in a state of ignorance and incivility, which is the natural tendency of the darkened intellect and vitiated

tiated passions of humanity, and from which we never emerged entirely till the fifteenth or sixteenth century[25]. Sect. I.

[1] See also the Brigantes and Cangi going over to Ireland, and many other facts that have been mentioned before.—[2] P. 1007. —[3] Nennius c. 6, 7, 8, and 9, and Gildas c. 2, Temporibus imperatorum Romanorum. The passage here referred to in Gildas has often been triumphantly quoted, to shew that the Britons had no historical monuments either *before* or *after* the Roman residence. But these words plainly restrict it to the intermediate period.—[4] C. 2.—[5] C. 3.—[6] C. 4.—[7] C. 4.—[8] C. 4.—[9] C. 5. The reason assigned for this departure before is *ob inopiam cespitis*, and that given now is *patriâ vini oleique experte*.— [10] C. 12, 13, and 14.—[11] C. 12 and 14.—[12] C. 12.—[13] C. 14. —[14] C. 12. This wall was made vulgo irrationali, by the Britons, absque rectore, without any assistance from the Roman governors, and non tam lapidibus quàm cespitibus, not at all of stone, but entirely of turf. This Bede lib. i. c. 12 expresly places betwixt the friths. And so Gildas's account implies it to be, the Scots and Picts always *afterwards crossing the friths in their curroghs* (c. 13 and 15).—[15] C. 14, Non ut alteram, and solito [Romanorum] structuræ more. This Bede places expresly betwixt the Eden and Tyne (lib. i. c. 12). And Gildas's narrative in c. 15 agrees with him, the Scots and Picts landing from their curroghs, and over-running the country *even up to the wall*.—[16] In the days of Bede remained only the vestiges of a turf wall betwixt the friths, and of a stone one between the rivers (lib. i. c. 12). And, as he was obliged to ascribe the latter to the Britons, he is forced to contradict the just assertions of history, that Severus built a wall of stone betwixt the rivers, and to contend that it was only of turf (lib. i. c. 5).—[17] The Notitia is expresly declared to have been written ultra Arcadii Honoriique tempora, some time after the year 423 and the commencement of the reign of the younger Theodosius in the west. And an ala is mentioned sub duce

Egypti

Sect. I. Egypti under the title of Theodosiana, and with the character of nuper constituta. From both, the work appears to have been drawn up as late as 430. And perhaps it was eight or ten years later; see Pancirollus p. 2 preface.—[18] Solinus c. 22, and Eumenius in Paneg. Veteres (Delphin.) p. 174, Tot metallorum fluens rivis [Britannia].—[19] Gildas himself c. 1 and Nennius c. 2. See s. 2. here.—[20] Gildas says, that the Scots and Picts first (primum) invaded the province on Maximus's passing over to the continent, in 382 or 383 (c. 11); though both of them invaded it in 368, 360, and 340, before.—And the want of arms in the Britons, and their ignorance in the fabrication of them, so that the Romans were obliged to leave them proper models (Gildas c. 14); are such wild notions as need no refutation. I have shewn the Britons to have always fabricated and retained their own arms.—[21] C. 11, and Carte v. 1. p. 168.—[22] Solinus c. 22 and Eumenius p 174.—[23] Agric. Vit. c. 21.—[24] Eumenius p. 181, Quinetiam illa, cujus nomine mihi *peculiariter* gratulandum, devotissima vobis [Constantio] civitas Æduorum ex hâc Britannicæ facultate victoriæ [the defeat of Allectus] plurimos, *quibus illæ provinciæ redundabant*, accepit *artifices*, & nunc extructione veterum domorum & refectione operum publicorum & templorum instauratione—consurgit.—[25] Gildas's assertion, that he drew up his accounts, not from the records of his country, but from transmarina relatio, is restricted entirely (we must remember) to the time of the Roman residence in Britain, temporibus imperatorum Romanorum. After this period, he says not whence he collected his materials, but might easily gather them from unexceptionable vouchers. His relations of facts antecedent to it are certainly false, except only the account of the introduction of Christianity into the island, which is opposed by no positive or probable evidence, and which his foreign authorities would naturally give in the annals of Christianity on the continent. His notices after it are as certainly true, and (excepting the point mentioned above, and another noticed below) are the only authentick parts of his history. And the fact, of the Romans allowing the Britons to coin no money (c. 5), would

would be known to Gildas from the non-exiſtence of any Britiſh pieces, as the current coins of the Provinces at the Roman departure.

II.

ON information from the Romans, of their deſign immediately to withdraw their forces from the iſland, the monarchs of the tribes convened. A conſultation was held, and a reſolution formed. And they wiſely determined to elect a pendragon, and concentrate all the military power of the Provinces under one monarch. Two perſons ſeem to have been propoſed for the office, Vortigern, the ſovereign of the Dimetæ, and Ambroſius Aurelianus, ſon to the king of the Damnonii. The latter was half a Roman by deſcent, and naturally ſupported by the Roman intereſt. And the former was entirely a Briton, and as naturally ſeconded by the original Britons[1]. The hoſtile diſtinctions, that had formerly ſubſiſted betwixt the Belgæ and Aborigines, muſt have been long extinguiſhed; and no other note of oppoſition could ſubſiſt at this period, except the appellation of Britons and the denomination of Romans[2]. And this would neceſſarily exiſt at it. But the native intereſt of the country prevailed. Vortigern was nominated the pendragon of the Britons. *And he was not made by this, as his predeceſſors* had been, merely the commandant of a few tribes. He became the ſovereign of the five Provinces, and the firſt general monarch of South-Britain, his dominions extending from the Channel to the Friths. And Caermarthen, the reſidence of the private ſovereign, was appointed the capital of the united kingdom[3].

This king was very unfortunate, and has therefore been greatly cenſured. But he ſeems to have poſſeſſed many excellent qualities of head and heart, as he ranked in competition with all the other monarchs of the iſland, at a criſis when the fear of

Sect. II. of immediate danger would preclude the many partial considerations, that commonly influence elections. And he seems to have particularly enjoyed a bold activity of spirit and a high degree of military knowledge, since he was even preferred before every one of them, when the greatest courage and most consummate skill were required for the preservation of the Provinces.

The first act of the pendragon would be to issue the requisite orders to the sovereigns under him, and require the settled proportions of forces from them; and his next to command the march of the troops to the north, and the lining of the walls with the forces. The Romans withdrew their garrisons, and the Provincials took possession of the forts. And then the former collected their men together, and embarked them for the continent. They were summoned hastily away by Aetius, the præfect of Gaul and Britain, in order to make a part of the considerable army, which he was assembling against the formidable myriads of barbarians, that were threatening all the Roman continent of Europe with the horrours of invasion [e].

Apprized of their departure, the Picts and Scots instantly crossed the friths into Valentia, and over-ran the country to Severus's wall [f]. And this they stormed immediately. With all the bravery that a confidence in themselves and a contempt for the Provincials could inspire, they advanced directly up to it. Provided with the missive weapons of their former wars, and furnished with long and hooked instruments for the present business, they combated hand to hand with the Britons on the rampart, grappled many of them, and dragged them to the ground [g]. And, while the attention of the defendants was thus engrossed, another party applied their tools to the wall, and opened it. The assailants pushed in. The Provincials fled. And the enemy poured into the country [h].

This irruption was made directly on the Roman departure, in the third consulate of Aetius and the year four hundred and forty-six. The election of Vortigern and the retreat of the Romans, therefore, both happened in the same

consulate

consulate and the same year. And all the various disputes, about the chronology of these and the immediately subsequent events, are as easily as decisively determined [s].

The bravest and wisest people, in the particular circumstances of the Britons, would have acted with equal trepidation and weakness. And the historian, that condemns them, is unpractised in the workings of the human heart. Having always had foreign helps to assist it through the long period of more than three centuries, and being never called out to exert its own fund of resolution and wisdom, the British mind was become enfeebled and weak. And the most vigorous spirit, accustomed to rely on external aid, will naturally sink in time into an absolute dependance upon it, and so become un-conscious of the resources which it has in itself.

In great distress, the Britons applied to Aetius for succour. But he could afford them none. The occasion, that had summoned the Roman forces to the continent, necessarily detained them upon it. And a despair of their assistance called out the native powers, and awakened the forgotten vigour, of the British genius. The Provincials found sufficient strength in themselves. They had already raised an army. It advanced upon the Caledonians. It attacked, it defeated, it slaughtered them. And the shattered remains relinquished their possessions, resigned up their plunder, and fled out of the kingdom immediately before the commencement of winter [t].

The Provincials had thus begun to feel the spring of their original spirit. But grander trials were yet wanted to call it out in all its elasticity and strength And the succeeding scenes actually displayed it to the world, in a train of the bravest efforts and a line of the greatest heroes, that even the active and agitated history of our island presents to the view.

The natives had now leisure to provide more deliberately for their defence against their hereditary enemies. They were secure of peace for the winter. And they were not attacked till the second spring afterwards. This interval therefore common prudence directed them to employ, in repairing the breach of

Sect. II. their great rampart, and securing the interiours of their kingdom. There fortresses would be wanted at proper distances, as places of safety for the people and their effects on an invasion of the country, and as checks to the roving parties of the enemy upon the submission of it. And the deserted stations of the Romans, which ranged in long lines across the island, presented their useful fortifications to their hands, and were ready to receive their garrisons immediately. But the Roman model of a fortress did not suit the military taste of the Provincials. Being girt with a wall only seven or eight feet in height, and furnished with pavilions for the soldiers within, they preferred to it a large building of stone, whose walls should form a better barrier against an assault, and the chambers contain more convenient barracks for the garrison. And such they actually constructed of stone and brick; courses of brick being laid between the layers of stone, in imitation of the Roman works[10]. They built them also of considerable strength, carried them to a great height, and erected them in a good taste; securing them at the entrances with gates, and flanking them at the sides with towers. An infinite number of these castles existed in the days of Gildas and Nennius, and within a century after the Roman departure[11]. And therefore they were first raised in all probability at this period, the earliest after the departure in which they could have been raised, and in the happy interval betwixt the repulse of the Caledonians and the ravages of the Saxons.

They would all be constructed, however, on the sites of the stations. These had been generally recommended to the primitive Britons, and universally selected by the Romans, as the properest places for their fortresses. And they would therefore be equally chosen by the Provincials, for the ground-plots of their own castles. By the advantages of their original position, they were naturally secure. By the assistance of their British and Roman defences, they were strongly fortified. By the convenience also of their situation directly upon the roads, they barred up all the passes in the Provinces. And

history

history and tradition have erected such castles on almost all the stationary sites of the kingdom.

One particularly is raised by tradition, and one was plainly constructed by the Mancunians of this period, on the ground of our Castle-field. And the original Mancenion of the Britons and Romans now received a modern castle into it, and assumed the Roman-British denomination which it still retains, of Man-kastelh or Man-castle[11]. The Collyhurst stone, of which it was composed, is asserted by Leland to have been carried away for the bridges of the town, and declared by tradition to have been formed into the present church and college[12]. But much remains behind, the rubbish and foundations heaving up the ground at the borders nearly level with the crest of the stationary wall, and throwing the rest of the area in a pleasing concavity from the sides to the center. And, while the rampart of the Romans still continues in very good preservation, the walls of the Roman-British castle have been carried away by the plunder of ages. The former is generally composed of the bowlders of the river, fragments of its rocky banks, and small broken scantlings of free stone; such rude and irregular materials, as could not be worked up into a building. They therefore allured not the hand of rapine to them, and remain nearly in their original perfection at present. But the drest stones of the structure within the station, immediately on the final dismantling of it, became the ready prey of the publick. And the high walls were gradually razed to the ground. The foundations escaped, in part at least, because they were not framed of the stones of Collyhurst, but made of the soft rock along the bank of the Medlock. And they were thus laid.

In the winter of 1768-9, vainly stimulated by the suggestions of a dream, and hunting after some imaginary treasure, a person dug through the foundation of the stationary rampart near the south-eastern angle of it; and, carrying his trench along the interiour line, came to a new and distinct wall within. He found it as far as he searched, lying about three or four feet

from

Sect. II. from the rampart, running about four yards in length, one in depth, and half a one in breadth, and fairly curving at the angle. And where he desisted I began; dug downwards for a yard and a half through a body of factitious earth, the mingled rubbish of rock, bowlders; and other stones; and found the castle-wall ranging parallel with the line of the station. It consisted of large and squarish flakes of red rock, and was cemented with a new species of clay-morter, a brown compacted mass of sand and clay, tempered with some sprinklings of lime. The piece of the wall that I laid bare was a solid and firm foundation, two yards long, one deep, and more than half a one broad; and each irregular layer seemed to rest upon a course of fine sand. And the lowest was framed of the massiest stones, and lay on a deep bed of sand, that had been previously beaten and compacted together; each spade-depth of it appearing successively smooth and hard upon the surface, and the third lying on the natural gravel.

This model of a fortress was certainly an improvement upon the Roman plan. And the British design for a castle has invariably continued in use to these later ages. Erected immediately within the verge of the stationary walls, and enjoying all the advantages of the Roman barriers, these forts possessed advantages peculiar to themselves. The assailants were less able to scale the walls, because of the height of the building; and more exposed to the missive weapons of the defendants, becaus of the stories in the structure. The garrison was enabled to stand in ascending rows on the ramparts, and to be employed in considerable numbers together for the annoyance of the enemy. And they were much less in danger from the weapons of the assailants, as they only stood behind the shelter of the battlements on the top of the castle, or shot at them more safely through the portholes of the un-windowed walls below.

The Scots and Picts had previously invaded the Provinces with a body of men hastily collected together on the Roman departure, and un-prepared for an extensive or permanent conquest. And they were therefore beaten when they were attacked, and

fled as they were pursued. But they fled in order to return[14]. A new invasion with a large army was meditated, and the conquest of the whole kingdom projected[15]. All the summer of 447 was employed in preparations for it[16]. And the spring of 448 was to lead them into the heart of the Provinces. The Britons received intelligence of the plan in the summer[17]. The kings were immediately convened by Vortigern, the first grand council that was summoned in aid of the monarchy, and nearly coæval in its origin with the institution of the monarch[18]. The former consulted, and the latter presided. But they still felt the influence of that mental weakness, which their long pupillage under the Romans had necessarily occasioned. And the terrours of the northern army, and the sense of their own inability to resist it, dictated the determinations of the council. They all agreed with Vortigern to call in the Saxons to their aid[19].

They perhaps thought by this expedient to take off a troublesome enemy. They certainly hoped to convert him into an useful assistant, and turn the edge of the Saxon ferocity against the ferocious Britons of the north. And they expected to possess in their Saxon auxiliaries all the advantages which the Picts had enjoyed in the Scots. But the policy was as absurd as it was refined. If they wanted, like the Romans, to engage a body of foreigners in their pay, they should certainly, in that endangered state of the island, have procured them from the interiour parts of the continent. They should particularly not have taken them from a nation, that had been for two centuries the masters of the narrow seas, and frequently attempted descents on their eastern coasts. And, as the Picts were in some measure guilty of the same false policy with the Provincials, they suffered the same calamities with them. The latter were subdued by the Saxons, whom they retained in their service. And the former were enslaved by the Scots, whom they had engaged in their wars.

Three of the Saxon vessels, laden with men and equipped for a descent, were accidentally hovering on the Kentish coast[20].

The

Sect. II. The crews of these were the troops, which the kings determined to take into British pay. The two commandants of the pirates accepted the offers of Vortigern [a]. And the little body of auxiliaries was landed on the neighbouring shore [b].

In the spring of 448 the Scots and Picts again over-ran Valentia, again brake through the embattled wall that vainly endeavoured to restrain them, and again savaged the northern kingdoms. They had advanced probably by the same route before, as they did at present. And they pushed along the course of the Herman Street, as far to the south as Stamford [c]. There they were encountered by the Provincials and their few auxiliaries. They were entirely defeated. They were pursued out of the country [d]. And they never made any incursions into it afterwards [e].

[a] Nennius c. 28, Guorthigernus regnavit in Britanniâ, et dum ipse regnabat urgebatur a metu Pictorum Scotorumque, et *a Romanico impetu, necnon et a timore Ambrosii*. These latter words relate evidently to some cause of dispute betwixt the Romans, Ambrosius, and Vortigern. And as in that state of the island no other could arise, which would unite the Romans and Ambrosius in opposition to Vortigern, but what I have mentioned; so this appears to have happened immediately before, or just about, the arrival of the Saxons (c. 28).

Vortigern was king of the Dimetæ, as it appears from Nennius (c. 49) that in regione Dimetorum juxta flumen Teibi—abscessit, upon the river Towey (the Tobius of Ptolemy), which runs by Caermarthen the capital of the Dimetæ; as his only surviving son, Pascent, reigned there after him, and resided duabus regionibus i. e. Buelt et Guortigernianum, in his two districts of Buelt and (c. 49) Din-Gurtigern or (c. 52) Guortiger-mân, the latter being so denominated from the above-mentioned scene of his residence on the Towey (c. 49), and its two names signifying either the place or town of Vortigern, c. 52; and as the descendants of Vortigern and Pascent continued to reign there two or three centuries afterward (c. 53).

-The-

—The name of Vortigern, which is strangely twisted by Baxter into Guor Ti I Gereint, Præ domo cognationis suæ, and so robbed of every meaning, is plainly Vor Tighearna or the great king.

Ambrosius Aurelianus is made by Nennius's enlarger, not Nennius himself (because he confounds, as bishop Stillingfleet has already observed, Merlinus Ambrosius with him, and attributes many particulars to the latter which belong to the former), to be the monarch of the western regions of Britain, Provinciis plagæ occidentalis Britannicæ (c. 44); meaning the Carnabii, Cimbri, and Damnonii, who (as I have shewed before) had been all reduced under the king of the Damnonii. And his parents were alive at the first invasion of the Saxons (Gildas c. 25).

[2] See a mistake therefore in Carte p. 179.—[3] Nennius c. 65 and 44. And Caer-Gurthigern was the Maridunum of the Romans and the present Caermarthen, as this was the capital of the Dimetæ, and that, like it, was in their country and on the banks of their Towey. Guortigirnus usque ad arcem Guortigirni, quam ædificaverat et nomen suum imposuerat, i. e. Din Gurtigirn, atque in regione Dimetorum juxta flumen Teibi—abscessit (c. 49). This he seems to have rebuilt on some destruction of it, as is intimated by the words above, and by these in c. 44, urbem quæ vocatur nomine suo Caer-Guorthigirn ædificavit, and to have therefore given it his own name. And, called only Arx in c. 49, it is entitled Urbs in c. 44 and Civitas in c. 65.—[4] Bede lib. 1. c. 13. Smith.—[5] Illis [Romanis] ad sua revertentibus, emergunt certatim de curicis, et omnem aquilonalem extremamque terræ partem pro indigenis muro tenus capessunt (Gildas c. 15).—[6] The same was done by the Turks at the siege of Vienna in 1683.—[7] Gildas c. 15.—[8] Illis [Romanis] ad *sua revertentibus* emergunt *certatim* (Gildas c. 15), Agitio ter consuli (c. 17), and Fasti Consulares.—[9] Gildas c. 17, c. 18, and c. 19, Revertuntur—ad hibernas domus. Bede reads the passage, revertuntur Hiberni domus: but the expression ought then to have been, revertuntur domum. And, what

Sect. II. what is still more, the passage would then assert the Picts as well as Scots to return to Ireland, when in truth neither of them did. But see Appendix No. I.—In c. 18 it is said, Tum primum inimicis per multos annos in terrâ agentibus strages dabant, that is, Then first the Provincials slaughtered these enemies, who had now for many years broke into and ravaged the Provinces at different times; the Romans alone having been employed in the two expulsions of them mentioned c. 12 and 13.—[10] So in the Roman walls of Silchester, Richborough, &c.—[11] In eâ [Britanniâ] sunt 28 civitates—cum innumeris castellis ex lapidibus et lateribus fabricatis, Nennius c. 2; and nonnullis castellis, murorum, turrium, serratarum portarum, domorumque, quorum culmina, minaci proceritate porrecta in edito, forti compage pangebantur, molitionibus non improbabiliter instructis, decorata [Britannia], Gildas c. 1.—[12] It is also called Knock-castle, says Stukeley in Itin. Cur. p. 55. This name is British, and signifies the same as that by which it is sometimes denominated at present, Castle-hill; but is derived by mistake from the position of the fort near Knot-mill.—[13] Itin. vol. v. p. 78.—[14] Gildas c. 19, Post non multum temporis reversuri.—[15] C. 20.—[16] C. 19.—[17] See App. No. 1.—[18] Gildas c. 22 and 23.—[19] C. 23.—[20] Nennius c. 28.—[21] Nennius c. 28 and 35, Gildas c. 23, and Sax. Chron. p. 12.—[22] Nennius c. 28 and Sax. Chron. p. 12.—[23] Bede l. i. c. 15, Sax. Chron. p. 12, and Huntingdon f. 178, Saville.—[24] Gildas c. 23, Primo agmini comperiens fuisse prosperatum, Bede and Sax. Chron. ibid.—[25] Gildas c. 19.

III.

THE piratical Saxons that had long filled the German ocean with their fleets, and infested the British shores with their descents, were composed of three nations, the Jutes, the Angles, and the Old or Proper Saxons: The country of the last I have already

already shewn, in the second century, to have commenced from the northern bank of the Elbe, and to have reached up to the isthmus of the Cimbrica Chersonesus. The Γυται, Gutæ, or Jutes then resided on the southern shore of Scandinavia [1]. And the Angles were one of the numerous nations that ranked under the general denomination of Suevi, that were seated in the central regions of Germany, and were the greatest of all the mediterranean tribes on that continent. They were named Suevi Angeili, or more simply Angli [2]. They bear the former appellation in Ptolemy, and the latter in Tacitus, the only antient authors that mention them. Their real name therefore was Angeli, as it was contracted in pronunciation to Angli. And their country is denominated Angelen to this day. Being a member of the great body of the Suevi, they were certainly Gauls. And An-gael, An-gal, or An-gel, like Gal-atæ, Cel-tæ, and An-cal-etes, signifies merely the Gauls.

But, in the wild revolutions of Germany during the third and fourth centuries, the Saxons extended their dominions along the shore of the ocean to the banks of the Rhine [3]; the Jutes wafted over from Scandinavia into Germany; and the Angles migrated from the inland to the maritime parts of it. The Jutes settled in the upper part of the Cimbrick peninsula, and in the territories of the Proper Cimbri. The Angles fixed themselves in the lower of the peninsula, and the dominions of the Sigulones; being limited by the Jutes on the north, and bounded by the Saxons on the south [4]. And both these nations settling on the shore of the German ocean, having an easy access by water to the rich and commercial dominions of the Roman empire, and being informed with all the spirit of a merely military genius; they naturally associated with the Saxons in their maritime expeditions to the south, and were as naturally confounded in the same appellations with them. The sequel of the history demonstrates all three to have been confederated together in piracy, and known by one piratical denomination. The auxiliaries, that were lately retained in the British service, were nominally Saxons but really Jutes [5]. The

 troops,

Sect. III. troops, which were next invited into the island, were also the same in appellation, though they were Angles in fact [5]. And the genuine Saxons were the last of the three nations that came into Britain [6].

The Jutes equipped three ships for a piratical voyage in 447, and the expedition was conducted by two of their chiefs. These vessels, like the British, were large and roomy transports; and, like them also, were composed of hides [7]. And the princes were denominated Hengist and Horsa, the latter serving immediately under the former, and both being in the fourth generation from Woden, in all probability the first conducter of the Jutes into Germany, and, by an incident which I shall mention hereafter, the common parent of all the Jutish, English, and Saxon chieftains at this period [8]. Ranging along the coast of England, and meditating a descent upon Kent, they were diverted from their design by the invitation of Vortigern. They landed. They marched. They fought. And, the invaders being repelled, the auxiliaries would naturally be dismissed. But the invasion was likely to be soon renewed. And the just apprehension of this made it requisite to continue the Saxons in the pay of the Provinces. Thus were the Britons induced at first, by the fear of an immediate invasion, to engage foreign auxiliaries in their service; and then, by the dread only of distant and future dangers, to continue them regularly in it. And so, by that betraying diffidence of soul, which naturally arises from the in-experience of a long-subjected people, and is the worst political characteristick of a nation, the Provincials had reduced themselves to the necessity of constantly retaining an army of foreigners, a fleet of pirates, and a body of mere soldiers of fortune, in the defence of the kingdom.

In this condition of Roman Britain, the auxiliaries should certainly have been quartered in the central parts of the country, removed from the ports of the island, and sequestered from all comunication with their countrymen. But in policy, as in religion, one wrong action commonly generates another, and a worse. The act of engaging at first and retaining

afterwards.

afterwards the Saxons in the pay of Britain, weak and foolish
as it was, was less weak and less foolish than the subsequent conduct of the Provincials to them. And the Saxons were now settled, as they had been previously quartered, in the isle of Thanet. This part of Kent was separated from the rest and the mainland of Britain by a small æstuary or river [9], and was therefore denominated by the Cantii at this period Ruith-in or river-island [10]. And the Britons in all probability confined them in this islet, to seclude them from the rest of Britain, and prevent any danger from their observations on the country. The policy of in-experience is often as full of refinement, as it is big with folly. The Saxons were certainly fixed in the worst situation, that the Britons could have selected for them. The separation, which sequestred them from Britain, secluded the Britons from them; and, by the position of their quarters on the sea, gave them the fairest opportunity of carrying on a correspondence with their countrymen, and inviting by signals from the shore or by dispatches to Germany any number of adventurers to join them. The isle also, guarded by its æstuary in front, might most commodiously be converted into a place of arms, from which they could occasionally penetrate into the interiour parts of the Provinces. And placed directly at the bending shore of Britain, and commanding the fine harbour of Rhutupæ, it gave them an advantageous station for their vessels, where any damages in their shipping might be easily repaired, and whence they could conveniently harrass all the eastern and southern coast of England.

But the same reason, which induced the Provincials to retain the original body of auxiliaries, occasioned them equally to send for a much larger from Germany. The return of the Picts and Scots into the kingdom was the great object of apprehension. This it was better policy to prevent than punish. And, by planting a strong body of troops on the northern borders, the invaders would be repelled in their first attempts, and the country preserved from their ravages. This was certainly the

suggestion

Sect. III. suggestion of wisdom. And Vortigern resolved upon the scheme. But alas! the forces, that were designed to be stationed upon the frontiers, were mercenaries and Saxons. An invitation was sent by Hengist to his son Ochta and his nephew Abisa[11]. And they came accordingly. They came with a body of the Angles, having drawn off the English colony from the Orkneys, and manning even a fleet of forty transports with them[12]. These were settled among the Damnii and Ottadini; ranging along the south of the wall, the north-east of the Cluyd, and the south of the Cluyd and Forth; and forming a line of defence equally against the Scots and Picts[13]. And being planted there in 449, and pretty early in the year probably, they effectually prevented any incursions into Valentia during that summer.

Thus were the Saxons settled as auxiliaries in the north and south of the five Provinces. They were entrusted with all the avenues into them from one quarter, and in possession of a most advantageous pass on the other. And with national bodies of men, even under the more generous politicks, which the influence of Christianity has diffused over nations that neglect its sublimer precepts, the power of doing a beneficial villainy is generally deemed a sufficient authority for it. But the Saxons were yet involved in the darkness of heathenism, and restrained only by the silken bands of its political morality. They were also a people thoroughly military, habituated to all the loose casuistry of a piratical life, and actuated only by the brutalizing spirit of sanguinary expeditions. And, with such a nation, to be entrusted with power is to be seduced by virtue, by a patriot regard for the common welfare, the only political virtue of Roman or Saxon freebooters.

On first forming the bold resolution of attacking the kingdom, Hengist laid his measures well. He appears to have been a man of great good-sense, in the only science in which a military nation could exert it. And, before he openly discovered his designs, he sent for a fresh detachment of troops from Germany. A larger than his own arrived immediately, was incorporated with his forces, and encamped with them in the isle of

 Thanet[14].

Thanet [14]. The Britons, justly alarmed at the action, furnished the monthly allowance of provision which was stipulated to the original auxiliaries, but refused to provide for the rest [15]. And more alarmed as they reflected more upon it, and too plainly discovering the designs of the Saxons, they issued out a peremptory command for all of them to quit the island immediately [16]. A rupture was unavoidable. Hengist prepared actively for it. Not esteeming himself a sufficient match for the islanders, he sent for a new and very large body of chosen warriours from Germany. They came immediately in seventeen vessels. And Hengist instantly crossed the river, and began the war, in the close of the summer 449 [17].

The operations of the northern Saxons would be regulated by the motions of the southern. The war would commence in the two extremities of the kingdom at the same instant. But the body of Angles in the north was much greater than the army of Jutes in the south. And a treaty of peace was immediately concluded with the Picts [18].

In both, the first irruption of the Saxons equally found the Britons un-prepared to resist it. And Hengist, particularly, encountered no opposition. A barbarian by education and a savage by policy, he laid waste the neighbouring districts of Kent with fire and sword, from the eastern to the southern sea [19]. Guorrangon, the sovereign of the Cantii, had the unhappiness to see great part of his dominions become the prey of a perfidious auxiliary, and to find himself all unable to deliver them [20]. And nothing but the approach of winter seems to have preserved the rest of his kingdom, and perhaps the country of the Regni and the territories of the Trinovantes, from the same severities of un-civilized war. As that came on, Hengist drew off his forces, and retired into his strong-hold in Thanet [21].

The Provincials were now embarked in a war, very alarming in its commencement, and absolutely destructive in its consequences. They exerted themselves with a spirit, however, of which they were unconscious before, and which before would have prevented all their danger. And, by their activity and vi-

gour

Sect. III. gour in the winter, they brought two considerable armies into the field in spring[22]. Vortigern committed the conduct of one of them to his eldest son, Vortimer, a gallant youth, and full of the British fire[23]; and gave the command of the other to Ambrosius Aurelianus, once his rival for the pendragonship, and now generously submitting to serve under him. The former army was destined to oppose the troops of Hengist[24], and the latter to encounter the forces of Ochta[25]. And Vortigern would naturally take up his residence at an equal distance from both the scenes of action, at his own city of Caermarthen and the present metropolis of the Provinces; where he might freely assemble the monarchs for advice, and whence he might readily issue his orders to the armies, upon any emergency[26].

Vortimer at the head of his forces first encountered the enemy. They had again left their strong-hold, and pushed into the heart of the county. And they were now advanced along the Roman road from Richborough, as far as the banks of the Darent at Dartford in North-Kent. There the British sword was first stained with the blood of the Saxons. And they were routed. They retired towards the south. They made a stand at Ailesford. And they were defeated. They retreated towards the Thanet. They formed upon the shore of the ocean. And they were again beaten. They fled into the isle. And they were besieged in it[27].

The affairs of the north wore a different aspect. And, though the combined army there was commanded by Ambrosius, Ochta, having more numerous forces than his father, appears to have been more successful. He purchased his advantages, indeed, at the expence of many battles and with a great effusion of blood[28]. But the British army every-where gave way or was beaten[29]. The Damnii were reduced. The Ottadini submitted. The Gadeni, the Selgovæ, and the Novantes were conquered. And all Valentia acknowledged a new master. The Saxons passed the wall, and advanced into Maxima. They seem to have entered it in two divisions; one body pushing by the road of Corstopitum and Vinovium, Corbridge and Bin-

 chester

chester in the Bishoprick, into the country of the Brigantes; Sect. III.
and the other by the way of Luguballia and Galacum, Carlisle and Whellop-castle, into the kingdom of the Sistuntii [30]. The route, which they took in their advance, was nearly the same in all probability by which they retreated afterwards [31]. They were encountered in Cumberland. They proceeded. All opposition fell finally before them. They directed their march to the south. And through Westmoreland they poured into Lancashire.

In the mean time the glorious Vortimer died in Kent. And the Saxons received a considerable re-inforcement. The Britons retired. The Saxons pursued [32]. And Vortigern becoming the object of national aversion from the unhappiness of the measures that had been adopted under his government, and resenting the un-merited abuse that he received from all around him, with the indignation of a man of spirit and the magnanimity of a man of virtue he abdicated the pendragonship, he relinquished even his own sovereignty, he retired out of his kingdom into the mountains of Caernarvonshire, and devoted himself for life to the shades of solitude and the sequestrations of a hermitage. Ambrosius, already the sovereign of the Damnonii by the death of his father [33], was therefore re-called from the north, and raised to the supremacy [34]. The mode of succession, which had been appointed among the original Britons, was now set aside. And the hereditary right of the monarchy was never established among the Provincials. Pascent, the third and eldest surviving son of Vortigern, succeeded him in the private sovereignty [35]. But Ambrosius followed him in the publick, and instantly took charge of the Kentish war in person [36].

The Angles seem to have marched along the Roman road from Whellop-castle to Bremetonacæ, to have crossed the Lune near its source, and to have entered Lancashire at Overborough. And, in this exigence, the Sistuntii seem equally to have acted with great gallantry, to have manned their towns, and refused all overtures of submission. Destroyed as many of our Lancashire cities were for their resistance either in this or

Sect. III. the Danish war, two of them were pretty certainly ruined in this.

The town of Bremetonacæ or Overborough would be immediately summoned. The citizens resolved to withstand them. And the Saxons commenced the siege. The inhabitants held out with great resolution. The blockade was long and tedious. The Saxons persisted. The Britons were obstinate. Provisions began to fail. And famine did the work of the enemy. The brave garrison was constrained to yield. And the town was nearly erazed by the conquerours, incapable of esteeming valour in an enemy, and brutally vindictive for the long resistance[u].

In policy, perhaps, this was a well-timed act of severity. Terrified by the fate of Overborough, and afraid to provoke the same barbarity, the Sistuntii might afterwards be induced to submit without a blow. But their firm spirit was not so easily supprest. And Coccium, their metropolis, boldly dared to oppose itself to all the fury of the victorious Saxons. Tradition loudly asserts the town of Blackrode to have been burnt to the ground by some invading enemy. And the sequel of the history plainly refers its destruction to this period. That city, which was once the metropolis of Lancashire, was reduced to so ruinous a condition before the year 680, that it was obliged to resign up its dignity to Lancaster; and was actually become so very insignificant before 627, that it was not even constituted the head of a rural deanery, and not even appointed the center of a parish[x]. The Saxons marched up to the capital. They attacked it. They took it. And they laid the greatest part of it in ashes. They encamped their army in the neighbourhood of the town, and sent out detachments to secure Warrington and take Manchester. Warrington submitted. Manchester surrendered. And the Saxons became masters of all Lancashire about the year 488[y].

[s] Ptolemy p. 60 and 61.—[t] Ptolemy l. ii. c. 11, and Tacitus de Mor. Ger. c. 38 and 40.—[u] See the authorities in Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. p. 307, and 308, and Ethelwerd f. 474. So situated were the Saxons in the eighth century and the

the time of Charlemagne, inhabiting both sides of the Elbe, and reaching down to the borders of France (Eginhard's life of Charles, Schminkius, c. vii. p. 47 and 44). And the old Saxons were settled so towards the close of the ninth century, a sinus marinus, the mouth of the Rhine, dividing them from the French (Asser's Alfred, Wise, p. 39).—[4] Bede l. i. c. 15 and [5] Sax. Chron. p. 13, and [6] Ethelwerd f. 474 compared with Ptolemy l. ii. c. 11.—[5] Bede l. i. c. 15, and Sax. Chron. p. 12.—[6] Sidonius Apollinaris, Carm. 7, Saxona, cui *pelle* salum sulcare Britannum ludus et *assuto* glaucum mare findere *limbo*, and Gildas c. 23.—[7] Nennius c. 28 and Sax. Chron. p. 13, 15, 19, 20, and 23. [8] This Woden is generally taken for the god Oden or Loda. But he was certainly different from him, the god being mentioned very early in the third century by Ossian (vol. i. p. 198). It was some great hero, called after his name, and latterly confounded with him. See also B. ii. ch. viii. s. 1.—[9] Nennius c. 28 and 35.—[10] c. 35 and Solinus c. 22.—[11] Nennius c. 28. Batteley, in Ant. Rhutup. p. 33, has strangely puzzled himself with this British name. The verb Rhedeg, Redek, Reathaim, and Ruidim, varied as it is in the different dialects of the British language, signifies to run. And the adjective derived from it imports any running object. It is therefore applied to a stream or current, conjunctively as in Dur Rêd, a running water, and disjunctively as in Rêd, Read, and Ruth, a river; to a chariot, as in Rheda; and to the wheel of one, as in Rhôd, Rot, or Roth. And hence Ruith-in imports the river-island, the verb Ruidim in Irish making the adjective Ruith.—[12] Nennius c. 37.—[13] Nennius c. 37, Vastaverunt Orcades.—[14] Nennius c. 37, Juxta murum qui vocatur Gual, Antoninus's certainly (see c. 19),—occupaverunt plurimas regiones et insulas trans mare Fresicum, i. e. quod inter nos Scotosque est, usque ad confinia Pictorum, from Al-cluith or Dunbarton in Lenox to the frith of Forth and the Picts beyond it. A small narrow tract belonging to the country of the Attacotti, extending along the northern side of the Cluyd, and reaching up to Dunbarton, had been cut

Sect. III. off by the wall, and laid to the possessions of the Damnii.— See Carte p. 198 most grossly mistaken, in landing these Saxons upon the coast of Northumberland and near Severus's wall. And Malmesbury f. 4, no doubt, led him into the errour. Copying some account of this transaction, which was written when Northumbria reached up to the frith of Forth, this annalist unwarily uses the words of the original author, and has settled those actions in the county of Northumberland which happened in the north of Lothian, &c.—In aquilonali parte insulæ quæ nunc Northanimbria vocatur—assiderunt.—"Gildas c. 23, and Nennius c. 35.—"Gildas and Nennius ibid.—"Nennius c. 35.—Mr. Hume, however, says that the Britons "thought of no remedy, except in a passive submission and "connivance" (p. 20). How unjust!—"Nennius c. 36 and Gildas c. 23.—"Bede l. i. c. 15 and Huntingdon f. 178.—" Gildas c. 24 and 25, Finitimas quasque civitates agrosque.— Mr. Hume, overlooking these restrictive words and the tenour of the history, makes Hengist to "carry devastation into the "most remote corners of Britain" (p. 20—21); and so proceeds in copying the wild exaggerations of Gildas (c. 24), and applying to all the provinces what the other confines to Kent. And this extravagance appears the stranger in Mr. Hume, as in p. 22 he states the conquests of Hengist to have extended only over Kent, Middlesex, Essex, and part of Surry, and when in fact they never reached beyond the single limits of Kent.—" Nennius c. 36.—"Gildas c. 25, Tempore interveniente, aliquantò cùm recessissent domum crudelissimi prædones. This expression of recessissent domum for the retreat into Thanet, and the correspondent expression of reversi sunt in Nennius c. 45 (see also c. 46) for their return into the inland parts of Kent, have been strangely mis-understood by our historians, see Carte p. 193, and interpreted to signify a retiring into and returning from the continent of Germany.—"Gildas c. 25; —Cùm recessissent—prædones,—reliquiæ—vires capessunt; and Malmesbury f. 8.—"Nennius c. 45.—"Nennius ibid.—Mr. Hume, on account of this command conferred upon Vortimer,

mer, supposes Vortigern to have been deposed, to make way for his son (p. 20). The mistake is truly ridiculous. And the Saxon Chronicle A. D. 455 should have rectified the errour, if good sense could not prevent it.—[25] Nennius p. 118. Gale, Discordiam Guitolini et Ambrosii quod est Guoloppum, i. e. Cat-Guoloph, the battle of Guelop or Whellop-castle in Cumberland; and Malmesbury f. 8.—[26] Nennius c. 44, 49, and 65. This is ignorantly called by some historians Vortigern's flight and abdication.—[27] Nennius c. 45 and 46.—[28] Malmesbury f. 8. Sæpenumerò cum provincialibus congressi.—[29] Malmesbury f. 8.—[30] See B. II. ch. ii. f. 3.—[31] See B. II. ch. ii. f. 1.—[32] Nennius c. 45 and 46, and Huntingdon f. 178.—[33] Gildas c. 25.—[34] Nennius c. 51, and Malmesbury f. 4.—[35] Nennius c. 51.—[36] Gildas c. 25. Ambrosius was post Vortigernum monarcha regni (Malmesbury f. 4). But, when he was elected, Vortigern could only have abdicated. He relinquished equally the publick and private monarchy, and retired into the mountains of Caernarvonshire. So Nennius or his enlarger asserts in c. 40, if we understand the fact as posteriour to the account of c. 49. The old Welsh bards also assert the same thing, declaring a mountain near Caernarvon to have been the place equally of his residence and sepulcher (Carte p. 196). And the tradition of the place, the names of Vortigern's passage and Vortigern's grave, and the discovery made there in the last century, very fully confirm the notion (Kennet's Par. Ant. p. 698).—[37] See Camden p. 6—17.—[38] See b. II. ch. v. f. 1 and b. II. ch. ix. f. 3.—[39] In illo tempore Saxones invalescebant, & crescebant non modicè, in Britanniâ (Nennius c. 62). This relates to Ochta's army of Angles in the north, because immediately follows this remark; Mortuo autem Hengisto, Ochta, filius ejus, transivit de sinistrali parte Britanniæ ad regnum Cantuariorum. And the mention of this incident serves to fix the general date of the transactions. Ochta, who appears to have been a younger son of Hengist, left the northern troops upon the death of his father, in order probably to serve under his elder brother Æsc in Kent, about the period of their farthest advance into the Provinces, and (as appears from the next sentence,

Sect. III. tence; Arthur pugnabat contra illos) just before they were attacked by Arthur. And the death of Hengist happened in 488 (Sax. Chron. p. 14).

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

THE ACTIONS OF ARTHUR HISTORICALLY VINDICATED — HIS EXPLOITS IN WAR — HIS CONDUCT IN PEACE — AND HIS DEATH AND SEPULTURE.

I.

THE hiſtory of the famous Arthur has raiſed up two parties in the republick of letters, and engaged them in an attack upon its credit and a vindication of its authenticity. And theſe, like other factions in other republicks, in their mutual zeal for the truth have overleaped all the limits of moderation and propriety. By one ſet of hiſtorians the whole account of Arthur, loaded as it is with falſehoods and pregnant with abſurdities, is actually admitted as genuine. And by another even thoſe parts of it, which exhibit the faireſt features of truth and are marked with the ſtrongeſt ſignatures of authenticity, are abſolutely rejected as ſpurious. The hero is exalted into the little arbiter of the fates of Europe by the one. And even his exiſtence is denied as a fiction by the other. A long and continued oppoſition of ſentiment, in two contending parties, almoſt always reduces the judgment of both under the tyranny of the paſſions.

Many of the actions, which are attributed to Arthur by the Welſh chronicles of Britain, are as abſurd in themſelves as they are ſpurious in their authority. Written as thoſe narratives were many centuries after the facts, and being merely the authentick accounts of Arthur embelliſhed with the fictions and diſtorted by the perverſions of folly; they are inconſiſtent equally with the ſtate of the times and the hiſtory of the continent

Sect. I. tinent and the island. And the ignorance of the forgers, and the credulity of their abettors, can be equalled only by the injudiciousness and in-credulity of the opponents to both. If some accounts of Arthur and Cunobeline in these histories be certainly spurious, others are as certainly genuine. And the relations of Suetonius, Dio, and Nennius are not to be rejected, because of the falshoods which imposture has engrafted upon them and absurdity admitted with them.

The existence of Arthur is evinced by that of the fables, which have at once annihilated his actions and his name with the mis-judging critick. And the reasoner's own arguments actually turn against himself, and demonstrate the point which they were intended to disprove. The annals of Wales have long laboured in Arthur's commendation. The Highlanders have long had a poetical history of his exploits in their own language[r]. The whole island is in traditionary possession of his character. And six or seven hundred places within it are still distinguished by his name.

The genuine actions of the chief are mentioned by his own historians, with a modesty and conciseness that is no bad argument of the truth, and with a particularity of time and place that is a good evidence of the facts. They are noticed by men, whom the death of the hero had exempted from all temptation to flattery. They are recited by persons, whom a proximity to the times had precluded from all possibility of mistake. And they are attested by the best historical authority, writers who lived cotemporary with him, authors who conversed with his warriours, and historians that wrote within a few years after him. He is spoken of as the honourable father of the British heroes by the aged Llomarch, a writer actually cotemporary with him, and some time resident at his court[s]. One of his greater actions is incidentally recorded by Taliessin, an historical bard living under Maelgwn Gwined[t], who was a sovereign among the Britons in the days of Arthur, Gildas, and Llomarch[u]. Another of his considerable exploits is casually intimated by Myrdhin Wylht

or Merlinus Caledonius, who complains of the severe treatment which he himself received from Rydderch Hael[5], a king cotemporary with Urien Reged, and engaged with him in a war against the Saxons on the death of Ida in 560[6]. And all his actions are particularly recited by Nennius[7].

The Historia Britonum of this last author consists at present of two parts, the original accounts and the additional notices. And these are plainly distinguished in some places by the gross contradictions in the chronology. Thus in chapter the first we have the date of the work settled at the year 800, and in preface the first at 858. And the Picts are said in the second chapter to have formerly inhabited Britain, priùs habitabant, and in the fifth to possess a third part of it even to that period, tenent usque nunc. But the original date of the work may be easily ascertained, and the original parts of it readily distinguished, in general. And the conclusion of the history demonstrates it to have been composed betwixt 547 and 560. The original detail of transactions is terminated in the sixty-fourth chapter, and at the settlement of Ida on the throne of Bernicia in 547[8]. And the further successes of Ida and his conquest of Deira before 560, in the sixty-fifth and the first appendix, are expressly declared to be added by an enlarger of the history[9]. And since all the facts, that are mentioned in Nennius antecedent to this epocha, ought generally to be considered as the original incidents of the work, those parts of it which continue the regular chain of transactions, and relate to the greater events of the national annals, should be particularly admitted as genuine. Such is the account of Arthur's military actions. It is all consistent with the real date of the work. It is a necessary link in the chain of related events. And it is a series of incidents the most important in all the national history[10].

Among this assemblage of authors, almost all the writers in the age of Arthur whose works have descended to us, and all unquestionable witnesses of his fame; the silence of Gildas concerning him has been frequently alledged. But the argu-

Sect. I. ment is of no avail. If this was of moment against the actions of Arthur, the silence of Nennius would be of equal against those of Ambrosius. And, if Gildas's omission was of any authority against that hero, it should certainly be of equal, and even of greater, against Vortimer. Gildas does not merely pass over the actions of the latter, but absolutely precludes them by his manner[11]. And all the exploits of Vortimer are virtually denied by Gildas, while the greatest of Arthur's is actually mentioned by him; mentioned without an author by Gildas[12], and expressly ascribed to Arthur by Taliessin[13]. But the mere silence of an historian is a weak argument in itself. The omission made by one writer, amid a variety of equal and attesting historians, is the most frivolous of all reasons. And the silence of Gildas concerning a train of military exploits, when they are noticed by others fully equal to him in authenticity, and when he expressly professes non tam fortissimorum militum enunciare pericula quàm desidiosorum[14], not to tell the deeds of the hero, but expose the conduct of the scoundrel, is not even the semblage of an argument at all.

Arthur was the Arth-uir, great man, or sovereign of the Proper Silures, and therefore denominated king of Gwent[15], the Venta Silurum of the Romans, and the British metropolis of the nation[16]. So the kings of the Creones and the Irish, as I have already shewn, were denominated from the places of their residence and the capitals of their dominions, sovereigns of Selma and monarchs of Temora. And those of North and South Wales, during the tenth century, were denominated the Brenin of Aberffraw and the Arglwydd of Dinevor[17]. At the requisition of the pendragon, Arthur had brought up his complement of troops to the southern army, and been trained to war under the auspices of Ambrosius. His valour distinguished him among the assembled monarchs in the service. And his conduct pointed him out to their discerning commander. Ambrosius pitied the distresses of the northern Britons, and was alarmed at the progress of the Saxons among them. He relieved the one, and stopt the other effectually.

He

He sent Arthur into the north. And this officer he honourably singled out from the rest, for the arduous and important province of rallying the routed, teaching the runaways to encounter their conquerours, and leading the beaten troops to victory and glory[18].

The Saxon conquests in the north appear to have been principally obtained by the weight of numbers. The Angles poured so continually into the Provinces, that they left their own country entirely destitute of people for ages[19]; and some parts of it were actually dispossessed of their inhabitants, even in the days of Hengist and before 488[20]. And the subsequent history of their many defeats shews their numbers to have been extremely great. For the fortune of the Saxons was now reversed. They encountered a new general and additional forces. They were repeatedly beaten. And all the country was recovered.

The victories of Arthur over the Saxons are thus recorded by Nennius. The first battle was fought at the mouth of the river, which is denominated Glem. The second, third, fourth, and fifth were upon another river, that is called Duglas and lies in the region Linuis[21]. The sixth was on a stream, which bears the appellation of Bassas. The seventh was in the wood of Celidon, that is, in Cat Coit Celidon. The eighth was at Castle Guinnion. And the ninth was at the City of the Legion. The tenth was on the bank of the river Ribroit, the eleventh at the hill Agned Cathregonion, and the twelfth at Mount Badon[22].

These twelve battles of Arthur are described to us in the same manner as Vortimer's three[23]. Only the general facts are mentioned, and only the common names of places are recited, in both. And from the whole air and aspect of the history, the remarkable conciseness with which the notices are given, and the great ease with which the places are pointed out, the detail appears to have been drawn up at the distance only of a few years from the transactions, and when these little references were sufficiently understood. The scenes of the battles have been since obscured by the change of the

Sect. I. names on the Saxon conquest of the country, and (as appears from some various readings) by the corruption of the appellations in the manuscripts of Nennius; and were utterly unknown even in the age of Huntingdon[24]. Many of these engagements without doubt were fought against the same enemies, and therefore happened nearly in the same parts of the island. And four of them were actually held upon one river. Most were fought against the northern Saxons, being maintained at a distance from the southern army, and by a special commission from Ambrosius its commander[25]; and the Saxons at this period invading the Provinces only from the south and north. They are accordingly represented by Nennius to have been held in general against those Saxons, who had so greatly extended their conquests in Britain, and so lately before been commanded by Ochta the son of Hengist[26]. And all of them appear from the manner in which they are enumerated, to have happened successively in the order in which they are detailed to us.

The second, third, fourth, and fifth have been for ages supposed to be fought in our own county, and upon the banks of our little Douglas[27]. And the name of the river, the traditions concerning Arthur and three battles, a particular name, a British barrow, and some considerable discoveries upon it, all concur to prove the notion true.

The tradition was some years ago very lively at Blackrode among three or four of the most antient inhabitants, concerning a battle maintained by Arthur about a mile and a half from that place, and close to the site of the Roman station[28]. These chroniclers of tradition are now deceased, and the memory of Arthur seems to have expired with them. But the report of a battle at the place remains very fresh and vigorous. The name of the commander in the fight was a nicer circumstance, that was retailed only by the more accurate relaters of those hereditary narratives; while the ordinary vulgar preserved merely the gross particulars of the battle and its bloodiness. And on the scene of this traditionary

engagement

engagement remained to the year 1770 a considerable barrow, popularly denominated Hasty-knoll, and constructed in the British manner. It was originally a vast collection of small stones taken from the bed of the Douglas; and great quantities had been successively carried away by the neighbouring inhabitants. Many fragments of iron had been also discovered occasionally in it, the remains of those military weapons which the Britons reposited with their heroes at death. And in the summer of 1770, on finally levelling the barrow, was found a cavity in the hungry gravel immediately under the stones, that was about seven feet in length; the evident grave of the British officer, and all filled with the loose and blackish earth of his perished remains.

About six miles distant from Blackrode, in a lower part of the same current, on the immediate margin of the stream, and near to the town of Wigan, we find the tradition and memorial of two other battles, and discover considerable indications of a fourth. Tradition speaks of two very antient engagements in the immediate skirts of Wigan, and on the opposite sides of the town. At another place near it, was discovered about four and thirty years ago a large collection of horse and human bones, and an amazing quantity of horse-shoes, scattered over a large extent of ground, and speaking evidences of some important battle upon it. And the appellation of Wigan is a standing memorial of more than one engagement at the town. Wig signifies a fight in Saxon, and Wig-en is only the plural of it. So the Celtick denomination of Blair in Fifeshire, and the English appellation of Battle in Sussex, equally denote the place of a Battle[29]. And the existence of such traditions and such remains on the banks of the same rivulet, all conspiring to point out four engagements, and all agreeing with the history of Nennius, is very singular in itself and decisive in its evidence.

The seventh battle is declared to be held in the wood of Celidon. And I have formerly shewn the name to have been the common appellation of forests among the Britons. But the

Sec. I. particular woodland, which was the scene of this engagement, was very naturally distinguished from the rest, for some time after it, by the additional appellation of Cath or Cad Coit-Celidon, the battle-wood of Celidon [30]. And it was soon afterwards the residence of Myrdhin Wyllt, denominated Merlinus Caledonius from the general situation, and denominating his poem Avalhene from the particular place, of his sequestered abode within it [31]. Situated as the forest was in the dominions of Rydderch Hael king of Cumbria [32], it was therefore within the kingdom of the Sistuntii or Volantii, and to the south of the wall [33]. And, as Avalhene was placed in the woodland, it was in all probability the Avalana which I have formerly noticed in Ravennas, and that stood in the neighbourhood of the wall and on the south-western side of it [34]. The Coit-Celidon of Nennius, therefore, was the present forest of Englewood. This, even in these later ages, reached sixteen miles in length, ranging across the county of Cumberland, and extending from Penrith to Carlisle [35]; and in the time of Arthur must have stretched much farther to the south. And within the antient precincts of the forest, and only about half a mile from Penrith, between the two currents of the Loder and Eimot, remains a great fort of stones, the walls raised in the figure of a horseshoe, and the whole lying only a bow-shot from the rivers [36]. This is denominated Maybury or king Arthur's castle, and was in all probability the entrenchment of the Saxons. Its situation within the compass of the Caledonian forest, and its retaining the name of Arthur; its position in the narrow opening betwixt the streams, and its construction of stones hastily piled together without cement; all denote it to be an extemporaneous entrenchment, raised by the Saxons and attacked by Arthur, and the very Maisbeli of Geoffry's history, where he makes the Saxons to be routed by Ambrosius. And near it is a smaller one, formed only of earth, but equally of a round figure, being 150 yards in circumference, and evidently not designed for war, as the trenches are within the rampart; which equally bears the name of Arthur, and is popularly denominated his Round Table [37].

The

The eighth battle was fought at Castle Gunnion or (as Leland's authentick manuscript reads it) Castle Guuinon, one of the new fortresses which I have previously mentioned to have been erected by the Britons, and generally constructed on the ground-plots of the Roman stations. And it was fought at the stationary town of Vinovium or Binchester in the Bishoprick, the Vinonia of Ravennas, and (as Venta Silurum was denominated Caer Gwent) the Gunnion or Guuinon of the Roman Britons.

But the ninth battle is said to have been held at the City of the Legion, or (as some of the most antient manuscripts subjoin) at that which is denominated Caer Leun by the Britons. And it therefore happened at Chester. This was the only city of that appellation among the Britons, which could be reached either by the northern or southern Saxons at this period.

Thus have we ascertained the scenes of seven engagements. And from the places on which these are settled, and from the order of succession in which all are related, it is very evident, that they are almost all of them encounters in the north, and that the Saxons were pursued by the victorious Arthur, successively attacked, and successively defeated. The main army of the Angles was manifestly encamped in our own county: and no less than four battles were therefore maintained with them in Lancashire. And, that being utterly broken by four immediately subsequent defeats, the remains of the Saxons retired towards Cumberland, and fled into the Bishoprick.

But, in this general view of the whole, the first and ninth engagements appear to have changed their positions in the order of Nennius. The battle of Chester, which is now the ninth, was originally the first. And the engagement on the Glem or (as an antient manuscript reads it) the Glein, the river that is similarly known at present by the two names of Glen and Gleni, that is mentioned by Bede under the latter appellation [25], and lends it to Glendale in Northumberland; this, which is now the first, was originally the ninth. The

battle

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battle of Chester could have been fought only against those Saxons, who penetrated from Lancashire into Cheshire, and who, as the most advanced body of the enemy, would be the first attacked by Arthur. And the engagement on the Glen could have been held only with those, who, being routed in Cheshire, slaughtered in Lancashire, and defeated in the Bishoprick, retired into the county of Northumberland.

[1] Ossian v. ii. p. 124, a note.—[2] Sir John Price's Defensio Hist. Brit. London 1573, p. 122 and 123, Lhuyd p. 258, and Carte p. 202.—[3] Price p. 120.—[4] See Maglocunus in Epistolâ Gildæ, Carte p. 213, and Lhuyd p. 260 in Llomarch's address to Mœnovinius.—[5] Evans p. 41.—[6] Nennius p. 117, Urbgen [Urien] et Ryderthen [Rydderch], and B. II. ch. iii. s. 2.—[7] C. 62 and 63.—[8] Sax. Chron.—[9] See the close of the 65th chapter. Nennius therefore is really prior to Gildas, the former having written about 550 and the latter about 564.

[10] The additions to and interpolations of Nennius were made by Britons, and at no great distance of time from him. The fables concerning the first population of Britain and Ireland in c. 3—10, 12, and 13, and the perversions of history concerning the Roman conquests of, and actions within, our own island in c. 14—27, are all pretty certainly Nennius's. Most probably the fables concerning St. Germain in c. 30—34, many particulars concerning Vortigern in c. 38—44, the account of the synod in c. 45, the genealogy in c. 53, the history of St. Patrick in c. 58, 59, 60, and 61, the ignorant etymology of Arthur's name in c. 62, and Arthur's journey to Jerusalem in c. 63, and certainly the whole of c. 65 and first appendix, are all added or greatly interpolated, either by one person in 858 (see first preface), or by some other or others before 796 or 800 (see c. 1. in Gale and Price). And the accounts in c. 5 and appendix were written mediately or immediately by a succession of persons, as they contain the history of more than a century.—Accordingly, since I wrote the above, I find that,

that, in a copy of that author revised by Leland, several of these passages, which now appear in the text, were then in the margin only; as the ridiculous mention of Vortigern's building Guasmoric juxta Lugubaliam, &c. (c. 44), the synod, the etymology, and the pilgrimage, &c. (Leland's Collect. v. 3. p. 47—49, 1770). And these and the prefaces are equally wanting in another manuscript, belonging to the Bodleian, and about 600 years old (Nicholson's Eng. Hist. Library, preface to part II. p. xix—xx, 1697).—But these interpolated and subjoined accounts are not, as they have been often esteemed to be, without use and without authority. They were all added before 858 (see preface 1st). And many of them appear to have been taken from antient records. Thus Caer Gurthigirn in c. 65 is mentioned as the first city of Britain; a particular, which must have been copied from a work of the age and reign of Vortigern, as it could be the first only during his reign and by virtue of his residence in it. And such is also the case with the accounts concerning Cunedag, Urien, and Rydderch in p. 117.

[12] Cum recessissent domum—prædones,—reliquiæ—duce Ambrosio—vires capessunt.—[13] Gildas c. 26.—[13] Taliessin in Price p. 120.—[14] Gildas's own preface.—[15] Carte p. 202, from the registers of donations to Landaff church in the days of its three first bishops.—[16] Arthur's court, therefore, could not be kept at Isca or Caerleon, as the Triades says that it was, and Sir John Price and Mr. Carte believe. Isca was the Roman capital of the province. But Venta was the British one of the kingdom. Thus Cantiopolis constantly remained the metropolis of the Cantii (Bede lib. i. c. 25), though the neighbouring Rhutupæ was the head of the province.—[17] Howel Dha lib. i. c. 6.—[18] Malmsbury f. iv, Ambrosius—intumescentes barbaros eximiâ bellicosi Arthurii operâ pressit.—[19] Bede lib. i. c. 15.—[20] Nennius c. 37. The country of the Angles was the only one that was thus left desolate (Bede ibid.); and Saxon Chron.—[21] Flumen—quod est in Linuis, Nennius.—[22] Nennius c. 63. There are, as one would naturally expect, several

Sect. I. various readings in these names. But I follow the text of Dr. Gale, who published it ex variis variè corruptis exemplaribus, quàm fieri potuit (primis duntaxat curis) emendatum et expurgatum. And his readings here agree exactly with those of an antient copy collated by Leland, which appears from many spurious passages being there on the margin only, that in most manuscripts are in the text, to be also an authentick one (See Collect. v. 3. p. 47—49).—[23] Nennius c. 45.—[24] F. 180.—[25] Malmesbury f. 4.—[26] In illo tempore Saxones invalescebant & crescebant non modicè in Britanniâ. Mortuo autem Hengisto, Ochta filius ejus transivit de sinistrali parte Britanniæ ad regnum Cantuariorum, & de ipso orti sunt reges illius patriæ: Arthur pugnabat contra illos in illis diebus (Nennius c. 62).—[27] Higden p. 225 from Radulphus, Hodie fluvius ille vocatur—Dugglis, & currit sub urbe de Wigan, and Brompton c. 1153.—[28] Mr. Percival's papers as copied by the Rev. Mr. Watson, rector of Stockport.—[29] So Wigga-beorh is the place of a battle in Devonshire; see Somner: and see Gordon's Itin. Sept. p. 36, for Blair. And Wigan is the true orthography of the name, as appears from all the antient records and histories that mention the town.—[30] Nennius c. 63.—[31] Lhuyd p. 263.—[32] Evans p. 41, and Carte p. 210.—[33] See B. II. c. v. f. 1.—[34] See Gale p. 147, and Horseley p. 154, 330, and 498.—[35] Leland vol. vii. p. 48.—[36] Camden c. 998, and Leland vol. vii. p. 44.—[37] Camden ibid, and Archæologia vol. ii. p. 50. This forest was afterwards denominated Englewood, in all probability as Overborough in our own county is constantly called Ingleborough by the neighbourhood, and as Englefield near Reading was certainly called (Sax. Chron. p. 80), from the engagements of the Saxons at these places. And this Maybury is plainly the Maisbeli of Geoffrey p. 55; Mai Burgh and Maes Bala being equally British, and signifying equally battle-town or battle-castle. See Burgh in B. II. c. viii. f. 1. And in Anglesey we have Kaer maes maür, the name of a place, and signifying the inclosure of the great battle (Camden c. 810).—[38] Bede lib. ii. c. 14.

II.

II.

SELECTED by Ambrosius for the command of the army and recovery of the provinces in the north, Arthur began his march. He was now first exalted perhaps to an independent command, and naturally attended by his own Silures. He marched across the midland parts of the kingdom, all trembling for their safety, and interestedly solicitous for his success. And in Staffordshire or Shropshire he would be joined by the combined army of the north [1].

The Saxon forces in Cheshire seem to have been very considerable, as they had pushed near forty miles before the main army, and the British troops were unable to prevent their advance. They were in all probability engaged at this period in the siege of the famous Deva or Chester, the city of the twentieth legion, and inhabited by the descendants of the legionaries. And it was the relief of the Roman colony perhaps, that was the first and immediate object of Arthur's march into the north. At his approach the Saxons might have raised the siege, and have fallen back to the main body. They did not. And Arthur marched up to them. The attack began. The Saxon army was defeated. And the town was relieved.

The northern Britons would now be animated by the return of victory. And their commander would lead them directly after the fugitives, and against the main army of the Saxons. This was encamped by the ruined capital of the Sistuntii. Arthur crossed the ford at Warrington probably, and entered the county of Lancaster, the great deliverer of it. And he must have marched along the Roman road by Haydock to Blackrode.

The Saxons were encamped on the southern bank of the Douglas, and near to the Roman station. And there they waited

 for

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for the victorious monarch. The Britiſh troops advanced to the charge. The battle was uncommonly bloody. A conſiderable officer was killed among the Britons. And, according to tradition, the Douglas ran crimſoned with the blood to Wigan. But the Saxons were defeated. And the night probably interpoſed, to prevent the utter route of their army.

They fled. All in confuſion, they took not the road to Preſton. They retired along the current of the Douglas. And they haſtily retreated perhaps into the thick woodland, that originally ſwept about the town of Coccium, and which tradition particularly plants along the banks of the river. They halted about ſix miles from the field of action. They took poſt upon the eminences and ſlopes, that are now lined with the houſes of Wigan and waſhed by the waters of the Douglas. And tradition and remains concur to evince the fact. The former fixes a battle about Wigan-lane, many ages before the recent rencounter in the civil wars, which has nearly obliterated its memory. And credulity, deeply impreſſed with the ſtory, not unfrequently fancies to the preſent period, that it ſees warriours habited in ſtrange old dreſſes, and hovering about the ſcene of ſlaughter. The Britons purſued the Saxons along the windings of the Douglas. They came up with them at Wigan-lane. And they began the attack. The Saxons perhaps had thrown up ſome intrenchments in the woods. And they had aſſuredly lined the thickets. The intrenchments were ſtormed. The thickets were cleared. And the Saxons were diſlodged.

They fled acroſs the hill of Wigan. They were overtaken on the oppoſite ſide. They were again attacked. And a freſh engagement enſued. The town of Wigan preſerves to this day a lively memorial of both the battles, in its antient and preſent appellation. And about four and thirty years ago, in forming the canal there, the workmen diſcovered evident indications of a conſiderable engagement on the ground. All along the courſe of the channel, from the termination of the Dock to the point of Pool-bridge, for forty or fifty roods in length and ſeven or eight yards in breadth, they found the ground every where ſtored

ſtored with the bones of men and horſes. They dug up a large old ſpur, carrying a ſtem four or five inches in length, and a rowel as big as a half-crown. And they collected five or ſix hundred weight of horſe-ſhoes. The Saxons were again defeated. They were compleatly broken. They fled in the utmoſt diſorder. They plunged into the Douglas. They threw themſelves into the marſhes. And there tradition fixes another battle.

That point of land on the ſouthern bank of the Douglas, which lies immediately fronting the ſcene of the laſt engagement, is now denominated the Parſon's meadow; and tradition very loudly reports a battle to have been fought in it. This is ſo low and marſhy a ſituation, that no army could ever have taken poſt upon the ground, but one that deſperately refuged in it from the horrours of immediate deſtruction. And it is a very defenſible ſite, the Douglas winding ſlowly through the marſhes on the north and weſt, and a briſk brook flowing immediately on the eaſt. The Saxons, however, were only reſerved to give another triumph to Arthur, and to make the Douglas for ever conſpicuous by a fourth victory, obtained within a few days over the ſame troops and upon the ſame river. To attack them indeed in this low and deep ſituation, ſecured as they were on three ſides by the channels of the river and the brook, fortified on the fourth aſſuredly by a rampart and ditch, and rendered deſperate by the impoſſibility of an eſcape from the place on a defeat; was a bold effort. But victory increaſes the courage and heightens the powers of an army. The attack was made. It could not be ſuſtained. The bravery and deſpair of the Saxons fell before the ſuperiour bravery and victorious ſpirits of the Britons. And the former were cut to pieces.

These four battles were fought upon the river Douglas and in the region Linuis. In this diſtrict was the whole courſe of the current from its ſource to its concluſion, ſuper flumen quod vocatur Duglas, quod eſt in Linuis. And the addition of the latter notice, quod eſt in Linuis, ſhews the ſtream to have been leſs

Sect. II. less known than the region. This was therefore considerable, one of the cantreds or great divisions in the Sistuntian kingdom, and comprizing perhaps the western half of South-Lancashire. And it seems from its appellation of Lin-uis, or the Lake, to have assumed its denomination from the mere of Marton, that little inland ocean, which was once the most considerable object within it, and actually traversed by the Roman Britons in canoes of a single tree [3].

Thus by four successive defeats had Arthur annihilated the great army of the Saxons, which had so often beaten the Britons of the north, and then held the chains of the Sistuntii. But Lancashire was not yet delivered entirely. The castles, which had been previously erected there by the Provincials, would naturally be garrisoned by the Saxons on their conquest of the country, and the towns and their vicinities more immediately bridled by these barbarous oppressors. And so circumstanced does tradition assert our own Manchester, in particular, to have actually been at this period.

That many records of Arthur's transactions have been safely transmitted to these later ages, I have already shewn. And that many existed within these four or five centuries, but have since been lost or are now unknown, may be equally proved. From such alone could Malmesbury have obtained the very curious particular which he has handed to us, That Arthur acted in his wars by a commission from Ambrosius [4]. From such only could he have derived the equally curious circumstance relating to Arthur, That he was buried in the church-yard of Glastonbury betwixt the two inscribed pyramids [5]. And only from such did the Welsh poets borrow all those various notices, which stimulated Henry the second to search for, and led his people directly to find, the perishing remains of this great man [6]. And from the same fountains of historical knowledge have the popular romances of Arthur, in all probability, derived several incidents. Fragments of genuine gold, probably, lie hid among these heaps of dross. And many gallant actions, performed by the officers of Arthur, are here disguised by that colouring

colouring of fantastick chivalry, which later ages have produced among us. These, however, it will be very difficult to select. In an almost total want of historical particulars concerning the wars, it is impossible to select them, except from the coincidence of tradition with history and romance. And where the first echoes back the tale of any adventure in the last, where that appropriates to a place what this only mentions at large, and where it agrees with the utmost exactness to the genuine annals of the times; there the action in all the outlines of it is certainly true. Such is the episode of Turquine in that well-known history of Arthur, which was written three or four centuries ago in French and under the title of La Morte d' Arthur, and even as early as the reign of Edward the fourth translated by Thomas Maleor, or Mellor, into English. The general tradition of the fact in that episode is uncommonly lively among all the lower ranks of our people at Manchester. This confines to Manchester and the Castle-field, what the romance fixes somewhere in a deep forest and on a great plain within it. And it evidently takes its place, with the greatest propriety, in the annals of Arthur's transactions on the Douglas.

Sect. II.

When the Saxons made themselves masters of Manchester, they threw a body of troops into the castle, and gave the command of them to one Torquin [7]. And, invested with authority over the town and neighbourhood, this officer disgraced his courage by his brutality, and is still remembered with a traditionary horrour [8]. But, the main army of the Saxons being destroyed, the castles would next be attacked, and the country cleared of the parties that harboured in them. And a detachment was accordingly sent to Manchester. It was too weak. Torquin sallied out at the head of his men, beat off the besiegers, and took their commandant prisoner. A stronger party was ordered on the service. And it arrived while the commandant was absent. But he returned immediately. He attempted boldly to cut his way through the besiegers and reach

the

Sect. II. the castle. He was un-successful. He was killed. His party was dispersed. And the fortress was surrendered[8].

[1] Arthur pugnabat contra Saxones *cum regibus Britonum* (Nennius c. 62).—[2] Nennius c. 63.—[3] See Leigh b. I. p. 18, for no less than eight such canoes discovered in draining it. And such were equally used by the Caledonians in rivers and fresh-water lakes, and a few of them are still to be seen in the Western Highlands (Crit. Diss. p. 327). But, as one of the Marton canoes was plated with iron in some parts (Leigh p. 18), they appear to have belonged to the later Britons, and after the Roman arts of ship-building had been introduced among them. And they were most probably sunk, as their number shews them to have been designedly so, at the Saxon invasion of Lancashire. See the draught and account of one of them in Leigh b. iii. p. 181 and its plate. This is a long and narrow boat, seemingly very light and buoyant, of a good model, and having two correspondent notches for a pair of oars. It was therefore managed only by one man. See also B. II. ch. viii. s. 1. for CAT.

This mere consisted of two pieces of water, the smaller of which remains, though the other is drained. That is only about two miles in length and one in breadth. But the larger was about eighteen in circumference and two in diameter. And both were originally formed by the rivulets, that discharged themselves into the low grounds, and had little or no passages out of them again. The greater was opened about the close of the last century by the proprietor. And no less than two thousand persons were sometimes employed in the work at once (Leigh b. i. p. 17, 19, and 21).

[4] Masmesbury f. 4.—[5] Malmesbury de Ant. Glaston. Eccles. p. 306. vol. i. Gale.—[6] See s. 4.—[7] Tradition calls him Torquin, and the romance Turquine. And we have Torkin-ton in Cheshire, and Turk, the commander of a body of Saxons in Lhuyd p. 261.—

[8] He

He is said by tradition to have had a young child every morning for breakfast, a circumstance most picturesquely savage, and yet omitted totally in La Morte d' Arthur,[a] though coinciding exactly with the spirit of it in several places (ch. 92, &c). And this omission serves strongly to prove the local tradition independent of the fabulous history, and the latter indeed in many points to be only the gleanings of the former, copying some strokes, and forgetting or not knowing others.

[a] The account in the romance is this. Sir Lancelot of the Lake and Sir Lionell of Liones, two brothers, and *knights of king Arthur's*, entered *a deep forest* in quest of adventures, and came into *a great plain* within it. There (in the usual aukwardness with which events are brought about by these antient romances) the former lay down to sleep under an apple-tree, and the latter guarded him. While they were thus employed, three knights rode by on full speed, pursued by a fourth. And, as Lionell fixed his eyes upon the last, he thought that he never beheld so stout a knight, so handsome a man, or so well-accoutered a hero. This was Sir *Turquine*, the lord of a castle in the neighbourhood; who, in the view of Sir Lionell, overtook the knights that he was pursuing, seized them, and bound them. And, moved with generous pity at the sight, Lionell resolved to engage him. Without waking his brother, he followed Turquine, and bad him turn. He turned, overcame, and bound his challenger; and took all four away with him to his castle. And there he stript them of their arms and clothes, whipt them with thorns, and put them in a deep dungeon, to share the fate of the many knights that were in the same prison, and to join with them in lamentations of their misery.

In the mean while Sir Ector de Maris, brother to Lionell and Lancelot, followed them to partake of their adventures, and came also into *a great forest*. There he heard, that *within a mile* was *a castle strong and well-ditched*; and *by it* upon *the left hand* a *ford*; and that over this grew a fair tree, on the branches of which were hung the shields of the many gallant knights, who had been overcome by the owner of the castle; and at the

Sect. II. the ſtem was a baſon of copper and latin, which by its appearance challenged any knight to ſtrike upon it, and ſummon the caſtellan to a conteſt. And Ector came to the place, ſaw the ſhields, recognized many that belonged to his aſſociates of the Round Table, and particularly noticed his brother's. Fired at the ſight, he beat violently upon the baſon, and *then* gave his horſe drink *at the ford*. And immediately a knight appeared on horſeback *behind him*, and called to him *to come out of the water*. He *turned himſelf* directly. He engaged the knight. And he was conquered and taken priſoner by him.

The brother of both theſe unfortunate heroes, Sir Lancelot, whom we left ſleeping before in the foreſt adjoining to the caſtle, had been carried from thence by enchantment and confined for ſome time. But, as ſoon as he was releaſed, he went in ſearch of Lionell, and came into the ſame *foreſt* where they had ſo ſtrangely parted. And there *in the midſt of a highway* he heard, that a knight dwelt *very near*, who was the moſt redoubted champion that ever exiſted, and had conquered, and now kept in priſon, no leſs than 64 of king Arthur's knights. He haſtened to the place. He came to the ford and tree. And he let his horſe drink *at the ford*, and *then* beat upon the baſon with the end of his ſpear. This he did ſo long and ſo heartily, that he drove the bottom out. And yet no one anſwered. He *then* rode *along the gates of the caſtle* almoſt half an hour. And at laſt he deſcried Sir *Turquine* coming upon the road with a captive knight. He advanced and challenged him. The other gallantly accepted the challenge, defying him and all his fellowſhip of the Round Table. They fought. The encounter laſted no leſs than four hours. And Lancelot at laſt ſlew his antagoniſt, took the keys of his caſtle, and releaſed all the priſoners within it, who inſtantly repaired to the armoury there, and furniſhed themſelves compleatly.

Such is the account of theſe tranſactions in La Morte d' Arthur, all adapted with propriety to the poſition of the Caſtle-field, and uncommonly curious therefore to a Mancheſter man! And in the hall of Tamworth caſtle, Warwickſhire, is a rude

old delineation of the last battle upon the wall, Sir Lancelot and Sir Turquine drawn of a gigantick size, and tilting together (Warton's Spenser v. I. p. 43. edit. 2d); just as the romance describes them, resting their spears, and pushing their horses at full speed against each other.

The name of Lancelot, like that of Owen the son of Urien (ch. 78), to whom Llomarch was cousin-german and with whom he contracted a particular friendship (Lhuyd p. 259), is most probably derived from genuine history. Lancelot indeed is what the criticks have made Natanleod or Nazaleod (Sax. Chron. p. 17 and Huntingdon f. 172) to be, an appellative truly British, and significative of royalty; Lance being a Celtick term for a spear (Diodorus p. 353, and Varro, Durdrecht, 1619, p. 25 Fragmenta), Naidh or Nauz interpreted a refuge, and Leod, Lod, or Lot importing a people. Both were therefore British sovereigns. And, since the former is denominated Lancelot of the Lake, perhaps he resided at Coccium in the region Linuis, and was the monarch of Lancashire, as the kings of the Creones, living at Selma in the forest of Morven, are generally denominated sovereigns of Morven; or more probably was king of Cheshire, and resided at Pool-ton Lancelot in the hundred of Wirrall.

The first party appears from the account above to have approached the castle by the way of Ribchester or the Deansgate, and the other by that of Blackrode, Warrington, or Old Trafford. And, what is very remarkable, the romantick circumstance of the bason, for summoning the champion to battle, occurs also with some variation in the poems of Ossian. Go, Trithil's son, says Cucullin, and take my spear; strike the sounding shield of Cabait; it hangs at Tura's rustling gate; the sound of peace is not its voice; my heroes shall hear on the hill (Ossian vol. i. p. 3).

III.

THE Saxons of the south, in the mean time, had experienced many vicissitudes of success and suffered great reverses of fortune. Blocked up in the isle of Thanet by Vortimer, and released from it by a considerable re-inforcement, they pursued their besiegers, defeated their conquerours, and made themselves masters of all Kent in 457. But in a few years they were again dislodged from their conquests by Ambrosius, again chaced across the county of Kent, and again driven into Thanet. And the Britons boldly passed the æstuary in 465, and attacked them at Battle-hill near Ebbs-fleet, on the point of the shore which was opposite to Rhutupæ, and the place of their original landing. One successful blow had now terminated the southern war. But the Saxons had been re-inforced from Germany a second time[1]. The Britons were defeated, and twelve principal officers left upon the field. And the enemy again invaded the country, again defeated the Britons, and again re-possessed themselves of Kent[2].

The genius of Britain encountered no such vicissitudes in the north. One uniform tenour of success attended the arms of Arthur. And to his five victories at Chester and on the Douglas he added six others.

By the favourable intervention of the winter probably, and the coming up of the troops that had been previously left in their conquests, a new army of Saxons had been collected together, and was posted on the banks of the Bassas. This should be some river betwixt the Douglas in Lancashire and Englewood forest in Cumberland; as the battle upon it follows immediately the engagements on the former, and immediately precedes the action in the latter. And it is therefore the little Pesa, which directly crosses the road from the Douglas to the forest,

forest, and is passed by a bridge about four miles and a half to the north of Burton[3]. There, on the southern confines of Westmoreland, and in the wild country of the Sistuntian Cangii, the Saxons made a stand. They hoped to retrieve the honour of their arms. Their hopes were blasted. And their army was defeated.

The Saxon troops retired. They were pursued. They retreated across the county of Westmoreland. They formed in the Caledonian wood, the great forest of Englewood. And they took possession of a very defensible site. This had the Loder upon one side and the Eimot on the other, about half musquet-shot from it. And they fortified it with an extemporaneous entrenchment of loose flints, nearly circular in its form, opening only behind, and surrounded with ditches[4]. In this situation they waited the advance of the pursuing Britons. They came. They attacked. They defeated. The whole army of the Angles was cut to pieces. And no less than a hundred and forty great officers were killed upon the spot[5].

Thus was a second grand army of the Saxons annihilated by Arthur. And all the western side of the Penine Alps was recovered from the enemy. The next campaign led him across the hills, and engaged him with a new one in the country of the Brigantes.

This had been invaded by the Saxons with an army distinct from the western, and reduced to the Humber and the Don[6]. And the victors were now attacked by Arthur. They had already resigned up all their conquests in Yorkshire. They received succours in all probability from Germany[7]. And they encamped at Binchester in the Bishoprick. Arthur entered the country at the head of his forces, victorious in seven successive battles. He marched up to them. He attacked, he defeated them. And the slaughter was very great[8].

The Saxons were unfortunate but brave. They still persisted in the defence of their conquests. And during the winter probably they received other succours from Germany[9], and brought another army into the field. They had abandon-

ed.

Sec. III. ed the Bishoprick, but they formed in Northumberland. And, as prudent as they were gallant, they lodged their troops in an advantageous site betwixt two rivers, the Glen flanking their army upon one side and the Till guarding it on the other[e]. But their destruction approached. Arthur was advancing. They were beaten. And the natural advantages of their situation would obstruct their escape, and the barriers of their camp aggravate their loss.

The next campaign Arthur penetrated to the utmost limits of Valentia. He would certainly pursue his victories over the Angles, and follow them in their flight to the wall of Antoninus. And the tenth and eleventh victories, which are said to have been gained on the river Ribroit and at the mountain Agned Cathregonion, were obtained in Valentia, and in all probability somewhere in the direct way betwixt the Glen and the friths. The latter of them plainly was, and on the present site of Edinborough castle. This was for ages afterward called Mynyd Agned or the hill Agned by the Britons, and the fortress upon it Castelh Mynyd Agned[f]. A high and craggy rock also, which spires up in the adjoining park of Holyrood House, and overlooks the whole town of Edinborough, retains the appellation of the hero to this day; being denominated Arthur's chair, and Arthur being said by tradition to have frequently taken a view of the country from it. And the addition of Cathre-gonion only intimates a fortress to have been built on the hill; Cadre or Cathair Gonion implying, and very nearly sounding, the same as the Caer Conan of Geoffrey's history, and being the very place assuredly that was originally intended by it. There, on a lofty eminence about six acres in compass, surrounded by precipices on three sides, and approachable only by a narrow and steep ascent on the fourth, the Angles judiciously entrenched their last army, and staked their whole empire on the fate of a final battle. But their judiciousness was all in vain. Nature and art in-effectually combined to preserve them. The fortune of Arthur surmounted every obstacle. And the Saxons received an eleventh defeat from his hands.

These

These were the last battles which he maintained with the Angles. And they would entirely compleat the reduction of them[11].

Thus in a series probably of five campaigns, and in a succession certainly of eleven victories, this great commander had repelled the Saxons from the north of Flavia, dislodged them from all Maxima, and dispossessed them of all Valentia. And these were successes so un-chequered with misfortunes, so great in themselves, and so beneficial to the publick, that the name of Arthur claims the first rank in the list of military, and the better one of patriot, heroes.

Having executed the great work which had brought him into the north, Arthur would march back with his Silures, and rejoin the army in the south. And there the dictatorship soon became vacant on the death of Ambrosius in 508, the Natanleod of the Damnonii, Nathan Leod or the chief of the people[12], and Rex Maximus or pendragon of the Provinces[13]. This hero, grown grey in the service of his country and the varying scenes of war, united all the forces of the Britons against the combined troops of the Saxons, and put the long contest on the issue of a general engagement[14]. And, though now advanced beyond the eightieth year of his age; the reverend warriour attacked the right wing of the enemy with all the impetuosity of twenty, and drove it before him out of the field with great slaughter. This native fire of Ambrosius, which neither the chilling hand of so many years of age, nor the restraining experience of sixty of war, had been able to subdue or regulate, was the cause probably of many of the preceding calamities. It was now the occasion of a great one to himself and his country. For the other wing of the Saxons took advantage of the indiscretion, attacked the pursuing monarch vigorously in the rear, and laid him and five thousand of his men dead upon the field[15]. Thus fell the gallant and worthy Ambrosius; and his son succeeded him in the sovereignty of the Damnonii, and his grandson Constantine possessed it in the days of Gildas[16]. Thus he fell, and Arthur was nominated to the pendragonship[17]. His late successes in the

Sect. III. the north plainly pointed him out to the electing monarchs, and the present distresses of the south made their choice of him necessary. And his reign was attended with great success[18].

In 477 a fresh body of adventurers had landed on the coast of Sussex under Ælla, defeated the Regni, and advanced into the country. The British army attacked them, and was beaten[19]. The town of Anderida was besieged, taken, and sacked. And the inhabitants without mercy were all put to the sword, and the houses without distinction all levelled to the ground[20]. In 495 another body under Cerdic landed on the coast of Hampshire, and began the conquest of the Proper Belgæ. And, being re-inforced by a fresh detachment in 501, they continually but slowly advanced into the heart of Hampshire, and, with the assistance of their Kentish and Sussex brethren in 508, defeated the whole combined army of Britain at Nateley near Basingstoke, slew the monarch, and cut five thousand of his men to pieces[21]. In this alarming crisis was Arthur called to the sovereignty of Britain. Possessing all the personal gallantry of Ambrosius, he had none of that headlong fire which seems so strongly to have marked the military genius of his predecessor. And all his great talents were requisite to retrieve the British affairs. He appears to have been enterprising but cool, judicious but resolute, circumspect, alert, and vigorous. He laid his measures with the greatest prudence. And he executed them with the greatest spirit. He never attacked an enemy but he defeated him. He never engaged in battle but he obtained a victory[22].

Such a general was exactly calculated for the present condition of the British arms. He would find the soldiery depressed by their late defeat, and a wild discipline introduced among them from the irregular warmth of their commander in fight. And, for this reason probably, he engaged them not immediately in any important battle; but employed them in petty attacks, and exercised them in little rencounters, for some considerable time. As the Saxons, who had invaded Hampshire, and from their numbers were the most formidable

of all their countrymen, had now advanced towards the north of the county; Arthur prudently ordered the Proper Belgæ on the coast to re-take possession of the shore, and prevent any disembarkation of succours. A detachment arrived in 514, beat off the Britons that opposed their descent, and joined the main body[23]. And strengthened by this re-inforcement, and encouraged by his success over a considerable party in 519[24], which seems to have been sent round to cut off the communication of the Saxons with the sea, and was attacked and defeated at Chardford near Fordingbridge in Hampshire[25]; Cerdic, the Saxon general, entered North-Wiltshire in 520, and advanced to Mount Badon[26].

This was plainly the present Badbury Castle, or (as it is sometimes called from the township in which it stands) Liddington Castle, a large and roundish encampment of the Belgæ or Romans, placed upon a ridge of hills that overlooks all the country, and having Badbury hill upon one side, Badbury village on a second, and that of Baydon or Badon more distantly on a third. It lay very near the concurrence, and consequently commanded the course, of the two Roman roads that intersect the north of Wiltshire, what is denominated the Ridgeway, and another which runs from Cirencester and Creeklade in Gloucestershire by Stretton St. Margaret, Wanborough, and Badon to Newbury in Berkshire[27]. And it was garrisoned by a body of Britons at present. The Saxons besieged it. Arthur marched up to its relief. And the enemy drew out to engage him. The Saxons had long been victorious under Cerdic. The Britons had often been defeated by them. And in such circumstances two armies are seldom equal. But the latter had Arthur for their commandant, so many times victorious over the Saxons, and the great conquerour of all the Angles. He had now been eleven years engaged in reforming the discipline, and raising the courage, of the British army. And the event demonstrated the propriety of his measures. Before his troops, even the victorious veterans of Cerdic fell into confusion. Arthur saw the advan-

Sect. III. tage, and seems to have exerted himself with all the bold gallantry of Ambrosius to improve it. And numbers of the enemy fell singly by his own hand[28]. The success was compleat. The carnage was dreadful[29]. And Cerdic fled to the south[30].

This was a most extraordinary victory, and compleats the circle of Arthur's military glories. It was utterly un-expected by the Britons. It was considered by them nearly as miraculous, the effect of supernatural causes, and the work of interposing Divinity. And it was attended with every circumstance of honour and advantage[31]. The Saxons expected perpetual victories and un-interrupted triumphs. Their fond hopes were effectually repressed. And a long peace ensued[32]. The harrassed state of Britain, now engaged incessantly in war for more than seventy years, made a peace acceptable to the Provincials. And the Saxons observed it for two and thirty years, not even taking the field till 527[33] (when they only crossed over into the isle of Wight), and not even attempting to re-enter Wiltshire till 552[34]; a sure sign in a nation thoroughly enterprising and military, that they had received a very severe blow.

[1] Huntingdon f. 179.—[2] Sax. Chron. p. 13 and 14 and Gildas c. 25.—[3] This rivulet, the Pesa, rises in the township of Fir-bank, runs by Old Hutton, Holm-scales, and Crook-lands, and falls into the Beelo about two miles below Pesa bridge. And there is also a Peese burn in Berwickshire.—[4] Camden c. 998 and Leland vol. vii. p. 44. and Archæologia vol. ii. p. 52.—[5] Myrdhin Wylht in Price p. 121.—

[6] The enlarger of Nennius, tracing the descent of Ulli (or Ælla) and of his son Ædguin (or Edwin), mentions Soemil the sixth after Woden and the sixth before Edwin, and says of him, Ipse primus superavit Deur Obernéich (p. 116). Deur is the well-known name of Yorkshire and the Bishoprick. And in this invasion was pretty certainly fought the battle which is the

the subject of the Gododin, a poem written by Aneurin. It was maintained against the Saxons of Ottadinia (Evans p. 71, an extract from Aneurin). But as the author lived some time before Taliessin, being celebrated for his poems in the days of the latter (Evans p. 55, an extract from Taliessin), and even lived as early as the beginning of the sixth century (Lhuyd p. 254); he could not have known any other Saxons of Ottadinia, than those who invaded it and Brigantia at this period. These penetrated into Yorkshire, and were attacked at Cattreath (Evans p. 69 &c.), the Cataracto of the Romans, and the Catarick or Thornborough of the present times. And so we have Dimecte or Dimetæ (Nennius c. 8 and 49), Guict or Guith, Brict or Brit, Ictius and Itius in Cæsar and Strabo, and a thousand others. The armies were very numerous, and the battle was uncommonly bloody. Of three hundred and sixty great officers in the British troops, only three escaped, cutting their way through the surrounding Saxons with their swords in their hands. And one of them was the bard who relates the battle, and escaped all covered with blood. But the loss of the Saxons was even greater (see Evans p. 69 &c.)—

[7] Nennius c. 64.—[8] C. 63.—[9] C. 64.—[10] In ostium fluminis quod dicitur Glen (Nennius c. 63).—[11] Lhuyd's Commentariolum p. 62. edit. 1731, and Camden p. 689.—Nennius c. 64, Ipsi vero barbari, dum in omnibus bellis prosternerentur, auxilium a Germaniâ petebant, et augebantur multipliciter sine intermissione, et *reges a Germaniâ deducebant ut regnarent super eos in Britanniâ, et regnabant usque ad tempus quo Ida regnavit*. The two last clauses are restricted to the *southern* Saxons, as Ida is immediately said to have been the first Saxon king in Bernicia, Ida—qui fuit primus rex in Bernicia—de gente Saxonum.—[12] So Noithach, Nodh, and Nathan signify in Irish, and Nodol in Welsh. And we have also a Naithan king of the Picts (Bede l. v. c. 21).—[13] Huntingdon f. 179 and Sax. Chron. p. 17.—[14] Huntingdon f. 179.—[15] Ibid. and Sax. Chron.—[16] Gildas c. 25 and Epist.—[17] Nennius c. 62, Arthur—cum regibus Britonum. Taliessin calls him at the battle

Sect. III. tle of Badon, Benn Haelion or the head of the kings, and Huntingdon f. 180 Dux militum et regum Britanniæ.

" This Natanleod is plainly Ambrosius, though the youthfulness of the commandant in the action seems to point out some other dictator; first, because Arthur acted by commission from Ambrosius in his engagements with the Angles (Malmesbury f. 4), and after his great victories over them would certainly have succeeded him in the pendragonship; and, secondly, because this Natanleod was not only rex maximus Britannorum, but a general magni nominis (Huntingdon f. 179), of great military reputation, a circumstance that at this period could suit no one but Arthur or Ambrosius. It was not the former. And it must therefore have been the latter.—

[39] Saxon Chronicle p. 14 and Huntingdon f. 179.—[40] Saxon Chronicle p. 15 and Huntingdon f. 179.—[41] Sax. Chron. and Huntingdon ibid. This defeat is fixed by Mr. Carte, p. 200—201, at or near Tanley in the north-western borders of Hampshire. But the Saxon Chronicle says, that the place, and even the country about it, was called Natanley for several ages afterward. And Nateley is certainly much nearer to this than Tanley, was this the true name, as it is not, the real one being not Tanley but Tangley. It is indeed ridiculous to suppose either of the names to be a derivative from Natanley; this being merely the same as Nata's-ley, and naturally abbreviating into Nateley. And this place is better suited to the course of the history, being more in the central parts of Hampshire.

Mr. Carte also supposes Cerdic to have landed either at Cherford in the isle of Purbeck or at Charmouth near Lyme, from the similarity of the names to his; and to have been employed in Dorsetshire and the adjoining parts of Somersetshire and Hampshire, because there is Cherford and Charmouth above, Charde in Somersetshire, Charminster near Dorchester, and Charbarowe not far from Pool. But how infinitely delusive all such arguments are, when they stand unsupported by history, is evident at once from the name of Cerdicsand in

Norfolk.

Norfolk, which echoes back the whole appellation of Cerdic, when the others only give us a faint ſound of it, and which led the great Camden to fix that hero's deſcent in Norfolk, though he was never in the county. So alſo we have Hengiſtbury in Hampſhire and Hengiſt-down in Cornwall, when Hengiſt himſelf was never out of Kent. And Cerdicſand, Cherford, Chardo, Charmiſter, and Charbarowe, which the name of Chardford or Charford below ſhews to have ſome relation probably to Cerdic, though Charmouth certainly has none; theſe have all reſulted, like Hengiſtbury and Hengiſt-down, Alfreton in Derbyſhire, &c. &c. &c. from the appellations of Cerdic, Alfred, and Hengiſt having been borne by other Saxons than thoſe who have given ſuch celebrity to them. The military operations of Cerdic were all confined to Hampſhire. And it appears from one deciſive circumſtance. The iſle of Wight was certainly conquered by him (Sax. Chron. A. D. 530), and therefore planted with his Jutes. Hampſhire alſo was equally ſtocked with Jutes, and ſo equally conquered by him. And theſe were the only parts of the neighbouring coaſt, that had any Jutes upon them. In Dorſetſhire were none at all. The coloniſts there were Proper Saxons. And this is very plain from the words of Bede: De Jutarum origine, he ſays, ſunt ea gens quæ Vectam tenet inſulam, et ea quæ uſque hodie in provinciâ occidentalium Saxonum Jutarum natio nominatur, *poſita contra ipſam inſulam Vectam* (l. c. 15). Two youths alſo, the ſons of Arvald king of the iſle of Wight, imminentibus inſulæ hoſtibus, fugâ lapſi ſunt de inſulâ, et *in proximam Jutarum provinciam* tranſlati; ubi cùm delati eſſent in locum qui vocatur Ad Lapidem, Stoneham in Hampſhire, &c. (l. 4. c. 16). And de Saxonibus venêre Orientales Saxones, Meridiani Saxones, Occidui Saxones (l. 1. c. 15).—

[22] Nennius c. 62. In omnibus bellis victor extitit.—[23] Sax. Chron. p. 18 and Huntingdon f. 179.—[24] Sax. Chron. p. 18 compared with Nennius c. 62. In omnibus bellis victor extitit. —[25] Sax. Chron. Cerdicesford, and Ethelwerd f. 475. In fluvio Avene.—[26] Gildas c. 26 and Nennius c. 63, and Æræ Cambro-Britannicæ

Britannicæ p. 141 Lhuyd's Commentar.—[27] See Itin. Cur. p. 132, Camden c. 284, the map there, and the new furvey of Wiltfhire.—[28] Nennius c. 63 and Talieffin in Price p. 120.—[29] Gildas c. 26.—[30] Sax. Chron. p. 18.—[31] Gildas c. 26.—[32] Ibid.—[33] Ethelwerd f. 473, Reftaurant arma, Sax. Chron. p. 18, and Huntingdon f. 180.—[34] Sax. Chron. p. 19.—See Mr. Carte p. 205, who has given me the hint, as I find on a review, for fixing fome of Arthur's battles.

IV.

THIS peace gave Arthur the opportunity which he would greatly want, of preparing every thing for the regular profecution of a war hereafter, into which the Britons had been un-expectedly plunged at firft. In fuch diftricts as had been ravaged by the Saxons, he would now wifh to rebuild the ruined cities, raife the demolifhed caftles, and renew the blafted face of the country. In fuch as were more immediately expofed to their ravages afterward, he had leifure to fortify the towns, furnifh them with a quantity of military ftores, and man them with a complement of chofen warriours. He was alfo enabled to diffufe a military fpirit more generally over the kingdom, and form the genius of the nation entirely for war. And in war were the Provincials very probably embarked for ages; having, like the primitive Britons, large and populous colonies of foreigners fettled on their fouthern fhore, and foreigners even more ferocious and encroaching than the Belgæ.

For fuch a fphere of political activity, the mind of this great warriour feems to have been admirably adapted. And, as the laft branch of the fcheme was the moft immediately beneficial and the moft extenfively ufeful of any, it particularly engaged his attention. Tradition acquaints us with the fact. And hiftory corroborates her report [*].

The

The military diversions of tournaments are not, as they have been generally imagined to be, the invention of these later ages. They were even customary among the Britons, as they remained among their descendants of Ireland and Caledonia to the third century[1]. And they were then the frequent entertainment of the military spirits, at seasons of festivity; and the warriours contended in friendship for "the honour of the spear[2]." Such schools of war, therefore, Arthur found already instituted in the Provinces. And he seems to have particularly encouraged them. Hence, after the great victory which he obtained over the Saxons in the Caledonian forest, he seems to have celebrated a triumphal tournament on the field. And the small entrenchment which has its ditches within the rampart, and is popularly denominated Arthur's Round Table, still remains upon the spot a probable memorial of the fact[3].

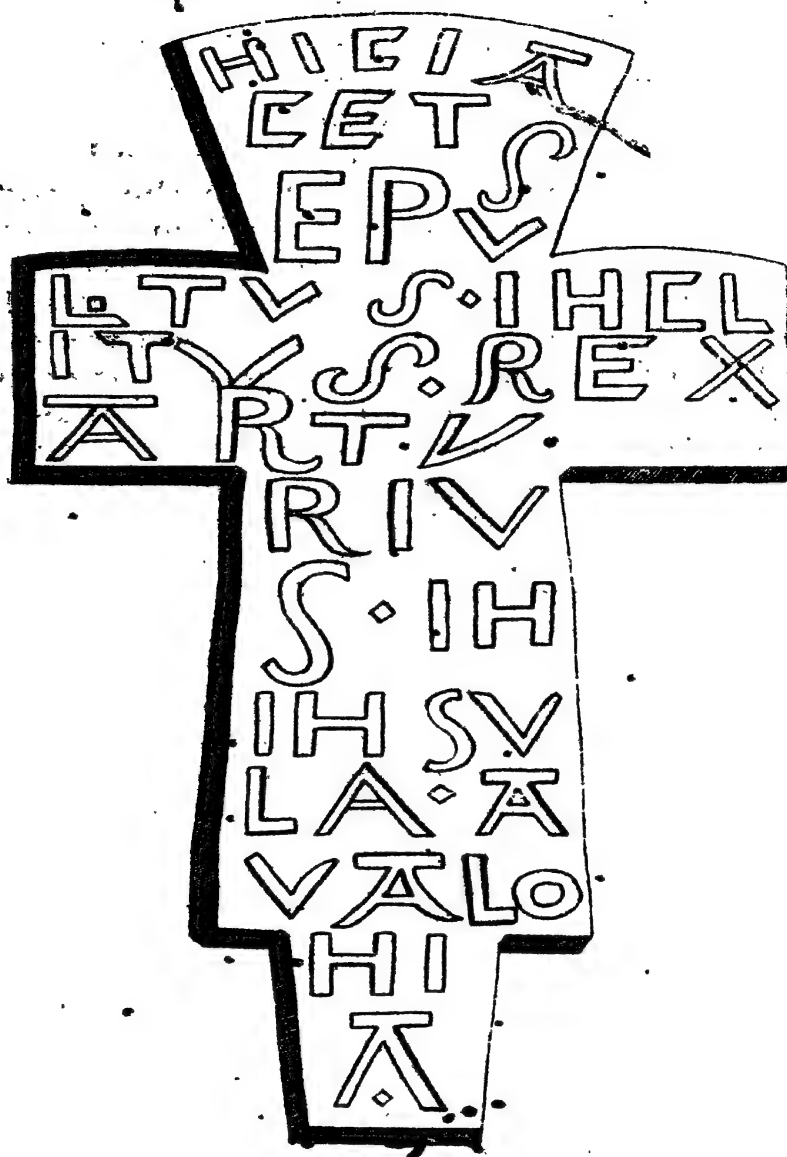
But this was not sufficient to diffuse a spirit of gallantry over the kingdom, and kindle a flame of heroism in the nation. For that something else was requisite, which should allure by the novelty of the establishment, and engage by the permanency of the reward. And an appointment was wanted, which should at once be a more regular and a more honourable signature of merit; by the certainty of the honour and the greatness of the dignity, call out all the worth of all the worthy in the nation, and collect it around the throne of the pendragon. This Arthur saw, and established a military order. It was the first that had ever been instituted in the island. And it has been since imitated by all the nations on the continent. His own general acquaintance with the springs of the human heart, and his particular intimacy with the distinguishing strokes of the military character, would point out the certain utility of such an establishment. And a select number of the officers were admitted into the order, and became brethren to the pendragon; a congeniality of spirit superseding the distinctions of state, and royalty ranking inferiour to merit. Such an institution was founded on the first principles of military knowledge,

Sect. IV. knowledge, and directed to the best ends of political wisdom. And, by means of this association, Arthur raised among the Provincials a general glow of ingenuous heroism, the first spirit of chivalry that ever appeared in Europe; that manly and honourable gallantry of soul, which has made him and his worthies the subject of romantick histories over all the west of it [s]. By this, and this alone, could he have been what history represents him, the reverend father of the British heroes in general, even to the conclusion of the sixth century and nearly the middle of the seventh. The order naturally survived its founder. And the members of it were denominated the warriours of Arthur, though the persons were born half a century after his death [t].

These and perhaps others, the suggestions of his own sublime conceptions, Arthur seems to have followed for twenty years together [x]. And the nation would be gradually improving under so prudent a management, and rising every year more formidable to the Saxons. A fair prospect dawned upon the Britons, and long scenes of future glories opened to their imaginations. But the gay vision was destroyed at once by the commencement of a civil war [y]. Many towns still remained in ruins, the memorial of the former wars, and the disgrace of the present [z]. The diffused spirit of chivalry was turned upon the nation, and heroism became the tool of dissension. And the dreadful combination of civil evils was begun and consummated, at once, by the death of the renowned Arthur in battle.

Thus died the incomparable hero in 542 [a]. And his body was removed to Avallonia, or Glastonbury, in the country of the Hædui. This was a Roman town [b], and now had a celebrated monastery within it. Here many of the British sovereigns and saints were interred together [c]. And in the cœmetery of the monastery, and within a few feet from the wall of the church [10], was Arthur buried. In the cairnes of stone-sepulchres which the Britons originally erected over their chiefs, they sometimes planted an obelisk at the head of the kistvaen, and raised it above

above the top of the barrow. And, in the graves which the Provincials frequently formed for their monarchs, they sometimes planted one obelisk at the head and another at the foot of the coffin, and raised them a considerable height above the ground. Some of the former remain to this day in the north of Scotland, and some of the latter in the county of Cornwall [10]. And, as this sepulchral application of obelisks continued for ages in use among the higher ranks of the Scots [11], so it is evidently continued among ourselves to the present moment, in those small stones that are reared in our country church-yards, sometimes only one at the head, and sometimes at both the head and the foot of the grave. For this reason, the Provincials now erected a couple of obelisks in honour to the illustrious Arthur, and planted them very large and tall at either extremity of his sepulcher. The hero was inclosed in a coffin of oak, and reposited nine feet below the surface. And the grave was filled up with the soil, and closed with a flat stone above. Into the lower surface of this, according to a custom which remained many ages afterward among us, was inserted a cross of lead, about a foot in length, rude and broad, bearing an inscription, and lying with its lettered side upon the stone. And the epitaph, like those of all the British chiefs at this period [12], was written in Roman characters, and drawn up in the Roman language, exactly in this form [13].



Hic jacet ſepultus inclitus rex Arturius in inſula Avalonià.

So repofited, his remains continued in peace for feveral centuries. The Saxons were fufficiently acquainted with the place of his burial, but never attempted to difturb his remains. At no period perhaps of their barbarifm, were they capable of fuch outrages. And not long after this they were reclaimed to humanity and converted to Chrift. The records of the abbey[14], and the hiftories of Arthur, pointed out the general fcene of his fepulture. In the reign of king Stephen, Malmefbury even declared him to have been buried betwixt the pyramids[15]. And, in that of the fecond Henry, the bards of Wales defcribed exactly the fpot, the depth of the grave, and the nature of the coffin[16]. The minute particularity of the latter inflamed the curiofity of Henry, and induced him to command a fearch for the body of Arthur. And the obelifks ftill remained in the cœmetery, and rofe in a ruinous condition twenty-fix and eighteen feet in height[17]. But the ground would neceffarily, in fix ages and a half, be confiderably elevated above its original level; and the grave-ftone had now feven feet of earth upon it. And that of Pabo, a hero prior to Arthur, was equally difcovered in the laft century fix feet under the ground, in a cœmetery within the ifland of Anglefey[18]. Sinking between the pyramids, and paffing through the adventitious foil, the fearchers came to the ftone, raifed it, and extracted the crofs. And Giraldus Cambrenfis actually faw the crofs and read the infcription. They afterwards defcended to the coffin, and found the bones of the hero large and ftrong. The leg-bone of the monarch was applied to that of a very tall man, and rofe three fingers above his knee. And Giraldus actually faw the bones, and was prefent at the application. No lefs than ten wounds were difcerned upon his head alone, nine of which appeared to have been flighter ones, and had been healed; and the other was a mortal gafh, and remained all un-clofed and gaping. And Giraldus actually received an account of the whole from the very abbot who was commanded to fearch, the relation and friend of king Henry[19].

 This

Sect. IV. This is a discovery, so extraordinary in the notices that led to it, so singular in itself, and so uncommonly authenticated, that it is one of the most signal incidents upon record, and closes the very remarkable history of Arthur. The remains, at the command of king Henry, were immediately removed into the greater church, and reposited in a magnificent shrine[20]. There they were afterwards visited by the first Edward; and at his command the shrine was placed before the high altar[21]. And they continued there to the reign of Henry the eighth, and the period of his reforming fury, that wild whirlwind which overturned every thing in its course, but happily introduced the sunshine of a genuine reformation.

Thus died Arthur. And with him ended the happiness of Britain. He left indeed a race of heroes behind him, bred up in his long command of more than thirty years, and fitted to be the ornament and protection of any nation. And they greatly shone. But they shone only in the ill successes of their country, and in a train of publick misfortunes and national calamities.

[1] Arthurus—quippe qui—infractas civium mentes ad bellum acuerit (Malmesbury f. 4).—[2] Ossian vol. i. p. 75, 77, and 78. And see Crit. Diss. p. 141—144.—[3] Ossian vol. i. p. 108.—[4] See Camden c. 998.—[5] Arthurus—quippe qui labantem patriam diu sustinuerit, infractasque civium mentes ad bellum acuerit (Malmesbury f. 4).—And Leland remarks, that et Italia Arthurium in pretio olim habuit, atque adeo jam habet; quando libri de ejus cùm fortitudine tum victoriis impressi, ut ego didici, Italicè legantur, Hispanicè etiam, et Gallicè: unde et collectio Anglica, auctore Thomâ Mailerio, prodiit (Collect. v. 5. p. 41).—Dr. Hurd therefore is greatly mistaken in his ingenious essays on chivalry, as to the original commencement of that spirit. The age of Arthur was the æra of it in Britain, and that of Charlemagne on the continent.—[6] Price p. 122, extract from Llomarch, and p. 123, notices from him, and from another

another bard that lived ſeveral years after him, and about the middle of the ſeventh century. Similia carmina reperi (ſays Sir John)—de Cedwallonis victoriis, & præliis ab eo geſtis, qui Edwinum regem Northumbriæ [A. D. 633] debellavit, necon de &c;—qui milites Arthuriani prædicantur, quæ auctorem his viris planè contemporaneum planè atteſtantur. And ſee Lhuyd's account of Llomarch's poems, p. 259, where he miſtakenly aſcribes the verſes on Cadwallon's death to him.—[7] Gildas c. 26, Hæſit tam deſperati inſulæ excidii, inſperatique mentio auxilii, memoriæ eorum qui utriuſque miraculi teſtes extitêre—: at illis decedentibus, cùm ſucceſſiſſet ætas tempeſtatis illius neſcia, et præſentis tantùm ſerenitatis experta, then civil wars broke out—and Æræ Cambro-Britannicæ p. 142.—[8] Gildas c. 26—Æræ Cambro-Brit. p. 142—and Richard p. 19.—[9] Carte vol. i. p. 203 and Malmeſbury (Gale) p. 306.—[10] Malmeſbury ibid.—[11] Crit. Diſſ. p. 317 and Borlaſe's Cornwall p. 187—Boëthius fol. xi. 1575, Nobilium ſepulchra obeliſcis decorare mos erat.—[12] See B. I. ch xi. ſ. 4.—[13] Giraldus in Camden's Britannia p. 166, Leland in Collect. vol. v. p. 45, and Camden ibid.—[14] Giraldus in Price p. 131.—[15] Malmeſbury (Gale) p. 306.—[16] Giraldus in Leland's Collect. p. 52.—[17] Malmeſbury p. 306.—[18] Mona p. 158.—[19] Malmeſbury p. 306, Giraldus in Price p. 132 and Leland p. 52 and 53, Monk of Glaſtonbury in Leland p. 51, and Uſher p. 63. edit. 1687.

The largeneſs of the bones has furniſhed ſome reaſoners with an argument againſt the diſcovery of them. That fact, however, is one of the beſt-atteſted in hiſtory. And problematical arguments can never impeach its credit. Several ſkeletons have been alſo diſcovered in theſe iſlands, that were human and larger than this. One was found in the church-yard of Wootton in Surry, nine feet and three inches in length (Aubrey's Surry vol. iv. p. 145). Another was diſcovered about 1762 in Ireland, near Foreſt in Dublin county, almoſt nine feet high, the tibia being twenty inches long, and the bones of the greater toe two (Ware's Ireland, Harris, p. 150). And a

third

Sect. IV. third is described by the famous anatomist Cheselden, as found near a Roman urn at St. Alban's; and the circumference of the scull was twenty-six inches in length and twenty-three in breadth, the left thigh bone twenty-four long, the right twenty-three, and the tibia twenty-one (Phil. Trans. for 1711 and 1712 p. 436).

It has been also objected, and with more acuteness, that the mention of the place of sepulture in the inscription is a mark of its spuriousness. But this suggestion is really of as little weight as the other. Such a notice may be uncommon. But it is not unnatural. We actually find it in some indubitably Roman inscriptions among us. And we have an altar, particularly, found at Bremenium or Riechester in Northumberland, which very usefully for the antiquarian, however unnecessarily (as it may seem) in itself, carries the actual appellation of Bremenium upon it (Horseley's North. N°. 95). We may also remark, that there was a striking reason for specifying the place in the sepulchral inscription, which did not subsist in the case of the altar. The latter was intended for immediate use, and would always be visible and present. But, as the former was placed on the lower face of the grave-stone, and even turned inwards upon that, it was plainly designed only for the instruction of posterity.—And, indeed, every circumstance concurs to prove the whole genuine. From all the particulars in the narrative above, and their exact coincidence with the state of the nation and the manners of the times, it is very evident, that such a forgery as this could not possibly be executed in the low condition of historical and antiquarian knowledge amongst us at the time of the discovery. It was not even known till fifteen or sixteen years ago, till the collections of Richard were published, that Glastonbury was even a Roman town. And, as I have hinted above, Giraldus's account is so plain, pointed, and specifick, that we must give up all historical credibility if we reject its testimony.

Arthur's remains are said by this author to have been buried originally sixteen feet in depth, for fear of the Saxons. But,

as I have shewn the absurdity of supposing such a fear; so common sense, and the similar instance of Pabo's grave-stone, prove the facts to have been as I have represented them.— Sect. IV.

[10] Giraldus in Price p. 133 and in Usher p. 64.—[11] Leland p. 55 from the archives of Glastonbury.

Leland saw the cross, and naturally viewed and handled it with great satisfaction; quam et ego curiosissimis contemplatus sum oculis, et solicitis contrectavi articulis, motus et antiquitate rei et dignitate (p. 45). And Camden has even preserved it for ever, by giving us a draught of it and the inscription, taken from an authenticated copy formerly kept in the monastery (p. 166), and here presented to the reader. Barbarum quiddam, says he, et quasi Gothicum præ se ferunt literæ, et ejus ætatis barbariem planè loquuntur, quæ adeò fatalibus tenebris involuta erat, ut nemo fuerit cujus scriptis Arthuri nomen celebraretur; *materies proculdubiò doctissimi viri facultate et copiâ digna, qui tantum principem celebrando propriam etiam ingenii laudem consecutus fuisset.* The heads of Arthur and his queen were also taken out of the tomb by the order of Edward the first, and even down to the Reformation shewn with the leaden cross, as a kind of holy relicks, to the historical pilgrims that repaired to the monastery (Collect. vol. v. p. 55 and 9-10); a fond degree of zeal in the monks and their votaries, that the historian will readily pardon; since the merit of Arthur, in the eye of religion and of truth, was much greater probably than that of half the saints in the monastick calendar.

CHA

CHAP. III.

THE NEW INVASIONS MADE BY THE SAXONS — AND THE SUCCESSES OF THEIR ARMS TO THE REDUCTION OF MANCHESTER.

I.

THE great importance of Arthur to the political interests of the Provinces, was remarkably evinced by the conduct of the Saxons immediately after his decease, and the condition of the Britons within a few years from it. For seventy years preceding the victory at Mount Badon, fresh reinforcements of troops had been continually landed from the continent[1]. And not a single one arrived in the long series of twenty-two, that intervened betwixt the victory and his death. Whilst the conquerour of the Angles, and the defeater of the West-Saxons, was alive; and, for fear of him, the monarchs of the three colonies dared not attempt any extension of their dominions to the north; the condition of the island held out no temptation to adventurers from Germany. But this happy scene of things was entirely reversed by his demise. The hero had not been deceased five years, when a grand descent was made in the north. He had not been buried ten, when a great blow was struck in the south. And, in less than forty after his death, even a full half of the kingdom had been for ever reduced by the Saxons[2].

The first remarkable incident, that pointed out the real loss of the Britons and the revived activity of their enemy, was a new invasion by a numerous army of adventurers from the continent. Ida, a nobleman among the Angles, embarked a

body of his adherents on a fleet of sixty transports[3]. And it was the most formidable armament, that the Saxons had ever equipped against the provinces of Britain. Cerdic invaded Hampshire with the crews only of five vessels, and beat off the assembled Britons that opposed his landing[4]. Ælla disembarked on the shore of Sussex the complement merely of three; and Huntingdon calls it a fleet very well provided with troops, and his forces defeated all the collected power of the coast[5]. And Port anchored only with two on the shore of Hampshire, and yet routed all the united troops of the neighbouring Britons[6]. Arthur died in 542; and Ida embarked his men very early in 547[7].

Sect. I.

The latter was one of the greatest heroes that the annals of barbarism have produced. The tenth in descent from Woden, he was more illustrious by his actions than his birth. Unstained in his morals, and humane in his sentiments, he had gained the highest honour on the continent by his military conduct. Esteemed invincible in war, and now in the full vigour of his age[8], he was induced to meditate a descent upon Britain. And he had the resolution to direct his design, not against the countries on the southern or south-western shore, where he might occasionally be supported by his countrymen; but even against the inhabitants of the north-east, where the remoteness of the region precluded all possibility of assistance. The design, however, was as prudent as it was bold. In Valentia, he knew, were considerable numbers of the Angles, who were the captive relicks of the former war, and would join him immediately on his landing[9].

In this resolution, accompanied by his father and attended by his sons, he put to sea, the mighty founder of the Northumbrian empire; but seems to have overshot his port, and gained the high land of Flamborough in Yorkshire[10]. There, in the country of the Brigantian Parisi or Gabrantuici, he disembarked his large army. And he immediately directed his operations to the north[11].

Sect. I.

The Brigantes would be thrown into the greatest consternation by this un-expected and formidable invasion. And they seem to have instantly submitted. Ida advanced to the north, and attacked the Ottadini[12]. Dutigern, their monarch (as the name of Tighearna or Tigerne implies), marched out into the field to engage him[13]. And many battles were fought betwixt them[14]. Dutigern obtained great glory by his conduct[15]. But the Saxons were victorious. The Ottadini were subdued before the advance of winter. And Ida assumed the appellation of their monarch before the end of the year[16]. Bremenium, or Riechester in Northumberland, was previously the capital of that extensive principality[17]. But this first Saxon sovereign of Ottadinia erected a strong castle, for his own residence and the new metropolis, near Sunderland in the same county; surrounding it at first with a bank of earth, and afterwards encircling it with a wall of stone[18]. And the Britons descriptively denominated it Din-guayrh Guarth Berneich, the war-town or castle, the fortress or capital fortress of the Ottadini; and the Saxons afterwards denominated it more simply, from the wife of a succeeding monarch, Bebban-burgh or Bamborough[19].

But, while Ida was prosecuting his rapid conquests to the frith of Forth[20], the Brigantes recovered from their consternation, renounced their submission, and applied to their western neighbours for assistance. A body of troops marched over the hills to assist them. And they were commanded by Urien Reged, a chief that assumed the latter half of his appellation, not strictly (as Mr. Lhuyd intimates[21]) from the name of his principality, but (as I have shewn to have been the custom among the Britons of these and the preceding ages) from the denomination of his capital. He was Y Rian Reged, the monarch of Reged or Rigod-dunum, and the sovereign of the Sistuntii. He was a hero bred up in the military court of Arthur, and enrolled among his favourite warriours[22]. And he has had the honour to be celebrated in the poems of Taliessin, and lamented in the strains of Llomarch[23]. At the head of

his own Sistuntii, and joined by the more northerly Britons[24], this gallant son of Conmarch and grandson of Marcian, the descendant probably from the old line of our Lancashire sovereigns, would bring up a considerable body of auxiliaries to the Brigantes. And superiour to the monarchs of the north in every military quality[25], he was raised to the command of the combined army of the Britons[26]. He took the field, like Ida, attended by his gallant sons to war[27]: and Owen, Pasgen, and Elphin signalized their behaviour under him[28]. Ida and Urien were two heroes of a kindred spirit, and worthy to be rivals and antagonists.

The former re-passed the wall of Severus, and entered again the country of the Brigantes. And the latter encountered him in several battles. One of them was fought upon the Livon, a river in the North-riding of Yorkshire, that issues into the Tees near Yarum[29]. Another was maintained on the Sawel or Swale. And a third was held at the wood of Llwyvein, or near the present Leeming-lane betwixt Catarick and Aldborough[30]. These and many others were fought in the course of several campaigns[31]. But the fortune of war inclined particularly to one side. And all the valour, and all the conduct, of Urien could not prevent the Saxons from extending their conquests.

At this period the son of Cerdic, as gallant as that hero and as prudent, taking advantage of Arthur's death and the northern invasion, resolved to pursue his father's steps, and re-enter the country from which he had been driven by Arthur. He fell into Wiltshire in 552[32], marched over the downs, and threatened Sorbiodunum or Old Sarum. An army of Britons interposed to save it. The forces were routed. And the south of the county submitted. He pushed into the north, gradually won his way through a long opposition, and in 556 presented himself before Beranbyrig, or Barbury Castle near Marlborough[33]. This was within four or five miles from Badbury, the scene of Cerdic's great defeat; being, like that, a large encampment of the Belgæ or Romans, seated upon the

Sect. I. fame ridge of hills, and equally garrifoned by the Britons[33]. But the fon encountered not the misfortunes of the father. He was oppofed by no Arthur. And he defeated the Britons, and compleated the reduction of the Proper Belgæ[34]. In this diftrefs of the fouthern Provincials, no fuccours could be detached to Urien. Left to engage the Saxons with his own forces, and in all probability overpowered by numbers, he ftill continued formidable to Ida, and ftill checked the current of his conquefts. That officer, however, gained greatly on the Brigantian territories, and flowly opened his way towards the capital. The Bifhoprick was fubdued. The North-riding was reduced. And the arms of the Saxons were carried fuccefsfully to the fouth[35].

Thus, before 560[36], were their dominions here extended betwixt the hills and the fea, and continued from the Forth to the Humber. And from this period the northern Saxons were diftinguifhed, among their brethren, by the general appellation of Northumbrians. The open fea, which fkirted the eaftern border of their conquefts, had been previoufly called, and was to this hour denominated, the Chumber, Humber, or Britifh, ocean[37]. And the name had been equally applied by the Britons lately to the great æftuary, that divided the Coritani from the Brigantes, which is the outlet into the fea for all the neighbouring rivers of the ifland, and was formerly denominated by them Abus or water. It had recently obtained the appellation of the ocean of which it is fo confiderable an arm, and was equally denominated with it the Chumber or Humber[38]. And that part of the Ottadinian territories, which is bounded by the Tine and Tweed, containing at this period the capital of the Northumbrian kingdom; it naturally acquired, and to the prefent day retains, the once national appellation of Northumberland.

[1] Detachments landed in 449 (Gildas c. 23 and Nennius c. 36 and 37), about 455 (Nennius c. 45 and 46), in 465 (Sax. Chron.

and

and Huntingdon f. 179), 477 (Sax. Chron.), 490 (Hunting-don f. 179), 495 (Sax. Chron.), 501 (Sax. Chron.), and 514 (ibid.); besides the many probably whose arrival has not been noticed. Many such came, as appears from Nennius c. 64.—[2] Huntingdon makes the kingdoms of the East-Angles and Mercians to begin about 527 (f. 180). But Malmesbury founds those of the East-Angles and East-Saxons before that of the West Saxons and the year 519 (f. 18). And both are wrong, I think. None of these conquests could have been made above twenty or thirty years at the farthest, before the commanders assumed the title of kings. And the general of the East-Angles assumed it in 575, that of the East-Saxons about 580, and that of the Mercians in 582 (see Carte p. 206 and the Genealogies p. 208). And see B. II. ch. iv. f. 1.—[3] Wallingford p. 526. Gale.—[4] Malmesbury f. 5.—[5] Huntingdon f. 179.—[6] Ibid.—[7] Sax. Chron.—[8] Malmesbury f. 8.—[9] Malmesbury f. 4, Deinceps assiderunt.—[10] Wallingford p. 526 and M. Westm. p. 101.—[11] Wallingford ibid.—[12] Nennius c. 64, Iberneich.—[13] Nennius p. 116.—[14] Huntingdon f. 180.—[15] Nennius p. 116.—[16] Nennius c. 64 and Sax. Chron. in 547.—[17] Richard p. 28.—[18] Sax. Chron. ibid.—[19] Din-Guirin and Gur-birneth in Nennius c. 65, and Dinguo Aroy for Din-Guoaroy in Appendix 1st, are both evident corruptions of Din-Guayrh Guarth Berneth, used equally in the latter. And see Nennius p. 117 compared with Sax. Chron.—[20] Brompton c. 779.—[21] Lhuyd p. 259.—[22] Price p. 123.—[23] Lhuyd p. 259 and 264.—[24] Llomarch, a nobleman of Cumbria, had several sons engaged, Lhuyd p. 259.—[25] Nennius c. 65.—[26] Evans p. 21 and Nennius p. 117.—[27] Nennius ibid.—[28] Lhuyd p. 260 and Æræ Cambro-Britannicæ p. 145.—[29] Lhuyd p. 259.—[30] Evans p. 21. This poem of Taliessin is called by him Gwayth ar goed Llwyvein, the battle of the wood of Leeming. The forest at that time extended a considerable way, as near ten miles from the village of Leeming is Leeming-lane, one of the finest pieces of a Roman road in Europe. And near the southern end of this was the scene of the battle probably, at the village of Wath,

Wath, so denominated from the British Gwaith a battle; this word being sometimes written Waith, as in Taliessin's Waith Vaddon the battle of Badon (Price p. 120), and both being the same with the Irish Cath a battle.—[31] Huntingdon f. 180, Semper armatus et laboriosus.—[32] Sax. Chron.—[33] See Itin. Cur. p. 132.—[34] Sax. Chron.—[35] Brompton c. 779, A flumine Humbræ usque ad mare Scotiæ, and Nennius c. 65, Quæ duæ regiones (in Ida's life-time) fuerunt in unâ regione, id est, Denraberneth [Deira et Berneth], Anglicè, Deira et Bernicia.—[36] Sax. Chron.—[37] Nennius p. 116 and c. 65, Umbri and Humbri maris. And Claudian equally shews the German ocean to have been called the Cumbrian sea,

——Te *Cimbrica Tethys*
Divisum bifido consumit, Rhene, meatu.

De Bello Get. l. 335.—[38] See Carte p. 17 a note.

II.

THE whole body of the Brigantes was not yet reduced. That division of their dominions, which bordered on the Penine Alps and Lancashire, still remained un-conquered[1]. The war was therefore continued. And in one engagement, which was held upon the Vorlas, the stream perhaps that was denominated equally Verbeia, Wherf, and Wherle, giving even at this day the appellation of Wherle-dale to the long valley, through which it courses from its rise to its conclusion; Guen, the favourite son of Llomarch, was killed by the Saxons[2]. And in another, which was fought in 560, the army of the Saxons seems to have been vigorously pressed by the Britons, and Ida was actually slain by the gallant Owen[3].

This was an incident very favourable to the interests of the north. It delivered the Britons from a prince, whose activity made him truly formidable, while his experience rendered him almost

almost irresistible. It introduced a weakening division of the Northumbrian possessions into two kingdoms. And it even set the one in a necessary hostility against the other. The scepter of the Brigantes was wrenched from the monarch of the Ottadini, by the rude hand of private usurpation. And the new conquests were erected into a distinct kingdom. Ælla, equally with Ida a descendant from Woden, but in a different line; and the sixth in descent from Soemil, who had reduced the Ottadini and Brigantes in the last century; was a principal officer assuredly in the army of Ida[3]. The sons of the latter seem to have been absent from the troops at the death of their father, and the command of them probably devolved upon Ælla. He took advantage of the event. He gained over the forces to his party. And he seized all the country from the Humber to the Tyne[4].

The dominions of the Northumbrians were now broken into two principalities. Ælla was the sovereign of the one; and Adda, the son of Ida, the monarch of the other[5]. And these were distinguished by the appellations of Bernicia and Deira; the former title denoting Ottadinia, and the latter denominating Brigantia[5]. The latter was afterwards extended with the conquests of the Angles, and communicated to the natives of Lancashire and the citizens of Manchester. And both are British. The countries appear distinguished by the appellations, before the Saxons reduced them in the preceding century[6]. And they appear equally distinguished by them, before the Saxons re-conquered them at present[7]. The Ottadinian and Brigantian territories are mentioned under these titles by Aneurin, a British bard who lived about 510[8], by Nennius about 547[9], and by his enlarger about 560[10]. And, upon an event of great unhappiness to the Britons of the north, Llomarch laments the impending ruin of Bernicia and Reged[11]. The genuine names of the principalities were Bryn-ech, Bernet, or Bern-ech, and Deivr, Deur, or Deir[12]. And the meaning of them seems utterly to have foiled all the

powers

Sect. II. powers of etymology and criticiſm. But this account perhaps may explain them.

Many of the Britiſh tribes naturally aſſumed their appellations from the circumſtances of their original and primitive poſition, and as naturally retained them afterwards, when thoſe circumſtances and that poſition were entirely altered. Thus the Britons of Weſt-Cheſhire adopted the very appoſite denomination of Carnabii, when they lived along the ſea-coaſt of that country; but carried it afterwards with their arms into the interiour parts of Flavia. The Dobuni alſo were properly denominated Lowlanders, when they reſided in "the bottoms," as all the ſouth of Glouceſterſhire is popularly called to the preſent period; but afterwards extended their dominions, and diffuſed their name, over the hilly country to the north and eaſt of them. And the Damnii of Valentia, the Damnonii of Britannia Prima, and the Dimetæ of Britannia Secunda, all equally derived their appellations from the ſame characteriſtick, but unknown, circumſtances in their original ſituation; the names being all three exactly ſimilar to Dobuni, and only diſguiſed by the innumerable flexions in the Britiſh language. Damn or Dyvn, and Dim or Dyv, equally ſignify the valley, and form Damn-on or Dyvn-on, Dim-et or Dyv-od, in the plural. And exactly in the ſame manner, therefore, did the Deiv-r or Deiv-uir, the men of the Dyvn, Dyv, or valley; and the Bryn-ech, Bern-et, or Bern-ech, the men of the Bren, Bern, or hill; equally receive their reſpective denominations. In the original poſition of both, the former, like the Damnii, Damnonii, Dimetæ, and Dobuni, inhabited the valleys, the lower grounds aſſuredly that range about the antient metropolis of the Brigantes, Iſurium or Aldborough"; and the latter, like the Albanii of Veſpaſiana and the preſent Alban-ech of the Highlands, equally poſſeſſed the hills, the high and dreary mountains which ſkirt Bremenium or Riecheſter their capital. And both retained their denominations, when they had extended their dominions from the Humber to the Tyne, and had even advanced their poſſeſſions from the Tyne to the Forth.

Such

Such was the primary occasion of these appellations. The same origin of the same names among the other tribes shews it. And the meaning of Ottadini, exactly correspondent with that of Bern-ech, very strongly confirms it. As the latter denomination signifies the highlanders, so the former imports the mountaineers. And the word Otta-dini is formed like the name Atta-cotti; the one meaning the people within the woods, and the other the tribe among the hills. The Britons of Northumberland, like the Belgæ of Dorsetshire, carried a couple of names exactly of the same signification; those being called Bern-ech and Otta-dini, and these Durotriges and Morini [14]. And the Brigantes, retaining the general appellation of all the Britons, obtained the particular one of Dyv-iri. The Bernicii were more commonly called Ottadini, and the Deiri more popularly denominated Brigantes, among the primitive Britons; as the Morini bore generally the name of Durotriges, and the Rhemi retained ordinarily the appellation of Bibroces [15].

The new monarch of Deira, in order to guard his usurped dominions the better against the attempts of Bernicia, instantly concluded a treaty with the Britons [16]. By this expedient he secured the enjoyment of peace to himself, and diverted the whole current of the war against his antagonist. And Urien took off one powerful enemy, while he attacked and destroyed the other. The Britons were now at liberty to prosecute the war against the Bernicians, greatly weakened as the latter were by the revolt of their Yorkshire army. And the Bernicians were too fully employed by the warriours of Britain, to meditate any schemes of hostility against their brethren of Deira. Urien carried the war into Northumberland. Various battles were fought with various success [17]. And the tide of victory finally set against the Saxons. They were unable to resist. They gave way on every side. And Urien pushed them from post to post, and chaced them towards their new metropolis. Defeated probably in some bloody engagement near it, they fled

Sect. II. in great confusion into Holy Island. Urien followed them close, and instantly besieged them in it[18].

Blocked up as the army of the Saxons was in a small angle of the shore, that is only an island at the tide of flood, and in which therefore they were exposed to an attack across the sands; the kingdom of Bernicia appeared to approach the closing hour of its existence. A few days more will probably behold its fall. And Urien, like another Arthur or an angel of destruction, is ready to seal its destiny. Three days and three nights has the siege lasted[19]. And Urien perhaps, in his own mind, has already fixed the period of the Saxon sovereignty. But, in the moment probably of the decisive stroke, the victorious prince, the hero of the northern Britons, the conquerour of the northern Saxons, and the glory of Lancashire, falls basely by the hands of assassins. Morcant, an officer of the first character under him, but fired with jealousy at his superiour merit, is the infamous wretch that directs the blow[20]. The army breaks up in confusion. Bernicia is soon lost. And the ruin of Manchester approaches[21].

Ælla had remained an inactive spectator of the war. His usurpation gradually lost its novelty, and his dominions acquired additional strength. His Saxons and Britons became better reconciled and more intimately connected; and the internal vigour of his kingdom was greatly augmented by it[22]. And on the death of Ælla in 588, the crown descending to his infant son Edwin, Ethelfrid, the monarch of the Bernicians, asserted his just claim to the kingdom, and re-annexed Deira to his patrimony[23]. The whole power of the northern Saxons was now collected into one point, and instantly called out into action by the monarch. Cool, spirited, and resolute, he carried the war into the neighbouring regions of the south. And all the country, as far as the borders of the Iceni, was entirely subdued[24]. From Derbyshire probably, a part of his new conquests, he invaded the Carnabii of Cheshire, and advanced up to the town of Deva. A British army encountered him. It was rout-

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ed. And this colony of Roman legionaries, and all the county, were immediately reduced by the Saxons [25].

The Britons of Lancashire were now skirted closely on two sides by the victorious Angles. And the Mancunians became exposed to an immediate invasion from them. They were only separated, on the east, by the lofty crests of the Penine Alps and the hills of the West-riding beyond. In these mountains, secured by those behind, guarded by the Wherf before, and protected by the wild woods about them, the proper Brigantes retained the last remains of their extensive dominions, and preserved a faint image of their antient monarchy [26]. Their sovereign, however, kept up a bold face of opposition against the Saxons. And their country served as an additional barrier to Manchester on the eastern quarter. But, on the south and south-east, the enemy was nearer and the barrier weaker. And the Mancunians had only the streams of the Mersey and Tame, their own courage, and the inactivity and timorousness that generally reign in the remote and recently conquered parts of an empire, to guard them from any attempts of the enemy. To this critical situation were they reduced in 593 [27]. And in this did they continue till 620.

Edwin, the late infant king of the Deiri, vindicating his claim to the throne of his father, and assisted by the sovereign of the East-Angles, entered the dominions of Ethelfrid in 617, routed the army, slew the monarch, and took possession of the whole kingdom of Northumbria [28]. And there he was soon attacked by Cadwallaun, the sovereign of the Ordovices, and a member of Arthur's military order [29]. Supported assuredly by a considerable army, Cadwallaun crossed the plains of Cheshire, and joined the Sistuntii. Reinforced undoubtedly with considerable succours, he then passed the hills and fell into Deira. Edwin was surprised by the invasion. And he found himself unable to oppose it. The Ordovices and Sistuntii penetrated very far into the country, and were every where joined in all probability by the subject Brigantes. They even broke into Bernicia, and advanced as far as Widrington in

Sect. II. Northumberland. But there they were engaged by the assembled army of Edwin. They were absolutely defeated. They were chased out of the country[30].

Edwin resolved to follow them, and carry the war into the heart of the Ordovician dominions. And the fate of Britain had already been decided for ever. The greatest Part of Britannia Prima was reduced by the Saxons. Very nearly the whole of Flavia had submitted to them. And the full half of Maxima and Valentia stooped to their authority[31]. The Mancunians were yet free. But the hour of their subjection very hastily approached. Edwin advanced, meditating the conquest of the southern Sistuntii, and carrying the fate of Manchester on his sword.

In the year 620[32] he began his march. He first attacked the un-subdued Brigantes of the West-riding. And the forest of Elmet could no longer protect the small empire within it. Certec was deprived of his sovereignty, and the country was reduced[33]. Edwin then crossed the cliffs of the Lancashire Alps, and entered the parish of Manchester.

No less than two hundred and twenty-six years had now passed away, since the Romans relinquished the town and station on the Medlock; and a hundred and seventy-four since they deserted the island. And the Mancunians had hitherto maintained their liberty with success. They were now called upon to defend it against the whole power of the Northumbrian empire, and a prince uncommonly active, determined, and wise; when they were harrassed out with the long and exhausting wars of the north, and three fourths of the kingdom had been already enslaved by the Saxons. They could no longer defend it. They stooped to the necessity. They submitted.

Thus were our forefathers of Manchester again subdued by the invading Angles. But they were subdued by a king, who was perhaps the greatest of all the Saxons that had hitherto reigned in the north, and certainly the most powerful monarch that resided now in the island[34]. The town fell for ever under the extended dominion of the Saxons. And with it fell

fell all the south of Lancashire probably, and certainly the territories of Elmet, the isles of Anglesey and Man, and the principality of North-Wales[35]. Manchester was reduced by Edwin in 620, twenty-seven years after the Romans of Chester had been mastered by Ethelfrid; forty-three after those of Bath and Gloucester, and the Britons of Cirencester, had equally submitted to Ceaulin; and a hundred and sixty-five, after Rome herself had been given up to the unbridled ravages of a Genseric.

Sect. II.

[1] Nennius p. 117, Elmet.—[2] Lhuyd from Llomarch p. 259, Carte p. 209 from Taliessin, and Sax. Chron.—[3] Malmesbury f. 8, and Nennius p. 116 and 117.—[4] Sax. Chron., Malmesbury f. 8, M. Westm. p. 102, and Florence of Worcester p. 552 and 554.—[5] Malmesbury f. 9, Westm. and Florence ibid., and Nennius p. 117.—[6] Nennius p. 116, Ipse primus superavit Deur Oberneich.—[7] Nennius c. 64 and 65.—[8] Evans p. 70, see the original, as the translation has strangely omitted the names; and p. 71, where the Deiri are as strangely substituted in the translation for Bernicii in the original: and Lhuyd p. 254.—[9] C. 64.—[10] C. 65.—[11] Lhuyd p. 259.—[12] Nennius C. 65 and Aneurin and Llomarch ibid. Deivr is changed into Deur, as Dobuni is altered into Dubni and Duni, in the varied appellation of the Cogidubnus of Tacitus and the Cogidunus of the Chichester inscription; and as Devil is provincially pronounced Deul and Deel, Even een, Ever ere, Oven oon, Seven-night sennight, &c. &c.—[13] So the vallies of the Dobuni were about their capital Corinium or Cirencester.—[14] Richard p. 19.—[15] Richard p. 18. So also Parisi and Gabrantuici are two names in Ptolemy for the one body of the Brigantian herdsmen.—[16] Urien fought not against Ælla the monarch of Deira, but against Adda, Æddric, Deodric, and Friodolguald, all four successively sovereigns of Bernicia (Nennius p. 117).—[17] Nennius ibid.—[18] Ibid.—[19] Ibid.—[20] Nennius p. 117. The villains that struck the blow were Britons and soldiers in the army of Urien, Dyvn-

Sect. II. Dyvnwall the son of Menedwg, and Lovan Llowdino (Carte p. 213 from the Triades).—[21] Llomarch and Lhuyd p. 259, and the sequel.—[22] Malmesbury f. 8, Nobiliter ampliavit.—[23] Sax. Chron., Malmesbury f. 8, Florence p. 554, and Nennius p. 117.—[24] Malmesbury f. 8. And Bede's character of this king asserts him to have made great conquests of the British dominions: Rex fortissimus—plus omnibus Anglorum primatibus gentem vastavit Britonum;—nemo enim in tribunis, nemo in regibus plures eorum terras, exterminatis vel subjugatis indigenis, aut tributarias genti Anglorum aut habitabiles fecit (lib. i. c. 34).

The dominions of Ethelfrid now reached up to the country of the Iceni or East-Angles, as appears from his threat instantly to invade the dominions of that people, and from the immediate invasion of his by them (lib. ii. c. 12). They entered his country, surprized him, forced him to fight them with a small army, he not having time to collect a large one, and yet routed him in Nottinghamshire (ibid.). And Lincolnshire, another county to the south of the Humber, was equally a part of these conquests; in the time of his successor Edwin, Paulinus preaching and baptizing, præsente rege Æduino, on the banks of the Trent near Tiovulfingacæstir (lib. ii. c. 16). Nor can this Chester or stationary town be what it is generally supposed, Southwell. It is declared to be some town in provinciâ Lindissi or Lincolnshire, and was probably therefore Gainsborough; which is pretty certainly Roman (see Camden c. 572), and seated about the same distance from Segelocum or Littleborough as Stretley or Tamesis from Wallingford or Calleva Attrebatum. And the position of it agrees exactly with Bede's account. See also the next chapter, s. 1.

[25] Bede lib. ii. c. 2, and Higden's Polychronicon p. 200, Gale, Contrivit.—[26] Nennius p. 117. See also Bede lib. ii. c. 14, and the note. And this district of Elmet appears in Gale tom. I. p. 748 to have been some ages afterward no less than six hundred hides in extent.—[27] See Carte p. 218.—[28] Bede lib. ii. c. 12 and Sax. Chron.—[29] Mona p. 149 and Price p. 123.—[30] Carte

p. 226

p. 226 from the Triades.—[31] Sax. Chron.—[32] Carte p. 210.—[33] Nennius p. 117.—[34] Malmesbury f. 9, and Bede lib. ii. c. 9.—[35]

[35] Bede l. ii. c. 9, and Carte p. 226 from the Triades. Nemo Anglorum (says Bede) ante Edwinum omnes Britanniæ fines, —quà vel ipsorum vel Britonum provinciæ habitant, sub ditione acceperit. Quin et Mevanias insulas—imperio subjugavit Anglorum.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

THE SAXON GEOGRAPHY OF THE ISLAND — AND THE IMMEDIATE EFFECTS OF THE SAXON SETTLEMENTS IN IT AND AT MANCHESTER.

I.

THE Proper Saxons were exactly under the ſame political regimen on the continent, as the collective body of the Britons originally was in the iſland. And the nation was compoſed of an aſſociation of clans, not united by any general government. Theſe, like the Britiſh tribes, were ruled by their reſpective principals; and each formed in itſelf the model of a little monarchy. And the lords of the clans, like the monarchs of the tribes, were all equal in authority, and acknowledged no ſuperiour in peace. Such a central principle of unity was required only in the moments of war. And, upon any occaſional alarm, the heads of theſe political families convened, and appointed a military ſovereign. But they did not refer the nomination of the monarch to the arbitration of reaſon and the deciſion of votes. They reſigned it entirely to the direction of chance. The lot was thrown. Each chief was equally intereſted in the determination. And the perſon appointed was inveſted with all the authority of the ſtate. But the power, which was thus delegated to a chief by the hand of fortune, was not ſuffered to remain with him for life, and to be tranſmitted to his heir at death. It was regularly reſumed at the termination of the war. And the nation was again reduced into a body of independent clans, and again governed by a number of independent chieftains[a].

When

When the Saxons, and their neighbours the Angles and Jutes, who were as much governed by the same polity probably as they were confounded in the same appellation[a], relinquished the barren wilds of Germany for the cultivated plains of Britain, they came over in separate clans, and formed themselves into separate dynasties. The original father of the family became also the military commandant of other families, that embarked in his interest and engaged under his standard. And, as soon as he had made any considerable acquisition in the island, he assumed the title of king, and became the sovereign of both. Thus Cerdic originally landed with a body of Jutes, selected assuredly from his own clan, and was afterwards recruited with his many reinforcements from it; as he peopled all his conquests with Jutes[b]. But Kenric, his son, received his additional supplies from the Proper Saxons, many clans of that people submitting themselves to his authority, and being afterwards planted by him in his territories[c]. And so several distinct and independent kingdoms were erected by the Saxons in the Provinces. The exteriour face of South-Britain was greatly altered, and the island assumed a new and very different appearance. Of the thirty states which originally existed in the Roman part of it, only six or seven remained un-conquered at the close of the seventh century. And seven kingdoms of the Saxons were formed out of the ruins of the rest.

Their first empire in Britain was founded on the fallen monarchy of the Belgick Cantii. It was entirely peopled with Jutes. And it properly commenced in 449. In that year the Saxons made their first conquest in the country, and were never dislodged from it afterwards by the Britons. The whole circuit of Kent was reduced. The kingdom of the Jutes became commensurate in extent with the state of the Cantii. And, as it received no additions from the contiguous territories of the Regni or Trinovantes, so it adopted the old metropolis for its own, Durovernum, Cantiopolis, or Canterbury[d].

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Closely adjoining to these on the west, and divided from them by the Lemanus or Rother only, was a kingdom of the Proper Saxons. And this in a later period of time, when the countries lying immediately to the north of it were possessed by their brethren of Proper Saxony, was aptly denominated the tribe of the Southern, as another was called the nation of the Eastern, and a third the people of the Western, Saxons. The South-Saxon kingdom properly began on Ælla's first conquest of the shore of Sussex in 477[5]. And it was gradually enlarged through a busy series of thirteen years afterward[6]. It finally comprehended all the country, that I have previously supposed the Regni to have inhabited before the invasion of Divitiacus, and which now composes the county of Sussex. And the original capital of the Regni, Regnum or Chichester, became the metropolis of the Southern Saxons[7].

On the other side of the Cantii, and beyond the current of the Thames, was the kingdom of the East-Saxons. And these landed on the coast of Essex about 550, took possession of Essex and Middlesex, and compleated the conquest of the Trinovantes. And then they pushed into the country of the Cassii, reduced the Roman municipium of Verulam before 564[8], and extended their conquests to the river Lea[9]. Such were the acquisitions of the Eastern Saxons from the Britons. And they were all subjected, like the kingdom of the Trinovantes before, to the supremacy of the Roman Augusta, the colony of Roman legionaries, and the present city of London[10].

Immediately to the north of these was a kingdom of the Angles, and the people were denominated the nation of the Eastern Angles. And they landed in Britain about the same time probably with the East-Saxons, and began the reduction of the Proper Iceni. Norfolk submitted. Suffolk was overrun. Cambridgeshire was conquered. And the north of Hertfordshire to the Lea, and of Bedfordshire to the Ouse, were reduced[11]. This was the extent of their conquests over the Britons[12]. Nearly the whole of the Icenian, and another

fragment

fragment of the Cassian, territories were molded together into the kingdom of the East-Angles. And Caster, the royal town of the Iceni, or Norwich, which shot up afterwards in the vicinity of it, was appointed the capital of the whole[13].

Directly to the west of the Southern Saxons landed Cerdic in 495, and began the monarchy of Wessex[14]. He gradually conquered the country, and in 519 had rent Hampshire from the dominions of the Proper Belgæ[15]. But dislodged by the glorious Arthur from Wiltshire with a great slaughter, and recovered from his defeat by the repose of seven years, he invaded the isle of Wight in 527, and spent three years in reducing it[16]. To these was added Wiltshire in 556, and Surry, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and the south of Bedfordshire to the Ouse, before or during 571[17]. The south of Gloucestershire and the north of Somersetshire fell in 577, the remainder of that in 584, and the rest of this in 658[18]. Dorsetshire submitted in 614[19]. Devonshire was gained about 750[20]. And Cornwall and Monmouthshire were reduced afterward[21]. Thus was a formidable monarchy gradually raised on the states of the Belgick and native Britons, the Regni, Proper Belgæ, Segontiaci, Bibroces, and Attrebates, the Cassii, Ancalites, and Dobuni, the Durotriges, Hædui, Damnonii, Cimbri, and Carnabii. And as Winchester, the capital of the Proper Belgæ, would naturally become the metropolis of the Western Saxons in the days of Cerdic, when the kingdom comprized only Hampshire and the isle of Wight; so it continued the capital of all their extended dominions afterward[22].

The Mercians were Angles[23], and first landed, I suppose, like the Eastern Angles and Eastern Saxons, about the year 550. They disembarked probably on the shore of Lincolnshire and in the country of the Coritani. And they seem to have first founded their empire over the counties of Lincoln, Leicester, and Nottingham. The whole body of the Mercians received the appellation of the Middle or Mediterranean Angles, from their central situation in the island[24]. But the name was peculiarly retained by the Mercians of the two last counties[25];

Sect. I. Lincolnshire being very early annexed to Northumbria, and continuing so to the subversion of the Heptarchy. And spreading thence on every side, and their dominions at last extending to the shore of the Chumber or Humber and the bank of the Merscey or Mersey, they were sometimes denominated Southumbrians[26], but more generally Mercians[27]. All their acquisitions from the Britons included the adjoining counties of Leicester, Nottingham, and Lincoln, Huntingdon, Rutland, Northampton, Warwick, and Stafford, Derby, Shrewsbury, Hereford, and Worcester[28]. And a large kingdom was erected in Flavia and Britannia Secunda, comprehending the broken dominions of the Coritani, Carnabii, Huiccii, Iceni, and Silures; divided by the Trivona or Trent into the northern and southern Mercians[29]; and acknowledging Lindum Colonia or Lincoln at first, and perhaps Ratæ Coritanorum or Leicester afterwards, for its metropolis[30].

The Northumbrian monarchy began in 547, and consisted of all Ottadinia, and nearly all Brigantia, before 560. And the British tribes, that ranged along the western shore of Maxima and Valentia, parallel with and opposed to the Saxons of Bernicia and Deira, seem to have all formed alliances for their mutual safety, and to have associated into three empires. The Sistuntii and Volantii combined against the Saxons, as they seem to have previously done against the Brigantes and Romans; and distinguished themselves by the common appellation of Cimbri or Cumbri. The Novantes and Selgovæ united under the general name of Galli or Walli. And the Gadeni and Damnii confederated together under the incorporating denomination of Britons or Strath-cluyd Britons. Thus Urien, the great monarch of Lancashire, was also the sovereign of Cumbria[31]; and Rydderch Hael, the king of the Volantii assuredly, succeeded him in the same sovereignty[32]. Wallwein also was the monarch of Galloway, at the same time with both[33]. And the kingdom of the Strath-cluyd Britons continued long after Galloway was reduced, and rose again after Cumbria was subdued, by the Saxons. The seats of these three empires seem to have been

been thus fixed, one in the country of the Volantii and at Volantium their capital, another at Whitern, the equal metropolis of the Novantes and Valentia probably, and the third at Alcluid certainly, a city on the construction of the wall necessarily taken away from the Attacotti, whose principal town it was, and consigned over to the Damnii[34]; and to have conferred upon the last its present appellation of Dun-Briton, and on the districts of the two others their present denominations of Cumberland and Galloway. And I have already shewn Northumberland to have been so denominated for a reason exactly similar to these.

But the kingdoms of Dunbriton and Whitern, not being guarded, like that of Cumberland, by a rampart of mountains on the east, seem to have united together for their common safety, and to have supplied the defects of nature by an artificial barrier. Alarmed probably by the inroads of the enemy from Northumberland and Lothian, and their successive encroachments on the dominions of the Selgovæ and Gadeni in Lidisdale and Tiviot-dale; they threw up that great and strong intrenchment for the protection of their common country, which is called Picts-work Ditch in some places and Cat-rail in others, the latter name being the original one, and signifying the military fence. This breast-work has been wildly attributed by the only antiquarian that has noticed it, the late Mr. Gordon, to the Caledonians who lived at a distance from it and even to the north of the Friths. And running in a north-eastern direction from Cannaby on the Esk near Cumberland to Gallow water, immediately beyond Selkirk, lined all the way on the west with forts, and even continuing itself by an additional chain of castles along the Gallow to the north; it was plainly designed as a barrier against an enemy that lay to the south and east of it. Such a direction and form cannot suit any other period of our history than the present. And this it suits compleatly, the Saxons being now possessed of Lothian and Northumberland, and the only enemy that ever was so. At its commencement on the Gallow it remains

Sect. I. mains very conſpicuous to this day, being two ramparts nine or ten feet high, and eight or ten broad, and a large foſſe about twenty-five in width. And it is ſtill more conſpicuous as it proceeds, the foſſe at Carriage-hill being very deep, and twenty-four and twenty-ſix feet broad, and the ramparts ſix or ſeven perpendicular and ten or twelve thick. Inferiour to the Roman walls in ſize and length, it is equally ſo in the ſtyle and manner of its execution; turning and winding very irregularly in its courſe, and having not much ſymmetry and proportion in its parts. But yet it was plainly made in imitation of the Roman works. It is compoſed, as Hadrian's and Antonine's were, of earth mingled with ſtones; and formed, like both, of two ramparts divided by a deep foſſe". It is alſo ſecured, like Hadrian's, Antonine's, and Severus's, by a train of forts along it; which are large and round, fortified with deep ditches and ſtrong ramparts, and ſome of them exceeding even the Roman in ſtrength. And, where it ends, it throws off, like Severus's, an appendage of forts, that range along the terminating water, and uſe its channel for a wall and a foſſe[26].

Of theſe kingdoms, that of Galloway was firſt reduced by the Saxons. Walwein, the nephew of Arthur, was the ſovereign of it at the time of the invaſion. And, not unworthy of his relation to the hero, he made the Saxons ſuffer ſeverely in their conqueſt. Ethelfrid muſt have been the invading monarch, the firſt from the days of Ida to thoſe of Edwin who could have attacked it, and the laſt that could have been cotemporary with a nephew of Arthur[27]. The reſt of Brigantia, and the ſouth of Siſtuntia, were ſubdued in 620. And the remainder of the Siſtuntii, all the Volantii, and all the Strath-cluyd Britons, were reduced by Egfrid about 670[28]. But on the bloody defeat of the Saxons and the death of Egfrid in battle, within the dominions of the Picts and in 685[29], the Strath-cluyd Britons boldly re-aſſerted their liberty, and ſucceſsfully revived their ſovereignty[30]. And they retained both till 756. In that year the Picts and Saxons combined againſt the laſt remains of the Provincials in the north, took their capital,

capital, and subdued their country[1]. And thus the whole extent of the two large provinces, Valentia and Maxima, was finally reduced by the Saxons. The former received the once local appellation of Bernicia, and the latter adopted the once confined denomination of Deira[2]. And the Roman municipium of York, the capital of Maxima under the Romans and of Brigantia under the first Saxon sovereigns of it, became now the metropolis of the whole[3].

[1] Bede l. v. c. 10.—[2] Cæsar says of the interiour œconomy in all the German states, In pace nullus est communis magistratus (p. 123).—[3] Bede l. i. c. 15. And Tacitus says of the Germans in general, Non casus nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiæ et propinquitates (c. 7).—[4] Mat. Westm. p. 103.—[5] Sax. Chron.—[6] Sax. Chron., Mat. Westm. p. 93, and Huntingdon f. 179.—[7] Westm. p. 104.—[8] Gildas c. 8.—Mr. Carte p. 215 cites "a very antient" book of Welsh laws from Humphrey Lhuyd, for the Saxons having taken London in 560. But neither the code nor its quoter mean what Mr. Carte has brought them to prove. And the former even appears to be much more modern, than Mr. Lhuyd or Mr. Carte apprehend it to be. When the Saxons had conquered Britain, it says, and acquired *the scepter of the realm and the crown of London*, then the Welsh met and chose Maelgwn Gwinedh for their dictator. And this, says Lhuyd, was *about* the year 560. But the words of the laws plainly import only the general reduction of the Provinces, and express it in a language, that shews the whole to have been written when London had been made the metropolis of England, and when it had even been the metropolis so long, that it was supposed to have been always the same. And consequently the passage was written after the reign of the Confessor, when London first became the capital of this kingdom by his settling at Westminster, and even one or two centuries after it.—For the same reason, the mention of the crown of London in a law of Howel Dha shews

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Mr. Hume has given us a very different etymon of Mercia. This kingdom (he ſays) "comprehended all the middle counties "of England, and as its frontiers extended to thoſe of all the "other ſix kingdoms, as well as to Wales, it received its name "from that circumſtance" (p. 48). But the derivation is founded on miſtakes in the geography. Mercia did not reach to the frontiers of all the other kingdoms. It extended not to thoſe of Eſſex. It came not up to thoſe of Kent. And it reached not to thoſe of Suſſex. Weſt-Saxony interpoſed between it and Eſſex, and ſtill more between Suſſex and it. And Weſt-Saxony and Eſſex interpoſed between it and Kent. But, even if it had reached to the frontiers of all the other kingdoms, the etymon would ſurely have been very ridiculous. With what propriety could a kingdom be denominated Marches, merely becauſe it was bounded by the marches of ſix other kingdoms? But etymology is not the province of Mr. Hume. He has ſomething more important to value himſelf upon.

[28] Malmeſbury f. 18, Brompton c. 801, and Florence p. 695.—[29] Bede l. iii. c. 24.—[30] Weſtm. p. 104.—[31] Lhuyd p.

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259 from the British bards.—[30] Carte p. 211 from the same.—[31] Malmesbury f. 64.—[32] See also Alauna, Lindum, and Victoria, taken from the Damnii by building the wall, and laid to the Horestii, p. 30 of Richard.—[33] See Gordon's Itin. Sept. plate 48 and p. 64. And Mr. Horseley, who contests the point of two ramparts at Antoninus's wall (p. 163), allows two at Hadrian's (p. 117). Analogy requires them at both. And Mr. Gordon's account is such as precludes all Mr. Horseley's insinuated reasons, being, in the former's time at least, such as could not be mistaken by the eye; a little to the west of Falkirk there appearing "a huge rampart on the north bank "of the great ditch, measuring thirty-three feet in breadth, "and as much from the bottom of the fosse" (p. 59).—[36] Horseley p. 134.—See Gordon's Itin. Sept. p. 102—104 for his account of the Cat-rail. And Cat-rail literally signifies the war-fence of palisades, this and other such works of the Britons being strengthened originally with a range of stakes, and Palisadren therefore standing for a rampart in the Armorick.—[37] Malmesbury f. 64. But see a mistake in his making a nephew of Arthur cotemporary with Ochta and Abisa.—And this conquest by Ethelfrid serves in part to answer the great and formidable idea, which Bede in l. i. c. 34 gives us of this sovereign's conquests over the Britons, and which had not been answered hitherto by any relation of facts.—[38] Egfrid gave away to the church of Rippon some lands upon the Ribble, in Fourness, and about Carlisle (Heddius in Gale c. 17 and Simeon Dunelm. c. 58 and 69). See also Bede l. iv. c. 29.—[39] Sax. Chron. and Nennius p. 116.—[40] Bede l. iv. c. 26.—[41] Hoveden f. 231.—[42] Bede l. iii. c. 4 places Whitern in Galloway within the limits of Bernicia. And in l. iii. c. 14 he makes all the south of Northumbria to be Deira, and all the north Bernicia.—[44] Westm. p. 104. Alcuinus p. 704 of Gale asserts Edwin, the son of Ælla, to have been born at York.—The north of Lancashire, therefore, was separated from the south of it for fifty years together. And this, the only separation that we know to have happened, accounts for the great

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distinction which has been made for ages between them. It began in the Saxon times, as one half of the county is annexed in Doomsday Book to Cheshire, and the other is subjoined to Yorkshire.

II.

THE system of religion, which the Provincials had so long embraced, furnished antidotes to the foreign principle of corruption, and provided restraints for the headlong impulses of vice, in the heart of man, the most powerful that the wisdom of Divinity could contrive and the freedom of Humanity admit. It held up the most ravishing prospects of felicity, to invite the soul to the practice of virtue. It presented the most astonishing views of wretchedness, to deter her from the prosecution of vice. It drew the line of duty in the brightest colours, as a full direction to the wildered faculties of the understanding. And it promised the aid of co-operating Omnipotence, as an effectual assistance to the weakened powers of the affections. But under such a rule of conduct, and with such lively motives to the practice of it, the Britons had for some time sunk into a wretched degeneracy of manners. And they were not tainted merely with the sins, which even the purity of Christianity has not been able to prevent entirely in any period, the customary fruits of the original pollution. Ambition, the disease of the intellectual passions, and sensuality, the malady of the bodily, appeared among their kings in all their wildest horrours, publick wars, private murders, adultery, incest, and sodomy.

In 564 one sovereign presented himself before the altar, the more solemnly to confirm an assurance which he had previously given, never more to injure a Briton; and even there, in the very act of confirmation, and amid the very rites of religion, stretched out his hand, and stabbed two royal youths that were near

near him. Another, covered over with various parricides and adulteries, repudiated his own wife and married his own daughter. And a third, cotemporary with both, after repeated acts of violence and wickedness having invaded the patrimony of his uncle and destroyed him and his adherents, and been struck with a seeming remorse for his crimes, became afterwards enamoured of his nephew's wife, murdered his own queen, murdered his own nephew, and married the widowed niece. These were dreadful enormities, the ebullitions of outrageous impiety. And the kings in general were the applauders of villains and the patrons of robbers, were whoremasters and adulterers, frequently guilty of perjury, very charitable, and very wicked [1].

Even the clergy afforded wretched examples to the people, seldom administering the eucharist, never reproving the prevailing sins, and being avaricious, ignorant, and proud. Some indeed were negatively good. But these were few. And some were positively so, exemplary in their moral practices, and faithful in their ministerial duties. But these were fewer still. The generality pursued eagerly the idle diversions of the world, meanly courted the wicked great for secular advantages, and even maintained their mistresses in private [2]. And, in this great degeneracy of the king and priest, the general body of the nation must necessarily have been very profligate. In any age or country the various restraints, which prudence imposes and religion fixes on the modes of ministerial life, will necessarily secure the clergy the longest of any from the contagion of publick viciousness, and retain them the nearest of any to the sphere of religious duty. And that nation is peculiarly abandoned, where the clergy are openly profligate.

The national corruption commenced about 540 [3], broke out in the horrours of civil butchery, and terminated at last in a general profligacy. Goodness beheld the accumulated crimes with pity. And Justice resolved to punish them with severity. The Saxons were called from the shores of Britain and the heaths of Germany, the ordained instruments of avenging Providence.

Sect. II. dence. They came. The crimes of the Britons in their own nature accelerated their punishment. And their un-interrupted dissensions and royal murders, the deaths of Arthur, Urien, and others, prepared them an easier prey for the enemy. Victory waited upon the Saxon battles. Conquest attended the Saxon invasions. And they, who had subdued only three counties in ninety years before, now reduced three-fourths of the Provinces in eighty.

When the Romans formerly conquered the tribes of the island, they generally left the natives in full possession of their laws, and indulged them with the free enjoyment of their properties. And they did not settle regularly among them, mingle with them in the town, and incorporate with them in the country. They constructed municipies, colonies, and stations in every quarter of the kingdom, and confined their soldiers within them. And the rest of the region was possessed without interruption by the natives, charged only with the duty of marching out to war by appointment, and loaded with the obligation of paying taxes to the sovereigns and the Romans. But the conduct of the Saxons was very different. Equally at the Saxon and Roman conquest, the reduced Britons remained in the Provinces. In all kingdoms some individuals will retire from the dominion of a conquerour, and take refuge in the un-enslaved parts of the country. Thus Wallwein, a king, withdrew into Pembrokeshire from the reduced territories of Galloway[4]. And Llomarch, a nobleman, relinquished his native fields of Cumbria for liberty and Shropshire[5]. But, in the greatest incidents of war and the wildest revolutions of empire, the collective body of the people will always remain, neither chased away by the fears of invasion, nor driven off by the feelings of subjection. And we actually see the Britons of the south continuing throughout the extent of the West-Saxon empire. We find also the Gadeni, the Damnii, and even our own Sistuntii, in the north, remaining under the dominion of the Northumbrian monarchs, several years after the conquest of all, and about the conclusion of the

the ſeventh century [6]. And, what is ſtill more remakable, the descendants of the Roman legionaries continued in their municipies and colonies even as late as the eighth; and even then were reſpectable enough for their numbers, to be entitled to the collective appellation of a people; to be conſidered equally as a nation with the Angles, Britons, Picts, and Scots, and as one of the five communities that divided the iſland among them [7].

The extenſive wood of Arden, in which Mancheſter was erected, could not have been included at firſt in any of the numerous townſhips of Lancaſhire. But, when the town was conſtructed and the land cultivated, both one and the other would be formed into a Tref, and compoſe the original townſhip of Mancheſter. And the cultivated area, which commenced with the town, was nearly commenſurate in extent perhaps with the ſmall diſtrict of Aldport. This is now defined on the north by the northern border of Dolefield, and a line running directly from it to the Tib, by the Tib and Irwell on the eaſt and weſt, and by the Medlock on the ſouth. But it formerly extended acroſs the Medlock, and infolded the whole manour of Hulme within it. That river, ſays a record of 1322, flows through the middle of the fee belonging to the lord of Aldport [8]. And the town could be but little at firſt, only one ſtreet extending along the one road of the Romans. But, as it was afterwards enlarged by a gradual acceſſion of inhabitants, the line of cultivation would be equally extended by an addition of incloſures. The town conſiſted of eight or nine ſtreets probably, before the departure of the Romans; a number fully as great, as the preſent town could enumerate even to the fourteenth century. And the range of cornfields, meadows, and paſtures was moſt probably comprehended at that period within the townſhip of Mancheſter, which lately comprized, though it does not at preſent, the adjoining manour of Hulme [9]. The ſteep and lofty banks of the Irke and Irwell, on the north and weſt, would naturally check the progreſs of cultivation into thoſe quarters. When un-occupied lands preſented themſelves

Sect. II. ſelves on every ſide, and the mind had no particular principle of ſelection, ſuch circumſtances would naturally determine its choice, and divert the flowing tide of cultivation another way. And it ran, as the townſhip runs at preſent, directly to the eaſt, and, as it lately extended, betwixt the channels of the Corne-brook, Medlock, and Irke; ſtretching only, with the preſent townſhip, about four hundred yards to the north of the laſt. From the departure of the Romans to the entrance of the Saxons, neither the buildings of the town could have been increaſed, nor the circle of cultivation enlarged. In all that long period of time, and in the endangered ſtate of Britain and Lancaſhire, the ſpirit of improvement would lie abſolutely dormant. And the demands of war frequently called off, and its loſſes finally ſwept away, many of the uſeful artiſans and induſtrious huſbandmen.

The conquered Britons were neither indulged entirely with their original property, nor diveſted entirely of it, by the Saxons. The victors would certainly ſequeſter a portion of the lands for their own uſe. And the vanquiſhed did as certainly retain a portion in their own poſſeſſion. In the laws of Ina the monarch of the Weſt-Saxons, and during the courſe of the ſeventh century, the fine for the murder of a Wiliſc or Briton is fixed at a hundred and twenty ſhillings, if he poſſeſſed a hide of land, and at eighty only, if he poſſeſſed but half that quantity[9]. And ſo alſo on the continent, and in the earlier laws of the Franks, a heavy mulct is preſcribed for the murder of a Provincial that was the actual proprietor of an eſtate; Romanus homo poſſeſſor, id eſt, qui res in pago ubi remanet proprias poſſidet[9]. The rule of war, which was obſerved by the Germans in general on their conqueſts along the continent, would be equally practiſed by the Saxons in the iſland. And two thirds of the land belonging to the vanquiſhed became the prey of the victor[10]. The Germans, infinitely more merciful than the Romans to the ſlaves which they took in battle[11], were much leſs humane than they to the countries that they reduced in war. The latter with all their municipies, colonies,

nies, and stations, and all their taxes, services, and impositions, scarcely received a fifth of the provincial dominions. And the Saxons, not content with a fourth, a third, or even a half, rapaciously took two thirds into their own possession. Two thirds of the houses in the town, and two thirds of the land in the country, would be consigned by lot to the conquerour. And the small remainder would be divided in the same manner among the original proprietors, and measured out to them exactly according to their original portions.

When the town of Manchester arose in the wood of Arden, the smallness of its extent shews only one chief and one clan to have settled in it at first. To this leader, at the requisition of the Romans, and as an encouragement to the commencing settlement, all the circuit of Arden would naturally be given away by the sovereign. And from him all the future settlers of the borough received, and under him they all retained, their appointed quantities of land in the vicinity of it, and their allowed right of pasturage in the woods beyond; either as he engaged the free villains of other lords, or obliged the remainder of his own pure ones, to remove and reside in the town. Thus consigned at first to one chief, the extended township would remain the property of his descendants or successors, till the region of the lord was converted into a province for the rector, and the whole compass of Arden into the old parish of Manchester. And at the memorable æra of the Saxon conquest, and on Edwin's partition of the conquered lands among his followers, one leader received as his share two thirds of the ground in the district, and the right of supremacy over the whole.

This baron, the new lord of Manchester and its annexed region, would settle in the immediate neighbourhood of the town; and in some castelet or fortified mansion. Such a seat the circumstances of a newly reduced country particularly obliged him to chuse. And the Saxon and Norman lords appear to have chosen such a one, for many centuries afterward. The large castle on the winter-station of the Romans would naturally

Sect. II. cally be retained in the possession of the crown, a publick fortress and a general defence. And the sequel of the history actually shews it to have been so. The larger ground of the summer-camp, therefore, would next engage the attention of the lord, and appears to have contained his habitation in the earliest ages. It is expresly distinguished in our oldest records by the denomination of Baron's Yard and Baron's Hull[h]. And it is the only site in the township, that retains either this or any similar appellation.

This area was twelve statute-acres and a half in compass, an extent too ample for the court of the chief. He erected his house therefore upon the interiour quarter of the camp, and within the fortified ground of the prætorium. There the rocky precipices on two sides were answered by the great ditch on the others, and compleatly secured his mansion. And this is the point of land, which is peculiarly denominated the Baron's Hull and Baron's Yard in our records.

Thus settled on the site of the Roman prætorium, and at the distance of a mile from the town, the lord would directly order a mill to be built, adjoining to his mansion, and for the particular service of his family. Such a one was settled some centuries ago in the immediate vicinity of the house, and was therefore cotemporary with it. Seated as the baron was, remote from the mill on the Medlock, the inconvenience was either originally foreseen or immediately felt. A new mill was therefore constructed. And it was placed directly without the camp, on the outer edge of the exteriour fosse, and at the foot of the Old Millgate. There the warrant of tradition, the appellation of the street, and the testimony of records, shew a mill to have continued for many centuries afterward. And there it was fixed by the lord, for the proximity of the site to the house, and the easiness of access from the house to it. To have settled it on any equally near and equally accessible point in the channel of the Irke or Irwell, the rocky bank of the river must have been cut away for a considerable length, and levelled with very great labour. And the hollow

and current of the Roman fosse presented themselves at the same time, ready provided for his use, and inviting his mill to the margin. Sect. II.

A little to the west of this, and in the line of the road to Ribchester, was the old approach to the camp, on its arrival there guarded by a military gateway. And the present would be at the same point, and equally as before by a light bridge of timber across the ditch. This was before probably, and certainly was now, drawn up generally for the security of the mansion; and therefore attracted to itself the appellation of the Hanging Bridge, and communicated to the fosse the abbreviated denomination of the Hanging Ditch. The former name is still retained by the bridge of stone, which has been erected in the room of the other. And the latter adheres to a street, that has been constructed along the course of the fosse. But beyond the large inclosure, which now forms the cœmetery of the church, the old entrance into the ground of the prætorium would be the present one into the court of the baron, and be equally an opening in the interiour ditch. Such an opening in this made a drawbridge necessary across the outer fosse. And it also required the construction of a military gateway, equally at the foot of the Hunts-bank as at the entrance of the road from Ribchester. There one was erected probably by the Romans. And one was actually continued there by the Normans afterward [12].

[1] Gildas's Epistle in Gale p. 15, 19, 20, 21, &c. and Hist. c. 26.—[2] Gildas's Ep. p. 23, 24, and 33.—[3] Gildas's Hist. c. 26 and Æræ Cambro-Brit. p. 142.—[4] Malmesbury f. 64.—[5] Lhuyd p. 259. And several others retired with him, as in the extract here referred to he calls Shropshire the paradise of the Cumbrians, Pouys paraduys Gymri.—[6] Bede l. v. c. 18, Multos eorum qui occidentalibus Saxonibus subditi erant Britones, and Simeon Dunelm. c. 69, Cartmel et omnes Britanni cum eo.

 And

And in the immediately preceding section I have shewn the Strath-cluyd Britons to have thrown off the Saxon yoke.

How mistaken therefore is Mr. Hume, and how mistaken indeed are all our historians, who have wildly supposed the Britons to have been entirely rooted out! "A total extermination of the "Britons", says the former, "became the sole expedient for "providing a settlement and subsistance to the new planters" (p. 27).

[7] See B. I. ch. xii. s. i, and Bede l. 1. c. i, Hæc *in præsenti* quinque gentium linguis, Anglorum videlicet, &c.—[8] Medelake currens per medium feodi domini de Aldport (Baronia p. 279 in Kuerden folio).—[9] Wilkins LL. 32. See also LL. 23 and 24. —And see Eccardi Leges Francorum p. 85, 1720.—[10] Lindenbrogius Lex. Wisigoth. L. 10. Tit. 1. c. 8. and Lex. Burgund. c. 54—[11] Tacitus de M. Ger. c. 20.—[12] Records in H's MS. p. 7. Baron I have previously shewn to be a Celtick term, and in B. II. ch. vii. s. 1. shall farther shew its particular meaning. And it was equally in use among the Saxons, as our Courts-Baron &c. sufficiently intimate.—[13] Records in H's MS. p. 7.

III.

THE exteriour appearance of the Provinces was greatly changed by the erection of the Saxon kingdoms upon them. And the interiour condition of the states was equally altered by the settlement of the Saxon chiefs within them. These immediately received their respective allocations of land, and immediately planted them with their trains of adherents. The kingdom of Lancashire received into its bosom a considerable body of Saxons, and the forest of Manchester a large colony of Angles. And the population of both was much improved even by the melancholy conclusion of the war, and their

their cultivation extended by the miseries even of absolute conquest.

Many castles were erected by the Provincials, besides such as were raised on the groundplots of the Roman stations. And the fact appears from the history of the Saxon war. Of this number was Witgarasbyrig or Carisbrook castle in the isle of Wight; an island, in which, as well as in Silley and in Man, the Romans appear not to have either constructed roads or erected stations. And the fortress was actually taken from the Proper Belgæ by Cerdic in 530[a]. Such also were the four Tuns, Castra Munita, or castles of Ligeanburh, Egelesburh, Benningtun, and Egonesham, which Ceaulin won from the Britons in 571[b]. And such was Cartmel, Carth-mel, or the Hill-fortress in our own county, which Egfrid took from the Sistuntii about 670, and gave to the church of Lindisfarne[c].

Thus the Roman-British chiefs had previously inhabited castles for their mansions. And the Saxons followed their example. They equally possessed their fortresses on settling in the Provinces, which were also the houses of their lords and the capitals of their seignories. In Lancashire, particularly, they inhabited many. And some of them were probably erected by themselves, but most by the Britons before them. They had in all probability no less than twelve considerable ones to the south of the Ribble, Wall-ey, Wal-ton, Child-wall, and Win-wick, Black-burne, Seph-ton, Stan-dish, and Pen-wortham, Wig-an, Roch-dale, Middle-ton, and Bury. And these were probably the seats of twelve considerable chiefs before the institution of parishes, and therefore the sites of as many parochial churches at it[d].

Thus erected, the castles were a great addition to the varied scenery of Lancashire in themselves. But they were a much greater in their consequences. They became the origin of villages and the groundwork of towns. And the attendants of the chief collected in various habitations about the house, and united into towns and villages. The forts of Ligeanburh, Benningtun, Eglesburh, and Egonesham proved the actual occasion of

 four

Sect. III. four boroughs, which afterwards became the demesnes of the Saxon monarchs, and one or two of which have since dwindled away into villages; the present Leiton in Bedfordshire, Ailesbury in Buckinghamshire, and Bensington and Eynesham in Oxfordshire[1]. The fortress of Gartmel was the original cause of the present town, which has survived the date and perpetuated the memory of its parent. And those of Walton, Walley, Winwick, and Childwall, Sephton, Blackburne, Standish, and Penwortham, Wigan, Middleton, Bury, and Rochdale, were the happy commencement of as many villages or boroughs in the south of Lancashire. As the number of a chief's retainers was greater or smaller at first, their habitations were contracted into villages or stretched out into towns. And, as the settlement of commerce ripened their growth and the calamities of war blasted their advancement afterwards, the villages unfolded into towns, and the towns shrunk up into villages.

But these castles were the seats only of the more considerable lords. And various chiefs would be settled around them, the inferiour lords of petty seignories, and the subordinate proprietors of subject mansions. The fewer adherents of these lesser thanes equally settled about their proper houses; and their fewer habitations, never aspiring to the dignity of a town, only straggled into lanes or associated into folds. Such would be many within the greater districts in general, which were afterwards modelled into townships, as these were into parishes. And such were many also within our own district of Manchester.

The colony of Saxons, that now settled with their chief in the parish, proved a considerable accession to the number of its former inhabitants, and made a large addition to the compass of its cultivated area. And the little lords, that had served under the banner of the Manchester chief, would receive from him their proportional allotments of the parish, and hold their respective shares in subordination to him, as he enjoyed the whole in subjection to the sovereign. His own more immediate

diate vassals would be put in possession of the houses already erected, and of the lands already cultivated, in the town and township of Manchester. And the subject chiefs would receive their allocations without the extent of both, and in the nearest woods around them. Thus was the forest of Arden considerably levelled on every side of the town. And many new townships arose in the parish, the little chief settling with his attendants on his assigned quantity of land, and the new region naturally composing a new township.

The districts, which were first won from the woods, were Salford, Chetham, Newton, Ardwick, and Chorleton-row. These would be the earliest townships in the precincts of Manchester, as they lie immediately in circuit about the original one. And as they would take their present appellations, like the above-mentioned towns in the Provinces and the above-mentioned parishes in the county, from the names of their capital structures; so the structures themselves were denominated from various circumstances. One was called New-ton from the recentness of its erection. And the stream of cultivation would most naturally follow at first the course which it had taken before, and the district of Newton be the earliest that was added to the township of Manchester. The Wic or habitation, constructed to the south of the Medlock, was called formerly Ardene, and is now called Ardwick, from the antient name of the Mancunian forest. The great house, erected within the chersonesus of Salford and in the neighbourhood of the passage across the Irwell, received its appellation from its site, and was entitled the Sal or mansion at the Ford. And Chetham and Chorleton-row bear the names of their original lords, Chet and Cheorl; the Ham of the one being erected on the crest of the Red Bank, and the Ton of the other about the site of the present Chorleton Hall[c]. Along the road to Rochdale, and at the first house in the township of Chetham, tradition fixes a castle, and remains demonstrate the fact. The site of it was the level of the present garden, and still shews imperfectly the deep moat that encircled it. The

mean

Sect. III. mean building on the ground retains the name of the original one, and is popularly called the Peel and Peel-house, the great mansion or the castle. And the knoll of Chet-wood rises a little distant at the back of it.

But the population of the parish was also extended much farther at this period. The amphitheatre of cultivated lands was additionally enlarged. And the townships of Stretford, Chorleton, Withington, Rushulme, Gorton, and Droylsden equally emerged from the gloom. All these were formed in 620, as I shall soon shew the little district of Kirkmanshulme to have been so only seven years afterward[*]. The nearest border of Kirkmanshulme lies about two miles from the site of the old town. And both Chorleton and Droylsden commence about one and three-quarters, Rushulme and Withington about one and a half, Gorton about one and a quarter, and Stretford about half a one only, from it.

The Roman road to Condate or Kinderton, fording the Mersey to Cross-street, conferred the appellation of Stretford on the place; and the hall constructed by the Saxon chief near it received the same appellation, and communicated it to the township. But Withington, Chorleton, and Droylsden, or (as the last is written in a record of Edward the first) Drulsden, derived their names from their proprietors; Withington being only the Saxon Withanton, and all three importing merely the habitations and the valley of Cheorl, Dreol, and Witha. The Hulme or mansion of Rushulme was originally on the present Castle-hill there, a very small area, fortified with a slight fosse, distant about a quarter of a mile from the turnpike, and lying on the margin of the Rush-brook. And the house upon the Gore-brook challenged the denomination of Gorton[s].

To this ample extent was the scene of cultivation carried before 627, because in that year it was actually stretched into Kirkmanshulme. And the general face of Lancashire was agreeably chequered with a number of new mansions; the larger structures rising over the rest, the centers of the culti-

vated

vated grounds, and the regents of the adjoining townships. Thus were the thickets of Manchester laid open by the Saxons, the wild beasts dislodged to a greater distance, and a variety of districts recovered from the waste. The greatest improvements would be made in the precincts of the Roman towns, and in the wild woods that surrounded them. And eleven townships were actually annexed to the original one of Manchester, all immediately encircling it, and all but one directly subordinate to it[9].

The British chiefs, deprived of two-thirds of their property, would be equally spoiled of two-thirds of their villains. These being found upon the lands which were forfeited by the right of conquest, they were consigned with them to the new proprietors. And on the subjection of North-Lancashire the castle of Cartmel, and all the Britons upon its contiguous demesne, were given to the church of Lindisfarne[10]. But both the chief and the villain were treated with great humanity by the Saxons. They were both put under the protection of the laws, and instated perhaps in the same privileges as their masters[11]. They were both pretty certainly connected intimately by marriages with them, as soon as the distinguishing difference in religion was removed. And, in the revolution of one or two centuries afterward, the conquerours and the conquered would be incorporated into one nation and melted down into one people, and compose a mingled mass of Saxon Britons and British Saxons[12].

[1] Sax. Chron.—[2] Sax. Chron. and Huntingdon f. 180.—[3] Simeon Dunelm. col. 69.—[4] See B. II. c. ix. s. 3.—[5] These are called by Florence of Worcester Regiæ Villæ (p. 553). They were not, as our historians have understood them to be, royal towns or castles at the period of their submission to the Saxons, any more than they were then denominated Ligeanburh, Egelesburh, Benningtun, and Egonesham. They became royal towns afterward, and were therefore, like the Regiæ Villæ of Bede,

Sect. III. Bede, the appropriated demesnes of the Saxon sovereigns. And three of them, Leiton, Bensington, and Ailesbury, remained in the hands of the crown below the Conquest: See Camden c. 320 and 331, and Gale's extracts from Doomsday p. 771.—[6] It seems to have gained the additional appellation of Row, to distinguish it from the other Chorleton in this parish, by its neighbourhood to the Roman row, the way to Stockport and Buxton.—[7] See B. II. ch. xi. s. 2.—[8] In a record of 1322 we have molendinum de Gorton currens per aquam de Gore-broke; and Gore-broke is said to flow per medium de Gorton.—[9] Ligean-burh is the burgh of Ligea, a Saxon chief, like Egele and Egone; and is therefore denominated Leistone in Doomsday book (see extracts in Gale p. 771). So also Benning-tun is Bennan-tun or Benna's mansion, and therefore is popularly called Ben's-ton at present.—And as Black-burne, Roch-dale, and Middle-ton signify the houses on the woody stream, in the valley of the Roch, and midway betwixt Manchester and Rochdale; so Child-wall, Seph-ton, Pen-wortham, and Winwick point out the names of their original chiefs, and Wal-ton, Wall-ey, Bury, and Stan-dich import the castles, castle-meadow, and stone-rampart.—[10] Simeon Dunelm. col. 69, Cartmel et omnes Britanni cum eo. See ch. v. s. 1.—[11] Ina's L. L. 23, 24, 32, 54, and 74, and particularly 46.—[12] Thus we shall hereafter see the Danes entirely incorporated with the Northumbrians, in forty-eight years only.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

THE SEVERAL GREAT DIVISIONS OF A SAXON STATE — THE CIVIL POLITY ESTABLISHED IN EACH OF THEM — AND THE MILITARY OECONOMY SETTLED OVER THE WHOLE.

I.

THE partition of the Saxon kingdoms into tythings, hundreds, and counties has been almost universally attributed to the illustrious Alfred. Malmesbury expressly asserts him to have divided his territories into hundreds and tythings [1]. Ingulphus as expressly declares him to have modelled them into counties, tythings, and hundreds [2]. And nearly the whole body of our modern historians and lawyers have religiously copied the one and implicitly followed the other. But they are all mistaken. The tything, hundred, and county constituted a part of that original polity, which the Saxons brought with them from Germany. And two of them appear existing in Britain, and all three in France, even some ages before the time of Alfred. The tything and shire are both mentioned in the laws of the West-Saxons, before the close of the seventh century and during the reign of Ina [3]. And the tything, the shire, and the hundred are noticed in the capitularies of the Franks, before the year 630 and the reign of Dagobert [4]. All the three institutions would commence originally at one and the same period, among the kindred nations of the Franks and Saxons. And the fact presents us with a view of society, the most remarkable that occurs in all the varied delineations of history. It shews these

Sect. I. admirable eſtabliſhments to have been formed amid the wilds of Germany. It holds up to us a fine police, exiſting among a barbarous people. And it exhibits the moſt accurate model of domeſtick œconomy, reduced to practice by a military nation.

The tything makes its firſt appearance in France about the beginning, and in England about the concluſion, of the ſeventh century.[4] By this inſtitution every freeman of the kingdom, that was the maſter of a family, became a Boph, Fneo-boph, Friborg, or frank pledge to the government, for the good and peaceable behaviour of all the perſons within it[5]. And he was alſo obliged to give ſecurity for his own behaviour, and to have nine neighbouring maſters of families for his own ſponſors[6]. This remarkable part of the Saxon œconomy has been a thouſand times deſcribed by our hiſtorians, antiquaries, and lawyers; and yet was never explained by any of them. They have all purſued the ſame high-road of notices, and all followed in one beaten track of obſervations. And they have praiſed it without aſſigning reaſons, and admired it greatly without underſtanding it.

They have particularly imagined the Friborg and his nine ſponſors to be merely the maſters of common families. But this ſurely is ſo ridiculous a ſuppoſition, as inſtantly ſtrikes the mind with a convincing ſenſe of its abſurdity. No polity could ſeriouſly think of deſcending to ſuch a minuteneſs, as to bring every ordinary houſekeeper under an immediate recognizance to the crown. A military one eſpecially, ſuch as that of all nations is in the firſt ſtages of civility, and the Saxon muſt particularly have been in the very infancy of their ſettlement here, would undoubtedly diſdain to do it. And, if both one and the other could be prevailed on to think of the ſcheme, it could never be reduced into practice. The trouble and expence of taking the ſtipulations would have been inſupportable, and the number of recognizances lodged in the courts infinite. The very multiplicity of the objects muſt have prevented any

diſtinctneſs

distinctness in them. And the wild extensiveness of the plan would baffle every effort of execution. Sect. I.

The dictates of common sense, therefore, suggested a different procedure to the legislators of the Saxons. And the same strength of intellect, which could frame the great system of tythings, would immediately catch the only practicable mode of its execution at first and of its operation afterwards. The necessities of civil polity, the principles of military œconomy, and the interiour disposition of the country at this period, would all concur together to point out some of the greater and presiding families as the representatives of those below them, and to make them immediately responsible for the rest. And the actual, though un-noticed, remains of the polity among us at present, and the previous history of our own parish, strikingly coincide with all, and shew this to have been really the case.

The master of a family, that stipulated to the state for his peaceable demeanour in it, was one of those who were dignified enough to become immediately responsible to the government, and the head, the president, and the representative of a number of others. And he was, in reality, the proprietor of a lordship or the chieftain of a township. All the inhabitants of it were his servants, engaged in the ministeries of his house, or employed in the care of his cattle and lands. And they were properly considered, therefore, as one family under the presidency of their lord or chief. Nor is this account the result of remote reasonings or probable conjectures only. It is plainly given us by one of those Saxon institutes, which we popularly call the laws of the Confessor. And referring to one of these masters of families, and to that which I shall soon shew to have been made the regent of the whole, the words of it run thus: Proprios servientes, scilicet dapiferos, pincernas, camerarios, pistores, et cocos, sub suo friborgo habeant; et item—alios sibi servientes sub suo friborgo [7]. Here the master of the family appears something very different from an ordinary and common housekeeper. He is evidently a considerable personage,

Sect. I. sonage, as he had his sewer, butler, and chamberlain, baker, cook, and other servants. And he was plainly therefore the seignior of such a district, as I have lately shewn to have been laid out in numbers within the parish of Manchester. But this is not all our evidence. We have one that is even more direct and express. And a law of Ethelred, speaking of the frank pledges, orders every freeman to have true ones, and every *Lord* to *have his family under his own pledge,* and hæbbe ælc hlaford his hyredmen on his agenon borge[7].

Every lord of a township in the parish, then, was brought under an immediate stipulation to the law by the œconomy of the Saxons. And, as he had nine such lords for his own stipulators, so all were reduced under the supremacy of another who was therefore denominated the Dean, the Tien-heofod, or the Tything-man. The Saxon sages, says the 32d law of the Confessor, constituted some persons super quosque decem friborgos, quos Decanos possumus appellare, Anglicé veró Tien-heofod dicti sunt, i. e. caput de decem. Accordingly, by a very extraordinary coincidence of notices, I have already shewn from other arguments, and without any fore-sight of the present subject, That eleven new townships had been already laid out in the parish, all encircling the original lordship, and all but one subordinate to it. The superiours of the ten were engaged in mutual recognizances to the crown, and subjected to the lord of the other. And the original township of Manchester was made the capital of the whole. Nor is this part of the œconomy less plainly chalked out than the former. It is even more so. And the intimations concerning this reflect a strong light back upon that. The Saxons, says one law, statuerunt justitiarios super quosque decem friborgos, quos Decanos possumus appellare—: isti inter VILLAS et vicinos causas tractabant[8]. Archiepiscopi (says a fuller institute), Episcopi, Comites, Barones,—etiam milites suos, et proprios servientes, —sub suo friborgo habeant—: quodsi cui forisfacerent, if they shall incur any forfeiture by violating any law, et clamor vicinorum de eis assurgeret, and be prosecuted for it, ipsi tene-

rent eos rectitudini in curiâ suâ, as judges of the tything, they shall pass the proper sentence upon them[s]. The lord of a township, that was appointed the president of the ten about him, became their judge in consequence of the appointment. And he held a court, to which they owed the service of obedience, and in which he took cognizance of their conduct. Sect. I.

This, then, is the antient system of discipline among the Saxons, when it is rightly and properly explained. The friborg was the whole of a single lordship. And the tything was an association of ten of these together, under the regency of another. But we may pursue still farther the light, which we have already thrown upon the subject, and bring down the system to present practice.

With a thinking mind, one would naturally imagine, it should have been an additional and insuperable objection to the popular opinion concerning tythings, That no traces are discernable on the face of our remaining police, of the supposed division of the country into districts of ten common families in each, of the supremacy of another over the whole, and of the court belonging to all. Such a political regimen, established over the whole country, continuing for the long period of the Saxons, and therefore interwoven with the very texture and constitution of our civil polity, could not be so totally swept away by any revolutions of opinion or convulsions of government, as not to leave a single wreck behind it. Some relicks would be found of the division, the supremacy, or the court by the busy eye of antiquarianism, in the terms of our laws, the aspect of our country, or the genius of our language and customs. And the total disappearance of the system in all should have flashed conviction of its mistake on the mind. But in the point of view, in which I have placed this œconomy, remains coincide with the reasoning, and carry certainty over the whole. And, however the discipline is said to have been long since abolished, all the great outlines of it are discernible in that of our townships at present. The tything of our Saxon ancestors, in truth, was nothing more than the manour of the present days. The ten families, that were incorporated into the deanery, became the

Sect. I. the ten lordſhips of a manour. And the eleventh, that was appointed to preſide over the reſt, was thereby made the capital of a manour. Archiepiſcopi (ſays one of the laws of Edward, that I have previouſly quoted by fragments only), Epiſcopi, Comites, Barones, et *omnes qui habuerint ſacham et ſocam, thol, theam, et infangthefe,* that is, as I ſhall ſoon ſhew, all that enjoy the privileges of a manour, etiam milites ſuos, et proprios ſervientes, ſcilicet, dapiferos, pincernas, camerarios, piſtores, et cocos, ſub ſuo friborgo habeant; et item iſti ſuos armigeros, vel alios ſibi ſervientes, ſub ſuo friborgo: quodſi cui foriſfacerent, et clamor vicinorum de eis aſſurgeret, ipſi tenerent eos rectitudini in curiâ ſuâ, *illi, dico, qui haberent ſacham et ſocam, thol, et theam, et infangthefe.* None but ſuch, as were poſſeſſed of the manerial privileges, were inveſted with the ſupremacy of a tything. And he, that was inveſted with the one, was thereby poſſeſſed of the other The ſeignior of a tything became what the lord of a manour continues to this day, the one regent and juſticiary of the diſtrict; and his court was made, as it remains at preſent, the one tribunal for the manour. And accordingly that manerial judicature, which is particularly calculated to preſerve the peace of the whole, is actually denominated The View of Frank Pledge and the Tything-Court to this moment.

The maſter of a family then, that was obliged to give ſecurity to the government for the behaviour of all the perſons within it, was no leſs than the ſuperiour of a lordſhip. And the nine neighbouring maſters of families alſo, which he was equally obliged to have for his own ſponſors, were no leſs than the chieftains of a townſhip. The firſt part of the polity ſubſiſted equally among the Britons before [10]. But the latter and more important one was peculiar to the Saxons. And the eleventh maſter of a family, who was exalted to a civil and judicial ſuperintendency over the whole, was no leſs than the baron of a capital lordſhip in himſelf, and was made by his exaltation the preſident of a manour. No one was raiſed to this authority, but who had ten townſhips ſubordinate

nate to him. And the seigniories, that had fewer, either became the members of other tythings or had other townships annexed to their own. This, therefore, shews us distinctly what has so entirely puzzled all our lawyers, the true and constitutional nature of a manour, and the genuine origin of our manerial œconomy. A Saxon manour is one township presiding over ten others; while the British consisted of four, seven, and thirteen, according to the various readings of different manuscripts[10]. And the judicature of a Saxon manour commenced in the institution of a tything. Both began with the first settlement of the Saxons among us. And Manchester was made a manour under them, because it was constituted a tything by them, and was made both, because it had ten townships subordinate to it; and has therefore continued an equal tything and manour to the present day.

Sect. I.

A subject township thus forming a family-friborg in the eye of the law, and ten of them being digested into a tything under the government of another; it was provided for the same reason for which the whole was established, That, if a man was not entered into one of these deaneries, he was liable to be put to death on discovery, and was buried as a common felon on conviction[11]. Nor was this, as it may seem at first, a discipline over-rigorous in itself, and drawing the bands of society together with a sanguinary severity. Any man, that was not the member of a subordinate or capital lordship, had actually renounced his original relation to them, and so disclaimed all allegiance to society in order to make war upon it. And, if any of the ten principals in the tything offended against the laws in his own person or by his subordinates, the other nine were obliged to produce him to the tything-court or pay the penalty of his crime[11]. The payment was rigorously exacted, unless the three greatest chiefs in the manour would purge themselves solemnly by their own oaths, and by those of the six greatest that were in the three nearest manours, from any privity in the offence or flight[11]. And the whole penalty was discharged out of the property of the offender, if it was sufficient, and out of

that

that of the other nine, if it was not; unless, as was sometimes the case, the whole tything was unable to pay it, and asserted their inability upon oath in the manner mentioned before[13]. No person was allowed to travel from home, without a certificate from the head of his deanery or a testimonial from the lord of his township[14]. And, if any one received a stranger into his houshold or lordship only for three days, who brought no such certificate with him; the guest was considered as a member of the family, and the chief was made responsible for his conduct[15].

Thus was every superiour of a township engaged to a peaceable demeanour by no less than nine respectable stipulators. And every the most insignificant individual of the state, whether a freeman or villain, was brought directly under the cognizance of the law as the member of a township, and bound by a respectable surety to his good behaviour. By a reciprocation of obligations and a chain of engagements, the illegal conduct of any one directly affecting his lord, his relatives, or his associates; the government had every possible security for the obedience of all, and a comprehensive system of publick polity was firmly raised on the basis of private selfishness. And this sensible œconomy was continued in its full vigour among us, below the period of the Conquest and beyond the æra of the Great Charter[16].

The hundreds of the Saxons were exactly the same with the cantrefs of the Britons. The latter consisted of a hundred townships. And the former were composed of ten tythings[17]. These were always considerable districts, and exist to this day the great divisions of our counties[18]. Each of them contained a hundred free masters of families, or, in other words, a hundred superiours of townships. And those of South-Lancashire, which were six before the Conquest, were only three at first, Blackburne, Derby, and Salford. Newton, Warrington, and Layland, which are mentioned equally in the Doomsday survey, appear equally from their smallness, especially the two first, to have been merely additions to the original number.

And

And from a comparative view of the nature and extent of all it is plain, that Layland was taken out of Blackburne hundred, and Warrington and Newton out of Derby. These were all denominated from the towns or villages, which were constituted the heads of their respective centuries. And those of Salford, Warrington, and Newton, Blackburne, Derby, and Layland were so constituted, because they belonged to the crown. All of them but Newton continued in its possession, as late as the reign of the Confessor[19]. All of them had been retained by the crown on the general partition of the country, the appointed demesnes of the royalty. And the town of Salford has for this reason been ever independent of the lord of Manchester, and continues to the present time annexed to the regalities of the dutchy. The whole compass of South-Lancashire, which through all the period of the Britons probably had contained only two Cantrefs, Linuis and another[19], now inclosed thirty tythings, thirty manours, and three hundred townships. The division of Salford, the only one of its three hundreds that has not been dismembered, had just ten manours, ten tythings, and a hundred townships within its present limits. And the custom which is retained among us to this day, of making the hundred responsible for robberies committed betwixt sun and sun, had its commencement at this period, and was a natural appendage to the Saxon system of tythings[19].

When the various kingdoms of the Britons were reduced by the power of the Saxons, the whole extent of the Heptarchy was soon parcelled into counties. As soon as the beginning of the seventh century, we find all the dominions of the Northumbrians and Mercians divided into provinces[20]. As early as the conclusion of it, we see the whole empire of the West-Saxons partitioned into shires[21]. And even in the reigns of Ethelwulf, Ethelbald, Ethelbert, and Ethelred, the father and elder brothers of Alfred, we meet with Somersetshire, Berkshire, and Devonshire, Essex, Middlesex, and Kent, Surry, Hampshire, and others, all occasionally mentioned

Sect. I. oned in the military history of the island[22]. The kingdom of the Sistuntii, therefore, was formed into the county of Lancaster about the year 680, and soon after the conquest of it by Egfrid. And many of the provinces received their appellations from those of the British tribes, which had previously erected their capitals or kingdoms upon them, as Dorset, Devon, Kent, Cornwall, and Cumberland. But most of them, like Lancashire, assumed their denominations from their capitals[23]. The town of Bremetonacæ, or Overborough, I have previously mentioned to have been nearly levelled to the ground by the Saxons. That of Coccium, or Blackrode, I have also intimated to have been equally ruined at the same period. And the total want of Saxon inscriptions, Saxon coins, or Saxon monuments at Ribchester, amid the frequent discoveries of Roman or Roman-British remains, shews the town of Rerigonium to have been overwhelmed by the fatal catastrophe that I have formerly noticed, before the settlement of the Angles to the north of the Ribble. On this melancholy incident, the town of Alauna or Lancaster would naturally attract the trade of Rerigonium to it. The genius of Sistuntian commerce, being now dislodged from the Ribble by that large barrier of sand, which the same event had thrown across the opening of this beautiful river, would naturally remove to the banks of the Lon, and settle in the streets of Lancaster. And probably for this reason, certainly for the others, the Roman Alauna received in the seventh century the honour which it retains to the present; was made the metropolis of the shire, and lent its own appellation to the county.

Such were the three divisions, that were now made in the antient kingdom of Lancashire. And in each of them, as on the continent of France and Germany[24], was a distinct judicature erected, the tribunal of the division, and the court of the residents within it. Every tything, as in France, was subject to the authority of a president, who was denominated the head of it, and exists in the lord of the manour at present[25]. This officer was entrusted with a judicial authority by

by the state, and was the regular justiciary of the deanery. Sect. I. And in the thousand little disputes, that necessarily arose among the townships concerning their property, he was empowered to hear the difference and decide the controversy[25].

On the partition of the conquered lands by the Saxons, great portions were consigned to considerable officers by the crown, and parcelled out among their principal followers by the chiefs. And these were naturally retained in subordination to the person that gave them, and necessarily continued the subjection, which had previously subsisted, in the persons that possessed them. Thus the first Saxon lord of Manchester reserved to himself and his successors the rights of a superiour, and the jurisdiction of a seignior, over the districts which he allotted to his subordinates in it. He had previously enjoyed both on the fields of Germany[26]. And he therefore retained them now. He continued what he had been before, at once the chief and justiciary of the region; and all the residents within it were obliged, as before, to attend his court. And he had particularly the privileges, which the Saxons denominated Sach, Soc, Tholl, Theam, and Infang-thefe[27]. He had the power of trying causes among his own dependents, and of condemning any of them for a theft committed in his own manour. He had a right to the forfeitures incurred by the complainant or defendant, in any cause that was submitted to the determination of his court. He could search for stolen goods within the extent of his seigniory, and sequester to himself any that were apprehended on a man, if neither the challenged could ascertain his property nor the challenger prove his accusation. And he had authority to exact tribute or toll from all persons, that brought their wares to his fairs or markets[28]. Such was the beginning of all the manerial rights and baronial courts in the kingdom. And such particularly was the rise of that judicature, which once extended its jurisdiction over all the original parish of Manchester (the township of Salford excepted), was convened for ages at the baronial mansion on the site of the College, and is

 held

Sect. I. held to the present day under the title of the Court-Baron of Manchester.

The chief, however, was the justiciary of the region, not only because he was the natural lord of the seigniory, but also (as I have observed before) because he was constituted the head of a tything. All his own immediate vassals, and all the milites or chiefs who held their possessions under him, were made the members of one deanery. He was responsible to the government for their conduct, as the master of a township was to him for all the individuals in it; and was therefore invested with a judicial authority over them, as the head of a tything over all its members[29]. And the judicature, which he held for the preservation of the peace, subsists among us to the present time (as I have equally observed before) under the two appellations that it received from the Saxons, the general one of the Læt, Leet, or Judgment, and the particular one of the View of Frank Pledge or the Tything-court[30].

This account strikingly marks the difference, which is entirely forgotten by our legal antiquarians, betwixt an antient manour and an antient barony. It shews the latter to be a distinct division of the country, to have its own judicature, and to have originated from that supremacy of a seignior over his vassals, which is so natural in every military settlement. And it shews it to have subsisted at first by itself, and its court to be an entire and compleat judicature, quite independent of the leet, and having its own distinct operation and objects. Many baronies were therefore formed in the kingdom originally, that held only a court-baron. And some in all probability remain with the same restricted authority at present.

Thus did two principles co-operate to produce the compleat œconomy of the manour of Manchester. A barony at first, as it had been in the time of the Britons, and having, as it then had, a baronial jurisdiction over all the residents within it; it carried its authority along with its population,

 and

and extended its dominion as the cultivation was enlarged. And having a ſovereignty over ten townſhips, theſe were formed into a tything, and that was conſtituted the metropolis of it. Thus was the whole incorporated into a manour, being inveſted with the equal privileges of a tything and a barony, and having the two judicatures of a court-baron and a leet. The former more immediately reſpected, as it now does, the intereſts of the ſuperiour and the property of the people. And the latter adverted, as at preſent, to the rights of the crown and the preſervation of the peace.

Such was the origin of the courts leet and baron of Mancheſter, the latter being the natural judicature of every baron, and the former ſuper-added by legiſlation in the more conſiderable baronies. And yet both have for ages, I believe, been convened in conjunction together, as they are in our own manour at preſent, for the joint diſpatch of the cauſes that are cognizable by both. Thus accidentally united at firſt, they ſeem to have been long conſidered by the law as the inſeparable accompaniments of one another. And in this later period of our polity, when the original diſtinctions have been all forgotten and loſt, they have been conſtantly ſuppoſed, I think, to be both eſſential to a barony. Accordingly, both have been erected together at various periods of time, and by the permiſſion of the baron of Mancheſter, in almoſt all the townſhips ſubjected to him; exactly the counterparts of the principal judicatures, and equally with them denominated Courts-leet, Courts-baron, and Tything-courts. The townſhips have been thus freed from their original ſubordination to the judicatures of Mancheſter. And the latter have gradually retired with their authority, and ſucceſſively contracted their juriſdiction, into the narrow circuit of the preſent townſhip: the tide of power, that had advanced for ages, and triumphantly covered the whole pariſh, more recently taking a turn, receding from all its acquiſitions, and retreating into its original channel again.

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These were merely the courts of the barony and the tything. But the borough, or present township, of Manchester was under the controul of another, which was more immediately the judicature of the town, and was denominated the Borough-court or Port-mote[31]. This was common to the boroughs of Germany and England, and generally assembled thrice in the year[32]. It determined the smaller differences between the burgesses. And the alderman of the town, the burȝh-ȝereꝼa, borough-reeve, or burreeve, was the regular justiciary of it[33].

The prison for these three courts, a structure absolutely necessary for the execution of the manerial and burgensick police, and constantly pointed out by tradition in all the remains of baronial mansions, was pretty certainly on the site of the present gaol of the town. All the baronial prisons appear to have been seated like this, within the area of the manerial building. And it consisted perhaps at first of some little chambers only, which had been laboriously scooped out of the rock, such as there is one at present, formed in the body of the rock, but roofed with timber and slates.

Superiour to all these courts were those of the hundred and the county. The greater causes of the barony, tything, and borough were referred to the former, which was held at Salford by an officer denominated the Hundredar or Centenary. And, from the mode of receiving him on his first coming to the court, the judicature itself, and the district from it, sometimes assumed the denomination which the hundred of Salford retains to this day, of the Wapentac, Wapentake, or union of arms. At his approach to the court-house on the day of holding the assembly, the suitors being convened to meet him, they all paid their obeisance to their new officer on his lighting from his horse. He immediately erected the lance which he carried in his hand, as the Saxons, like their German and Celtick ancestors, always came armed to the assembly. And then, forming a circle round him, they stretched out their lances to his, and in this position vowed obedience to him; like

like their ancestors again, swearing by their arms, and so binding themselves by the strongest oaths of allegiance that they thought they could take[34]. This court was originally convened once in four weeks, but is now assembled in three[34]. And from the decisions of it an appeal was open to the shire-mote[35]. That was held twice a year, and oftener on occasion[36]. In it the eorl, earl, alderman, or heretoch presided in person or by deputy, being the commandant of the county, the genuine Shire-gerefa, shire-reeve, or sheriff; but gradually resigning up the name afterwards to his deputy the present sheriff[36]. And from it lay an appeal to no one but the king in person[37].

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The justiciaries of the county-courts, as well as of the port-mote, appear to have been elected every year by the freemen of the former and the burgesses of the latter. The borough-reeve of Manchester is to this day chosen by the jury, the representative of the whole body of the burgesses. And the earl and his deputy were both nominated by the freemen of the county-court, on the first of October in every year[38]. The centenary, therefore, was equally appointed by the freemen of the hundred-court[38]. The presidents of all the moots were chosen by the members of them, among the Franks in particular and the Germans in general[39]. And the monarchy of England, which has been so considerably abridged of its authority in these later ages of our empire, appears to have been aggrandized (and sometimes, as in this case, by the authority of the law) with the spoils of liberty and the privileges of the people, and still retains in its possession their original right to the annual election of lord-lieutenants, hundredars, and sheriffs.

The king, however, always enjoyed a negative on the popular appointment. The royal concurrence finally constituted the officer. And the royal authority could even depose him afterwards. This privilege the sovereign equally possessed in Germany[40]. And it appears sufficiently evident in Britain. A charter of Wihtred king of Kent, as early as the

Sect. 1. seventh century, asserts the prerogative of the Saxon sovereigns to constitute earls, aldermen, sheriffs, and judges [41]. And Alfred, Athelstan, and Edgar ordered their judges and earls either carefully to study and impartially execute the law, or instantly resign their judicial offices [41]. The elective authority of the people and the constitutive right of the crown, asserted equally by positive authority, and seeming to be contradictory powers, are thus easily reconciled with each other and the laws of Germany [42]. And a right, which was merely concurrent at first, was afterwards improved by the encroaching crown into an absolute and exclusive nomination.

In these courts, the business was transacted to the time which I shall mention hereafter *, not by the intervention of our present juries, but by the personal assistance of the whole judicial body of the freemen, burgesses, and tenants belonging to each. All the thanes or freemen, or (as will be shewn hereafter [43]) all the great landholders, of Herefordshire, appear convened in the county-court, and sitting on a cause of property, during the reign of Canute [44]. All the principal landholders of another county appear equally assembled in the shiremote, and equally attending on a civil difference, in the days of Ethelred [45]. All those of Herefordshire are cited as witnesses to a purchase-deed, some time before the Conquest [46]. And all of Kent are seen collected together at two different periods immediately after it, determining a dispute between the archbishop and earl, and deciding a difference betwixt the bishop of Rochester and the sheriff [47]. The great freemen of the county originally possessed the right of determining causes in the county-court, under the controul and with the assistance of the regular justiciary of it. And the right was not confined to that. It necessarily extended itself to their brethren of the hundred, and would be equally enjoyed by the burgesses of the town, the principal tenants of the barony, and the superiour members of the tything. Thus the whole hundred of Cuic-land are witnesses to an instrument of emancipation, the whole of Holacomb to another, all Alfintun to a general

* In B. III.

general acquittance, and all Topsham to a bond of association or gild[48]. Thus also we have the port-reeve who held the court, and all the burgesses who were assembled in it, attesting a deed of emancipation in the town of Bath[49]. And, for this reason only, the absentees from the county and hundred courts were fined severely in the times of the Saxons, as those from the courts leet and baron are to the present times. Even as late as the conclusion of the Saxon empire, the mulct for non-attendance at the shire and hundred motes in Lancashire, without a reasonable excuse, was a punishment as severe as for drawing of blood or a rape, and no less than ten shillings and five[50]. And, for the same reason only, Englishmen were originally declared to be always tried by their peers, their brethren and associates of the court, and always acquitted or condemned by their country, the whole judicial body of the county, the hundred, the borough, the barony, or the tything[51].

In this original disposition of the court, the use of legal advocates was utterly unknown. Every cause was pleaded by the party in person, by some relation or some friend[52]. And the point was summarily determined[53]. The judges had a Bocaboom or judicial code before them, and even as early as the reign of Withred[54]. After the introduction of Christianity, the decision was recorded in the books of some neighbouring church or monastery, in the copies of their gospels or the transcripts of their liturgies[55]. And, as appears from the attestations adduced before, all sorts of legal instruments were executed in the presence, and ratified by the testimony, of the members of the court.

The accused in any cause was generally brought to the test of a purgatory oath. The king's thane was allowed to clear himself by his own deposition[56]. But a peasant was obliged to call in to his aid the accompanying oaths of four of his equals in rank; the latter swearing to their belief of the former's veracity, and all selected from his own township[57]. And I have already mentioned the manner, in which a tything was permitted to purge itself from any privity in the offence or

Sect. I. flight of a member. This was a practice, as sensible in itself as it was antient among the Saxons. It is even retained in part by our judicatures to this day. And in what are denominated actions of debt without specialty, where the proof for the plaintiff does not amount to a positive evidence, the defendant is allowed the privilege that is called wager of law, the liberty of denying the claim upon oath, and of bringing as many witnesses as the court shall order, to swear to their belief of his veracity[m]. But the privilege, I think, might usefully be extended farther. And in the burdening multiplicity of little civil causes, that are daily brought into our courts, and in which the transactions have been entirely or chiefly confined to the parties; in the perplexing intricacies of little criminal ones, that are so often obscure for want of evidence, and are dangerously determined by circumstances; a summary appeal might very usefully be made to an oath of purgation by the defendant, and one of compurgation by three or four of his neighbours. In the ecclesiastical courts of the kingdom, where the offences are merely immoralities of life, practices sufficiently known in general to the neighbourhood, but seldom reducible to legal evidence by the presenters; the former is absolutely necessary to the existence of discipline. And it accordingly continued in the courts the useful barrier of morality, till in one of those paroxysms of liberty, which have so often dishonoured the manly principles of freedom, the oath was abolished by the state, and discipline in a great measure rendered impracticable in the church.

But there was another mode of purgation familiar to the Saxon courts, that must have *originally begun in the darkest* ages of German ignorance and German superstition. This is that species of trial, which has been generally referred to the Danes, which however is familiarly, and therefore slightly, hinted at in the laws of the Franks as early as 593, is circumstantially described in our own laws as early as the reign of Ina, and, from the popular use of it among the Saxons, was peculiarly denominated the Urdel, Ordeal, or Judgement[n].

Founded

Founded upon that ſpirit of fanaticiſm which always actuates the body of ſuperſtition, one of the teſts expected the perpetual interpoſition of Divinity, and the regular ſuſpenſion of the ſtrongeſt powers of nature, in protection of impeached truth and in vindication of challenged innocence. The accuſed being previouſly carried through all the rites of religion, that could give ſolemnity to the action and inſpire the ſoul with horrour, he graſped the glowing iron in his naked hand, or plunged his naked arm into the boiling caldron. And, if the iron had burnt or the water ſcalded him, he was inſtantly pronounced guilty of the charge, and puniſhed according to the crime[60].

But there was another kind of ordeal, which was formed upon the ſame principle of fanaticiſm, and yet determined diſputes in a different manner; as impertinently expecting God to ſuper-add miraculous effects to merely phyſical cauſes in detection of guilt, as the former did to counteract the ordinary principles of nature in juſtification of innocence. This is mentioned in a French capitulary of 828, a law of Athelſtan, and the Textus Roffenſis. And by it the culprit, having a rope tied about him, was plunged two ells and a half deep in a river or a pond, after ſolemn adjuration of him and the water; of him, not to undergo the trial if he was conſcious of his guilt, and of the water, not to receive him into it unleſs he was innocent. If he ſunk, as naturally he would, he was acquitted. And he was condemned only if he floated, being then conſidered as wanting in weight of goodneſs. This ſtrange practice was derived to the Saxons from their Celtick anceſtors. The Gauls, when they ſuſpected their wives of infidelity and their infants of baſtardy, even in the days of Julian the apoſtate, made the former throw the latter into the ſtream of the Rhine; and the mother was put to death on their ſinking, and reſtored to favour only on their ſwimming[61]. And this is well known to have lately continued the popular teſt of witchcraft among ourſelves; and almoſt ſubjected the poor wretches,

Sect. I. as it had done the culprits before, to be either drowned in the trial or put to death for the crime.

There was also a fourth method of adjudging causes in this mechanical manner, without the assistance of knowledge or the trouble of thought; that was very different from all the rest, and is spoken of in the Textus Roffensis and a law of Canute. And the accused took an ounce of barley-bread and cheese, properly exorcised, and began to eat it in the presence of the appointed officers. If he could not swallow it, or instantly afterwards was seized with paleness and a shivering, he was condemned; and, if not, acquitted [61].

To these supernatural standards of their actions the Saxons were so obstinately attached, that they continued in their courts under the influence of Christianity, and against the remonstrances of the clergy, to the Conquest. They were even continued beyond it, and descended to the reign of Henry the second. And the ordeals of iron and water were then appealed to by the courts, regularly on all accusations of maiming. But the former was restrained, as it probably was in the time of the Saxons also, to such defendants as ranked in the line of gentlemen. And the latter was appropriated to the lower orders of life [62].

The punishments of crimes were not left by the Saxons to the arbitrary decision of the judges, but were accurately ascertained by the legislature. And many of them, as among the Britons before, and among all nations in the infancy of civil polity, consisted solely of mulcts. A robbery was prudently punished only by a fine [63]. But, contrary to all propriety and the suggestions of the Deity, even a murder was punished in the same manner [64]. Several corrections, however, were bodily. And some crimes were rewarded with loss of limb, some with a severer sort of Indian scalping, others with absolute slavery, and others again with actual hanging or drowning [65]. The law of the Saxons was generally so much the wiser, as it was less sanguinary than that of the present period. It expressly forbad any to be put to death for a theft of less than twelve pence, at a time when that sum was equivalent to three pounds

at

at present[65]. In this particular we adhere to the letter, but have utterly forgotten the spirit of the institute. In others, we have renounced equally the spirit and the letter. And, in consequence of both, we offer up yearly such hecatombs of human sacrifices to the law of property, as our Saxon forefathers would have shuddered to behold, even amidst the period of their wildest barbarism.

So strict was the discipline of their polity, that the pettiest purchases were required to be made within the precincts of a town, and in the presence of the governour or some credible witness[66]. This precision was designed to be an effectual guard against thefts. And it would certainly be so. If any challenged the purchased article as stolen, the buyer was obliged to produce the seller in his own justification, or at least procure the oath of the governour or some credible person, in confirmation of his own, that he purchased the commodity fairly[67]. The safety of the purchaser enforced the observance of the law. And, for the greater security, common bargains were frequently ratified in the publick folkmote of the town[68]. But the inconvenient severity of this discipline was a little relaxed by Athelstan, and the law was restrained to such purchases as amounted to more than twenty pence in value[69]. And, if the chapman discovered any flaw in the commodity within thirty days after he bought it, the seller was obliged either to receive it back, or swear that it had no imperfection in it at the time of the sale[70].

If a person could track his stolen cattle into any one's land, the lord of the latter was either to shew the footsteps leading out of it or pay the price of the cattle[71]. This principle appears also in the laws of the French about 595; which provide that, if one hundred pursues the track into another, and the lord, in whose land the vestiges are lost, cannot find them and carry them out of it, he shall either give up the thief or pay for the robbery[72]. And it was equally in use among the Britons, as it is continued to this day in the Highlands[73]. A freeman, stealing any thing from a freeman, was punished by

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by a mulct three times the value of the article ſtolen. And, taking any thing from the king, he paid a fine of nine times the value [73]. In burglaries, the firſt that entered the houſe was mulcted ſix ſhillings, the ſecond three, and the others one [74]. He that broke down the fence of the houſe paid ſix, and he that got over it four [75]. In highway robberies, he that unwittingly furniſhed arms to the thief paid ſix, and the thief himſelf was obliged to pay ſixty and reſtore the plunder [76]. But, for one committed by a gang of ſeven thieves, each perſon was put to death, or diſcharged the heavy fine which was denominated his Werigild [77]. Every man, that apprehended a thief in the fact, was entitled to a reward of ten ſhillings [78]. Any perſon might legally kill a thief in ſuch circumſtances [79]. And a boy only ten years of age was a competent evidence in caſes of robbery [80].

In breaches of the peace, the puniſhment varied with the dignity of the townſhip in which it was violated. In one of the king's, if he had a ſeat in it, as I ſhall hereafter ſhew that he had in Salford, the puniſhment was a fine of a hundred and twenty ſhillings. In one belonging to a royal thane, as Mancheſter did, the mulct was ſixty. And in ſuch as were the property of a common lord, thoſe of Newton, Ardwick, and Ruſſiulme, for inſtance, Chetham, Chorleton, and Chorleton-row, Stretford, Withington, Droylſden, and Gorton; it was thirty, if he was worth twelve hundred, and fifteen, if he was worth only ſix [81]. In the law of perſonal wrongs, the unjuſt impriſonment of a peaſant was mulcted ten ſhillings, and of a common thane twenty [82]; the ſcourging of a peaſant illegally was twenty; and the carrying him to the henȝene or gallows thirty [83]. And pulling any man by the hair was fifty ſhots; cutting off an ear, and breaking the thigh, twelve ſhillings; cutting off part of the ear, or the whole of the third finger, knocking out any of the four front-teeth, and ſtabbing or breaking the arm, ſix ſhillings; cutting off the great toe, ten, the little finger, eleven, and the thumb, twenty; breaking the chin-bone, twenty; laming a perſon, thirty; and cutting off a foot, or ſtriking out an eye, fifty [84]. The puniſhment for murder was adjuſted in a compound

pound manner, by the rank of the murderer and the dignity of the murdered. The fine was denominated the Were or man, and the Werigild or price of a man. And the mulct was discharged to the relations of the murdered. That for a king was double in nature, and sextuple in value, to that for any of his subjects. And it was two hundred and forty pounds; one half of the sum, which was the proper werigild, being paid to the Magum or relations of the king; and the other, which was a payment peculiar to him, and therefore denominated the Cynebote and Cynegilde, being discharged to his Leodum or greater thanes[5]. The thane's werigild was six times less than the king's; and the common man's was originally four, but afterwards six, less than the thane's[6]. And this was the highest mulct, that could be imposed on any individual in the state[7].

In all causes that were brought into the Saxon courts, the party prosecuted was cited to appear, and gave security in one or more bondsmen for his peaceable submission to the determination of the court[8]. Defamation was never considered as criminal, but when the imputation was false. And it was then punished very severely, the defamer either losing his tongue or paying his werigild[9]. False testimony in any cause was punished with a fine of a hundred and twenty shillings[10]. Every suit was determined in a short time after it was commenced[11]. And the king had the power that he retains to the present moment, but which seems to have been early delegated to an officer denominated his Chancellor, of relaxing the rigour of any judicial determinations[12].

[1] F. 24.—[2] F. 495.—[3] Law 6 in Wilkins, ȝebeoꞃ-ꞅcipe; and L. 36. See also the laws of Edward L. 1. p. 48 for ȝebuꞃh-ꞅcipe.—[4] Baluzius's Capitul. tom. 1. col. 19, 39, and 103; see also col. 66. tom. 1, where the court of the hundred, even in 630, is ordered to be kept *secundùm antiquam consuetudinem*—col. 103, and Ina's sixth law for ȝebeoꞃ-ꞅcipe.—[5] Hlothaire's and

Sect. I. and Eadric's LL. 15. Athelstan's LL. 8, and Cnute's LL. Sec. 10. And see B. II. c. vi. s. 2.—[6] Cnute LL. Sec. 19 and Edw. Conf. LL. 20.—[7] Conf. LL. 21—and Ethelred LL. 1.—[8] Conf. LL. 32.—[9] LL. 31. This law is also repeated almost literally by Bracton L. III. tr. 2. c. x. s. 1.—[10] Howel Dha L. II. c. 19. a. 9.—[11] Ethelred LL. 5. p. 103.—Cnute LL. Sec. 19, and Edw. Conf. LL. 20 and Edgar LL. Polit. 6.—[12] Edw. Conf. LL. 20.—[13] Ibid.—[14] Henry I. LL. 8. Wilkins.—[15] Hlothaire's &c. LL. 15 and Edw. Conf. LL. 27.—[16] Henry I. LL. 8. and Magna Carta art. 38 in Blackstone's Law-Tracts vol. 2.

In Ethelbert's LL. 23. about A. D. 600, it is said that, if a murderer escape, the relations shall pay the mulct. This relates to the family-friborg or township. And, in 12 and 13 of Hlothaire's and Eadric's LL. about A. D. 680, a provision is made for punishment, if any trip up the heels of another or draw a weapon "where men drink," that is, at their common feast (see Ethelbert's LL. 3 for ᚦpinc). This is meant of the tything. And the 6th LL. of Ina explains it so, providing a penalty if men quarrel "on gebeorscipe," or at the feast of the frank pledges. The whole tything feasted together at particular seasons, at the court-days which are mentioned hereafter; as is done to this moment by the representatives of the manour, the jury of the court-leet.

Mr. Hume, whose history is so singularly marked with inaccuracy in the narrative and with refinement in the speculative parts of it, has here given us an idea of the internal polity of the Saxons, which is strange and wild in itself, and impossible to be true under the institution of tythings.

Thus in p. 221 he urges the gilds among the Saxons as a proof of the weakness of their police, and particularly cites the rules of one from Hickes. But Hickes's *Sodalitium* (Diss. Ep. p. 21) will not prove the point for him, as the rules are merely for giving *legal assistance* to the members. The same also appears in those of the gild immediately following, p. 22. And, what is decisive in its evidence, all these associations were

 countenanced

countenanced and encouraged by the government (Jud. Civ. Lund. p. 68. Wilkins). They had in truth religion principally for their object, as appears from the beginning of the first and the whole of the second gild-deed here. And they were therefore formed more frequently *after the Conquest*, and continued to the reign of Henry the eighth. See also Diss. Ep. p. 20.

Mr. Hume in the same page produces the Commendati or clients of Doomsday-book, in further proof of his position. But he has as grossly mistaken this fact as he did the other. The inhabitants of the towns did not, as he states it after Dr. Brady, put themselves voluntarily under the patronage of a nobleman for safety, and pay him for his protection. No! They were all by their situation the clients either of a baron or the king, because all the boroughs of England were in the demesnes of one or the other. And both in town and country the expression of the king's, the baron's, or the church's commendatus, which is used in some particular counties, is explained in others by the equivalent one of their man, free-man, or tenant (see extracts in pref. to Brady's Hist. p. 7—25). Some also were half-commendati to one man and half to another, not surely half under the protection and half not under the protection of either, but tenants to two joint landlords (see pref. to Hist. p. 56). Others were even sub-commendati, and, what is more, dimidii sub-commendati (ibid.); that is, as common sense suggests and the whole demonstrates, sub-tenants, and sub-tenants to two joint landlords. And there were many of them under the immediate patronage of the king (see Doomsday-book in Brady upon Boroughs, p. 7, 9, and 10 &c). In fact, the inhabitants both of town and country were all commendati by birth, being the free soccagers of the royalty or barony, and therefore specified expresly to have paid a soca or rent (See Doomsday-book in Brady's Pref. to Hist. p. 61, &c. and B. II. c. 6. s. 2). And how unjust and erroneous, therefore, are the long and refined reasonings in p. 221, 222, and 223!

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But Mr. Hume proceeds and ſays, that juſtice was commonly very ill executed, and great oppreſſion and violence ſeem to have prevailed (p. 221); theft and robbery were very frequent (p. 237); men lived in perpetual danger from enemies, robbers, and oppreſſors (p. 223); and gangs of robbers much diſturbed the peace of the country (p. 237). All theſe aſſertions are founded partly upon the miſtaken arguments mentioned before, and partly upon ſome articles in the Saxon law, which mention a gang, a troop, and an army, of robbers. That the country was more infeſted with robberies than it is at preſent, and that the robbers went more in gangs and large bodies, muſt certainly be true, becauſe of the more wooded ſtate of the iſland in the Saxon period. But for the ſame reaſon it would be equally true concerning the early parts of the Norman. And it appears not to have been ſo at any time, in the high and exceſſive degree to which Mr. Hume has carried it. The admirable inſtitution of tythings, which was ſtrictly acted up to by the Saxons, would neceſſarily occaſion an excellent order among the people.

[17] Edw. Conf. LL. 32.—[18] Northumb. Preſb. canon 57. Wilkins, and Edw. Conf. LL. 33.—[19] D. Book in Appendix N°. II.—B. I. c. 8. ſ. 4 and B. II. c. 2. ſ. 2—and Baluzius tom. 1. col. 19, a law made about A. D. 595.—[20] In Bede l. ii. c. 16 we have Provincia Lindiſſis or Lincolnſhire, and it is ſaid to be *the firſt province* to the ſouth of the Humber. In c. 20 alſo we have mention made of *all the counties* of the Northumbrians, *totas eorum provincias*. And we ſee all the dominions of France thus laid out at the ſame period, Baluzius tom. 1. col. 66.—[21] Ina LL. 36.—[22] Aſſer's Alfred (Wiſe) p. 3 and 21, 5, 6, 7, and 14.—[23] So Hampſhire or Hantſhire, Hantunſhire in Aſſer, is derived from the Roman town of Antona, Hampton, or Southampton. And ſo, I apprehend, Berkſhire, Berroc and Bearroc ſhire in Aſſer, has come from Bibroicum or Bibrac-te; Bibrac changing into Bivrac, Biurrac, and Bearrac, and ſo giving name to the county; and Bearrac altering into Brac and Bray, and equally giving title to the town.

See

See a ridiculous etymon for it in Asser p. 3, Camden, and others.—[24] See Baluzius tom. 1. col. 39, and Brady's Hist. of England vol. i. p. 74 and 75.—[25] Baluzius tom. i. col. 103, A. D. 630.—And Edw. Conf. LL. 20 and 32, Inter villas causas tractabant.—[26] So Cæsar concerning the Germans, Principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos jus dicunt controversiasque minuunt; p. 123.—[27] Records p. 80 Kuerden folio and p. 52 quarto, and Edw. Conf. LL. 21.—[28] Infangthef, Sach, Soc, Theam, and Tholl, Edw. Conf. LL. 22—26.—See also a charter of A. D. 963 in Saxon Chronicle, and Bracton l. 3. tr. 2. c. 10. s. 1.—[29] Edw. Conf. LL. 21.—[30] Ibid. and Magna Charta art. 35. So Stræt, Street, &c.—[31] Edgar Polit. LL. 5, and Cnute Sec. LL. 17.—[32] Brady's Hist. vol. 1. p. 74 and 75, and Edgar and Cnute ibid.—[33] Edw. Conf. LL. 35. See also a record at Bath mentioned immediately. And hence is derived the borough-reeve's chest at Manchester, a repository for the records of his court, and still containing several. And see B. II. ch. vii. s. 1.—[34] Cæsar p. 109 for the Gauls, Tacitus c. xi. for the Germans, and B. I. ch. viii. s. 4—and Edw. Conf. LL. 32, 33, and 35.—[35] Cnute's Sec. LL. 18.—[36] Edgar's LL. Polit. 5 and Cnute's LL. Sec. 17; Ina LL. 36, Edgar LL. Polit. 5, and Edw. Conf. LL. 35. Here-toch means the military commandant of the county, as the lord-lieutenant is now. And he is actually called vice-dominus or lord-lieutenant by Ingulphus f. 495.

The name Eorl is derived by all our writers from the Danish language. And yet, to the astonishment of a man who is not accustomed to such errours by examining our historical authors, the word occurs in the Saxon laws as early as Ethelbert's days, mention being made of an Eorl twice in LL. 13 and 14. We have also Eorl-cundre in LL. 74, and Eorl-cundne in Hlothaire's and Eadric's LL. 1. And the earl's deputy was entitled sheriff before the days of Canute (a record in Dr. Hickes's Diss. Epistol. p. 2). The earl was perhaps for some time distinguished from his deputy, by the superiour title of high-sheriff.—

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[37] Edgar LL. Polit. 2.—[38] Edw. Conf. LL. 35.—See Carte vol. i. p. 370 from Spelman.—[39] Carte p. 370 from the Capitularies. And so Tacitus c. 12, Eliguntur in eisdem conciliis et principes qui jura per pagos vicosque reddunt.—[40] Blackstone v. i. p. 340. Commentaries Edit. 2.—[41] Sax. Chron. in A. D. 694, Asser's Alfred p. 71, Athelstan LL. 26. p. 61, and Edgar LL. Polit. 3.—[42] See also Baluzius tom. i. p. 101 for France. And observe a great mistake in Mr. Hume v. i. p. 215, who, not marking this easy reconcilableness of the assertions, argues from them that a great alteration had happened in the Saxon constitution, the power of the crown in appointing these officers having devolved to the people.—[43] B. II. ch. vi. s. 2.—[44] Record in Diss. Epist. p. 3.—[45] Record in p. 4.—[46] Record in p. 9. Consult the original: the version leaves out the important words.—[47] Records ibid. p. 31 and 33.—[48] Records p. 13, 15, and 19.—[49] Record p. 9.—[50] Doomsday-book in Appendix N°. II.—[51] Hence also the expression in Ingulphus (f. 496, Saville), in Doomsday, and all our antient writers, of a person's being absolved or condemned, or a right's being ascertained and adjudged, by the hundred, the county, or the tything.—[52] Diss. Ep. p. 3 and 7.—[53] Ibid.—[54] P. 10. Wilkins.—[55] Diss. Ep. p. 3, 10, 12, 13, &c.—[56] Wihtred's LL. p. 12.—[57] Wihtred ibid. and Hlothaire and Eadric LL. 5.—[58] Brady's Hist. vol. i. p. 65. Interrogatories upon oath are also used on proceedings by attachment at Westminster, and in the examination of bankrupts on a commission, &c.—[59] Baluzius tom. i. col. 15 and again col. 33, Ina LL. 77, and Diss. Ep. p. 149.—[60] Edw. Conf. LL. 9, and Spelman in Ordalium from Textus Roffensis.—[61] Julian's Oratio 2 and Epist. 16, the Textus Roffensis, Ethelred LL. 23, Baluzius tom. i. col. 653, and Cnute's LL. Eccles. 5. And in Glanville L. xiv. c. 2 are these words, In tali casu, maiming, tenetur se purgare, is qui accusatur, per Dei judicium, scilicet per callidum ferrum vel per aquam pro diversitate conditionis hominum, scilicet per ferrum callidum si fuerit homo liber, per aquam si fuerit rusticus.—[62] Ethelbert LL. 9 and 29.—[63] Ethelbert LL. 21.—[64] Ina LL. 18 and 37, Egbert's

Egbert's Excerptions in Johnson's excellent collection of Ecclesiastical laws preceding the Reformation, 2 vol. 8vo. 1720 (A. D. 940), and the note to 73, Ina LL. 7, 5, and 24, and Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 12.—The scalping is also mentioned by Florence of Worcester, where he says that Earl Godwin in 1036 seized Alfred the son of King Ethelred, and of his company nonullos *cute capitis abstractâ* cruciavit (p. 622). This in the Excerptions is called hættian, or heading (see Johnson as before). And it was common among the wild Indians of Scythia, the Alani, &c.—pro exuviis gloriosis, interfectorum avulsis capitibus, *detractas pelles*, pro phaleris, jumentis accommodant bellatoriis (Ammianus Mar. l. 31. c. ii).—[65] Judicia Civit. Lundon. p. 70. Wilkins. See also Cnute p. 133. And see B. II. c. viii. s. 3.—[66] Hlothaire LL. 16, Ina LL. 25, Edward LL. 1, and Athelstan LL. 10.—[67] Hlothaire LL. 16.—[68] Athelstan LL. 12.—[69] Ibid.—[70] Ina LL. 56.—[71] Athelstan LL. 2. p. 63 and Jud. Civ. Lond. p. 68.—[72] Baluzius tom. 1. col. 19 and Birt's Letters v. 2. p. 233.—[73] Ethelbert LL. 9, 4, and 29.—[74] Ethelbert LL. 17.—[75] Ethelbert LL. 28 and 30.—[76] Ethelbert LL. 18 and 19, and Ina LL. 10.—[77] Ina LL. 12.—[78] Ina LL 28.—[79] Ina LL. 16 and Wihtred p. 12.—[80] Ina LL. 7.—[81] Ina LL. 45 and Alfred LL. 36 compared together.—[82] Alfred LL. 31 and Ethelbert LL. 24.—[83] Alfred ibid.—[84] Ethelbert LL. 34 & 41, 64, 43, 52, 54, 53 & 69, 54, 51, 61, 68, and 44. This part of the Saxon law may be compared for its particularity to the French of the seventh century, Baluzius tom. 1. col. 29, 72, 85, 107, &c.—[85] Athelstan p. 64 and 71 and 72.—See B. II. c. vi. s. 1 for Leodum in a note.—[86] Ibid., Hlothaire LL. 1 and 2, and Ethelbert LL. 21, all compared together.—[87] Edgar LL. Sec. 2.—[88] Hlothaire LL. 8 and 9, and Ina LL. 8.—[89] Edgar LL. Sec. 4.—[90] Ina LL. 13.—[91] Edward's Preface and LL. 11.—[92] Edgar LL. Sec. 2. This officer, the chancellor, appears as early as 630 in France (see Baluzius tom. 1. col. 43—44). And he was therefore very early in England. He appears in Wales coæval with Howel Dha (l. 1).

Ingulphus

Sect. I.

Ingulphus (f. 495. Saville) aſſerts Alfred to have appointed two governours of every county in the room of one which exiſted before, a judge or juſticiary, and a vice-comes or ſheriff. But I have already ſhewn the latter to be merely the deputy of the former, and as much a juſticiary as the other in his abſence. And, that both the earl and vice-comes ſtill continued to act as the judges of the county, is plain, becauſe the former appears holding a county-court in the reign of Canute (Diff. Ep. p. 2), and alſo in the time of archbiſhop Dunſtan (Diff. Ep. p. 60). This therefore is another great errour, into which the authority of Ingulphus has led many of our hiſtorians and lawyers. See Mr. Hume p. 98—99, &c.—Mr. Carte alſo has made a miſtake concerning the firſt appointment of governours or lord-lieutenants in counties by Alfred (p. 305), concerning the ſhires being uncertain in their extent before his time (p. 310), and concerning cauſes of greater weight, and regarding perſons in different tythings, being decided by the preſidents of the ten neareſt tythings, all choſen by them, and aſſiſted by a judge who was called a Dean (p. 310); a judicature, of which not the ſmalleſt traces appear in the laws of the Saxons, and which is founded (I ſuppoſe) upon the obviouſly double meaning of the word Friborg in Edw. Conf. LL. 20 and 32, in the former ſignifying a tything or manour, and in the latter only a ſingle family or townſhip within it.—He has likewiſe confounded the hundred and friborg, the tything and wapentake (p. 310), and the court leet and hundred court (p. 311). He has convened only two county-courts within the year before Alfred's time (p. 311), and twelve after it (p. 370). He has made the biſhop's and earl's deputies the vice-domini of Ingulphus (p. 311), when the latter aſſerts them to have been præfecti provinciarum (f. 495). And he has allowed the ſheriff from the days of Alfred to hold the county-court by his own authority (p. 311 and 369), and inveſted him with a civil while the earl retained only a military power (p. 312).

The learned and accurate Mr. Justice Blackstone, in his late commentaries upon the laws, has also made several mistakes concerning tythings, which it may be proper to point out here, before we proceed to other subjects.

In vol. i. p. 133 he says, that "Alfred,—to prevent the "rapines and disorders which formerly prevailed in the realm, "instituted tythings; so called, because ten freeholders with "their families composed one." And in p. 115 he adds, that "the institution of hundreds—he rather introduced than invented".

I have already shewn in the text, that tythings were not instituted by Alfred, and that hundreds were neither invented nor introduced by him. They were both parts of the great œconomy of the Germans. They both appear equally in France two or three centuries before the reign of Alfred. And the tything particularly, which is here attributed without hesitation to that monarch, and affirmed to be his own invention, while the hundred is supposed to be only introduced by him; this actually occurs in our own laws as early as the seventh century, though the hundred does not make its appearance till a considerable time afterwards.

Nor did the tything, when it was instituted, consist of ten freeholders only and their families. I have fully shewn above the absurdity of such an opinion. And on the best ground, I think, I have converted the mere freeholder of our lawyers and historians into a much more important personage, the actual lord of a township.

P. 114. "One of the principal inhabitants of the tything "is annually appointed to preside over the rest, being called "the tything-man; the head-borough, (words which speak "their own etymology) and in some countries the borsholder, or borough's-ealder, being supposed to be the dis-

"creetest

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The worthy judge has here asserted a tything to be the same with a township. And his endeavour to shew the truth of his position is attended with such an embarrassment of terms and such a confusion of ideas, as will appear very extraordinary to every admirer of this justly celebrated author.

The general assertion is plainly a mistake. And the antient tything and township were very different divisions of our country. This appears very plain upon the face of those laws, which are our great and original authority for the institution of tythings. And the thirty-second declares the president of a deanery to have had a jurisdiction, not merely over a single township, but over several of them: statuerunt justitiarios super quosque decem friborgos, quos Decanos possumus appellare;—isti inter *villas* et vicinos causas tractabant.

But, had there been no such declaration in the laws of the Confessor, yet the difference between a township and a tything would have been very apparent.—The officer here meant by Sir William, as "one of the principal inhabitants of the tything, annually appointed to preside over the rest, and called "tything-man, head-borough, or borsholder," is a constable; as appears from the terms used by him here and his express declaration in p. 356. And the great and leading characteristick of a tything is this, That it should have a judicial authority lodged in the governour of it, and exercised regularly in his own court of judicature. Statuerunt, says the above-cited law concerning the Saxons, *Justitiarios* super quosque decem friborgos; isti— *causas tractabant*. But where is the judicial authority of the mere head of a township? And where is the judicature of a constable? Is he the justiciary of his district? And is there a court convened by him, in which he presides and the inhabitants plead? The very stating such questions is a decisive answer to such a position. The constable is only the recent creation of our statute-book. And the whole of his office is to act ministerially in the execution of the law. He has not,

and he never had, any judicial authority. And the court of a constable would be a solœcism in polity.

The tything-man therefore is not, and was not, *one of the principal* inhabitants *annually* appointed to preside over the rest; though the constable is. And he could not be. No persons had the presidency of a tything, but such as were invested with the powers of a manour. This I have shewn before, in proving these powers to be positively declared in the laws of the Confessor the inseparable attendants of the Decanal authority. And is the lord of the manour *one* of the principal inhabitants? Is he annually appointed? Or is he occasionally appointed at all?

And the author has suffered himself to be led away into these errours, by an imposition that ought not surely to have deceived a legal antiquary; the taking the appellations of Tything-man, Head-borough, and Borsholder in their present and modern acceptation. Not mounting any higher up the current of our law than three or four ages, he guesses at the purity of the fountain above from the dis-coloured state of the waters before him. And, not taking a view of the sun in its genuine and perfect brightness, he judges of it in its eclipse, when a deep shade is thrown over it, and its whole appearance is faint and sickly. Referring here, as I am sorry to say that he too often refers for the original laws of the nation, not to the antient registers of them, but to later writers and secondary authorities; he has been grossly mis-led by the natural consequences of his conduct, and has taken antient terms of our police in their recent, derivative, and distorted meaning. The old appellations of Tything-man, Head-borough, and perhaps Borsholder, originally the titles only of the lord of a manour, are now mis-applied in our laws to the constable of a township; just as Baron, the fixed and hereditary name for the great land-holder of the kingdom, has been long abused to signify a citizen of London or a burgess of the Cinque Ports. And should any man argue from the use of the latter, that the barons of England were only burgesses and citizens formerly,

Sect. I. merly, he would be juſt as ſober and ſenſible in his opinion, as he that imagines the old tything-man, head-borough, or borſholder of our laws to have been merely a petty conſtable.

But this radical errour in Sir William ſhoots out into two others. And I ſhall briefly point out both.

He has been deceived before by the preſent *meaning* of the words Head-borough and Borſholder. And he now appears equally impoſed upon by the *ſound* of them. He has applied them before to the conſtable of a townſhip. And he applies them now to the preſident of a borough. "*Headborough*," he ſays, "—and—Borſholder or *Borough's-ealder*, being ſuppoſed "to be the diſcreeteſt man in the *borough*, town, or tything." The deluſive nature of two words, ſimilar in ſound and aſpect, but very different in their import, has deceived him. And he has miſtaken the Saxon boꝛh or boꝛge, a pledge, for the Saxon-Britiſh boꝛgh or borough, a market-town; and ſubſtituted one for the other. The head-borough and the borſholder received his appellation, not from being the head of a borough, but from being the preſident of a friborg or tything, and is therefore denominated the Friborg's Head in the 20th law of the Confeſſor.

But this is not all Sir William's errour. Fully convinced that the tything-man was denominated the borſholder and head-borough, from his relation to a borough; he has not only confounded the terms Borge a pledge and Borgh a borough, but has alſo aſſerted our boroughs to be legally the ſame with our towns and vills, and ſo inferred a townſhip and a borough to be one and the ſame object in law. And in this he has impoſed upon himſelf by a well-known fallacy in reaſoning. That all boroughs are legally the ſame with towns and vills, is true, but not to his purpoſe. And the propoſition is not convertible. For, though all boroughs are vills and towns, yet all towns and vills are not boroughs. And, though all boroughs have townſhips, yet few townſhips have boroughs within

 them.

them. This is so obvious, that the mistake is truly surprizing. And it is more wonderful in such a writer as Sir William.

P. 114—115. "Tithings, towns, or vills have the same "signification in law——. These towns—contained each origi- "nally but one parish and one tithing."

In the extract immediately before, our author had made the tything the same with a township and also with a borough. And he has here made it the same with a parish too. How are these positions to be reconciled? Has not he previously declared every tything, township, or borough to consist only of ten freeholders and their families? But did every borough consist only of ten such families? Was every borough and township inhabited exactly by the same number of housholds? Was every town and township in the kingdom formed into a distinct parish? And did parishes originally contain only ten freeholders and their housholds in each?—But, to enter further into the strangeness and inconsistency of these notices, would be to mis-spend my own time and the reader's. I have gone so far as I have, in order to vindicate the truth, and prevent the influence of such an authority as Sir William's upon the publick opinion, concerning that striking part of the Saxon œconomy. And, if we may judge from this specimen concerning our author's accuracy of ideas and insight into our old constitution, we may see sufficient to repress at once the petulancy of criticism and the pride of intellect; see precision confounded by neglect of obvious distinctions, and judgment embarrassed by difficulties which folly might overcome.

II.

THE introduction of feudal tenures into England I have previously shewn to have been made by the original inhabitants of Britain, and to have been coæval with the plantation of the island. And, when the Saxons settled in the country, they found the holdings already established, and continued them. Doubly unjust, therefore, is the popular opinion of our historical and legal antiquaries, which refers the origin of the feuds to the Normans. They prevailed among us in the days of the Saxons. And they were carried over the country in those of the Britons.

That the feudal tenures were familiar to the Saxons, even the supposed derivation of them on the continent from the Germans of Italy, and in the island from the Germans of Normandy, seems very strongly to suggest. If the Longobards of the former brought these holdings with them from their native fields of Germany (and the general opinion supposeth the fact), their brethren, the Saxons, can scarcely be imagined to have been totally un-acquainted with them. If the Danes of the latter derived them, as they did their language, from the Franks among whom they settled in Neustria, or who resided in the regions immediately adjoining to it; the Longobards and Franks should both have possessed the tenures originally. And, if the Danes carried them with their colonies into France, they would necessarily have brought them equally into Britain. The Longobards, Franks, Saxons, and Danes were all branches of that great tree of Germany, which in the fourth and succeeding centuries shot out her boughs into the south, and threw her shade over half the continent of Europe. And, that the feudal tenures were introduced into the island

island before the Conquest, the complexion and genius of the Conqueror's laws most strikingly indicates. Not a single lineament of innovation, with regard to the holdings of the island, is discernible in them. Not a trace occurs in any of them, concerning new duties to be performed to the crown, or new services to be executed to the barons. And such a mighty work, as new-modelling the whole body of the Saxon tenures, and planting a comprehensive system of feuds throughout the kingdom, would necessarily have made a considerable figure on the face of his laws, and have stood forth the great and conspicuous characteristick of them. He expressly confirms all the constitutions of the Saxons in general. He repeatedly appeals to those of the Mercians, West-Saxons, Northumbrians, and East-Angles in particular. And he makes additions to them, which are mostly transcribed from the Saxon institutes, and are all actuated with a Saxon spirit [1].

The obligations of feuds I have shewn [2] to be strictly military in themselves, and the natural result of a military and a colonizing spirit. The Britons therefore adopted, and their equal descendants, the Welsh and Irish, retained them. And the Germans received them for the same reason [3]; as the present unwieldy mass of their empire is nothing more than a gross and distorted system of feuds. From Germany the Longobards carried the polity into Italy, the Franks transported it into Gaul [4], and the Saxons brought it into Britain. And the appellation of Feod, as I have formerly remarked, signifies literally glebe or land in the original language from which it is derived to us, and now imports an estate and the appertinances of it, that complicated and curious law upon which all the secular estates in the kingdom were possessed [5].

The principal of these appertinances appear only seven in number, even under the rigours of the feudal tenures and the severities of the Norman government; the heriot, relief, and escheat, wardship, scutage, marriage-licence, and homage. And all these are discernible equally in the laws of the Britons and Saxons. The hæred, hereȝeate, or heriot is plainly mentioned

Sect. II. tioned in the will of Birthric, before the beginning of Canute's government in England; and expreſsly ſpecified in the ſtatutes of the kingdom, before the concluſion of it[6]. The relief occurs particularly in the laws of Canute and the Confeſſor[7]. And wardſhips and marriage-licences appear equally in thoſe regulations of the firſt Henry, which were to take away the grievances of his predeceſſor, and reſtore to the military tenants the conſtitutions of Edward; enlarged as the latter had been by the Conqueror with ſome additions, few in themſelves, moſt of them plainly Saxonick, and none of them particularly feudal[8]. And eſcheats are found in the decrees of Ænham, the inſtitutes of Canute, and the laws of the Confeſſor; the lands of a vaſſal, who deſerted his chief in war, being abſolutely forfeited to him; the eſtate of a private tenant reverting to the lord who gave it; and that of a king's tenant eſcheating to the crown[9]. The eſcuage or ſcutage, as the fine for non-attendance on the lord, during a military expedition, was afterwards denominated by the Normans, had previouſly received the ſimilar appellation of ꝼẏꞃð-ƿıꞇe or army-mulct from the Saxons, and is particularly mentioned in the laws of Ina and Canute[10]. And the homage, the form of obeiſance practiſed by every homo or vaſſal before he was admitted to his eſtate by the lord, was actually performed by the king of the Scots, and the monarch of the Northumbrians, to Edward the father and Edmund the ſon of Athelſtan; and muſt therefore have been equally performed by every Saxon chief to the crown, and by every Saxon vaſſal to his lord[11]. It was actually rendered by all the barons of England to Edward the Confeſſor, immediately before his coronation[12].

The lands of the Saxons then, like thoſe of the Britons before them, were all under the controul of feudal ſervices, and all under the obligation of feudal payments. The ſuperiour chiefs poſſeſſed them immediately from the crown. And the inferiour retained them directly from their lords. On the demiſe of a royal or private vaſſal, a hæred or mortuary was due to the ſeignior, which naturally varied with the rank of the

the deceased. The heriot of an earl was eight horses, four furnished and four un-furnished, four helmets and four mails, eight lances, eight shields, and four swords. That of a royal thane was little more than half, four horses, four shields, four helmets, four mails, and two swords [13]. And that of a common one was a single horse with its furniture, and the single arms of the deceased [14], or a hundred shillings in commutation for both [15]. The relief, the fine discharged by the heir for the relevatio or renewal of the estate, is perpetually confounded with the heriot in the laws of the Confessor, the Conqueror, and the first Henry; as the heriot is confounded with the relief in those of Canute, and both are mentioned under the appellation of Ebediw in those of the Britons [16]. Being both discharged at the same instant, the one payment was denominated the Heriot among the Saxons and the Relief among the Normans. With the horses and arms for the former, the earl disbursed two hundred mancuses of gold, the royal thane deposited fifty, and the common one paid two pounds or something more, for the latter [17]. And the villain gave his best beast to the lord for both [18]. The making these arbitrary and exorbitant, was one of the considerable grievances in the reign of Rufus. And the settlementof them on the footing of Canute's and the Conqueror's laws, was a blessing promised in the succeeding government of Henry [19].

The right of wardship resigned up the estate of a deceased freeman to his lord, during the minority of his male heir, or till the marriage of his female. This resulted necessarily from the institution of the tenures. For the estates consigned by a superiour being always charged with personal services to him, whenever the youth or sex of the possessor precluded the performance of the conditions, they were naturally reclaimed by the lord, and a new provision was made for the duties. The family, however, was never divested of the fee among the Saxons. One of the relations was appointed the guardian, till the maturity of the heir or marriage of the heiress superseded

Sect. II. the necessity of a deputy. And Henry the first, recalling the feudal obligations to the standard of the Saxon institutes, promised for himself, and commanded his barons, to make the widow or one of the relations the guardian of the estate and children, to restore the fee to the heir on his arrival at maturity, and to marry the heiress and bestow the estate conformably to her own pleasure[20]. The marriage-licence was necessary to be obtained from the lord, as a faculty for the marriage of a daughter, a sister, a niece, or any other female relation; and was evidently intended to prevent the devolution of the estate without the consent of the lord, and without his knowledge of the party or family that might inherit it. No fine was demanded for the faculty, and no objection made to the favour, among the Saxons; unless the intended husband was the enemy of the lord[21]. And the first Henry, rejecting the rigours which had been exercised under his brother, restored the marriage-licence, in his laws at least, to its previous condition in the milder period of the Saxons[21].

The homage, escheat, and scutage were all of them the necessary incidents of a military tenure. The homage was performed by every heir, immediately after payment of the relief and restoration of his fee. And he came to the lord in the guise of a supplicant; and kneeling before him, and putting his hands betwixt the lord's, swore solemnly to be true to him in life, limb, and worldly honour, all loving that he loved, and all eschewing that he eschewed, according to the laws of God and the land[22]. The personal attendance on the lord in war was the first and most immediate act of fealty in the vassal, and the scutage was only a mulct of commutation for this necessary service. It was first levied regularly over all the kingdom by Henry the second; but was as fully ascertained as any other fine, before the days of Ina[22]. And it prevailed equally among the Danes in the kingdoms of Northumbria and East-Anglia, and with the Saxons in the rest of the island[23]. The escheat was the great sanction to all these duties, during the existence of the grantee's fami-

ly;

ly; and the great provision against any default of the services, upon the extinction of it. The fear of a forfeiture hung constantly over the heads of the feudatories, and kept them observant of the duties required by their tenures. And the failure of the line, to which the original donation was made, necessarily evacuated the grant, determined the services, and gave back the fee into the possession of the lord.

All these incidents of a tenure were unknown to the feudal system at first, and resulted only from the great alteration that was made very early in it. The fees were naturally granted away in the beginning, dependent merely on the pleasure of the royal or private lord; as the villain lands continued nominally dependent to these later ages. But as sentiment took place of barbarism, and civil liberty was improved by a stability of settlement, precarious possession strengthened gradually into absolute property, became a certainty for the life of the grantee, and even at last passed immediately as an inheritance to his heirs[24]. This improvement, as we have formerly seen, had been very early adopted by the Britons[25]. And it was probably adopted from them by the Saxons, as no traces of the primitive feuds appear visible among the latter, and they seem to have been the only nation of Germany that did not plant them in their conquests.

When they first settled in the provinces of Britain, they were, as I shall shew hereafter, totally un-acquainted with the use of letters, and consequently had no written conveyances of their lands. The delivery of a turf, a stone, a horn, or almost any thing else, which was so frequently afterwards the mode of transferring an estate, and has therefore without the occasioning necessity descended in part to the present period, must have been the only one among them originally. And the introduction of deeds or charters was certainly posteriour to the conquest of the Britons, and very soon after it probably; when the Provincials communicated the knowledge of letters to their masters, and suggested all the useful applications of them to the purposes of life. The innovation

Sect. II. appears to have commenced where one would naturally expect it to begin, with the highest rank in society; and the estates of the king's thanes were the first that were granted by written instruments. If a man deserts the army during the actual operations of war, says a law of Canute, his estate, if it is held under a private lord, shall be forfeited to him, and if it be bocland or an estate by charter, ȝif he boclanð hæbbe, that is, if it be as all bocland was, possessed directly from the crown, it shall revert into the hands of the king[26]. The right of forfeiture in the bocland belonging to the crown, the land itself must have been held immediately under it. And the appellative, we see, is used in the law as the popular and characteristick term for an estate in capite. In consequence of this innovation probably, and soon after its introduction among us, the lands of the royal thane began to be granted in our charters, with an express concession of an hereditary right to the lord in them. So Cuthred king of Kent in 804, Cœnulf the sovereign of Mercia in 805, and various other monarchs afterward, conferred estates upon individuals with a specifick annexation of a jus hereditarium to them[27]. And the bocland became so peculiarly hereditary, that the bocum or deeds, by which it was held, are expressly called hereditarii libri in the latin monuments of the Saxons[27]. Thus the land of the Saxon noble became annexed to his family, and descendible with his blood to posterity. And all other estates were denominated folc-lanð, or the possessions of the body of the people; the whole kingdom being now divided as I have shewn it to have been before among the Britons[28], into the two great classes of descendible and un-descendible property. But this beneficial alteration did not stop here. The natural operation of the new principle would be to diffuse its influence downwards, and extend that privilege to the private thane which it had already secured for the royal. And there were the same reasons for both. The baron, that enjoyed his estate by so advantageous a tenure, would frequently be prompted by generosity and called upon by policy to imitate

the munificence of the ſovereign, and grant his thanes all the ſecurity that the latter had conceded to his. He would give them written conveyances of their lands. And he would extend the property of them to their children. But we need not reſt the argument upon reaſoning only. The fact is ſufficiently aſcertained. And it deſerves to be called out into notice. Had we no Saxon monuments remaining among us, that ſhewed the lands of the royal thane to have been hereditary; yet there would have been one evidence of the point, which muſt have been allowed to be deciſive. And that is the expreſs obligation which they were all under, of paying heriots to the crown. This payment could only have been inſtituted at firſt, when the perſonal poſſeſſion was enlarged into a family-eſtate, and the devolution of it to the lord on the death of the occupant was excuſed for a trifling acknowledgment. And the heriot therefore is a ſtriking proof of the hereditary deſcent of the land that diſcharged it. Paid from the eſtates equally of the royal and private thane, it proves the poſſeſſions of both to have been equally deſcendible to their heirs. And the extent of the folclands was conſiderably contracted by the encroachment of the boclands upon them. Nor was the inroad terminated here. It went on, and compleated its triumph at laſt by reducing even the poſſeſſions of villainage under its power. So early as 874 the appellation of folcland was reſtricted to the eſtate of the villain; Duke Elfred in that year leaving three hides of bocland to his ſon, and, if the king would renew the holding, giving him the folclands along with them, the poſſeſſions which he held in villainage on the royal demeſne, and the property of which, without a renewal from the king, would be abſolutely determined by his death[9]. And, in the progreſſion of civility and the confirmation of property, all the villain lands in the kingdom, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter, were enjoyed at laſt by a kind of bocland tenure, the copy of their court-rolls, and even in the Conqueror's days actually diſcharged the bocland ac-

 quittances,

Sect. II. quittances, as I have shewn before, by the payment of heriots to their lords[29].

The heriot I have noted in the preceding Book to have been the lord's seisin of the whole on the death of the possessor. The wardship was his retention of it in his own possession. And the relief was an acknowledgement to him from the estate, as the homage was from the person, for his re-conveyance of the whole to the heir. The escheat, as proceeding from an attainder for felony, was equally a principle of the primitive establishment; but, as resulting from the extinction of the grantee's family, operated like the death of the possessor before. And the heriot, the relief, and the escheat, wardship, homage, and marriage-licences, were all the appointed signatures of the original custom, and the stated evidences of the lord's original right to the whole.

Such was the complex system of feudal obligations, absolutely military in its genius and disposition. The lands were given principally on military conditions. And they were forfeited chiefly by military neglects. If the vassal refused to attend his superiour to war at the call of the king, he was instantly deprived of his fee. And he could not be excused from obeying the summons or incurring the forfeiture, except by the previous consent of the superiour and the payment of a fine. If he deserted his lord or his band, after he had embarked with them on any expedition; he forfeited at once his possessions and his life. But, if he was slain in an engagement under his lord, the heriot and relief were both remitted to the heir. And all the military tenants of the kingdom, in proportion to their estates, were obliged to be provided with a quantity of arms, for the defence of the country and the service of their seigniors; which could neither be pawned nor sold, were exhibited on the third of February in every year throughout the kingdom, and produced by every gentleman in person, or a sufficient deputy, under the penalty of a heavy fine[30].

This

SECT. IV.

This whole syſtem was informed with one ſtrong principle of ſubordination, which diffuſed its influence through every part, and formed a ſcale of dependence from the ſovereign to the villain. Immediately below the former were the greater chiefs, diſtinguiſhed into Ethelings or nobles, the younger ſons of the royalty; into Earls, Aldermen, High-reeves, and Holds, the commandants of counties, hundreds, and cities under the king; and into Royal Thanes, Barons, or immediate tenants of the crown[31] All theſe equally received their lands from the ſovereign, and equally held them in ſubjection to the feudal ſervices. And of this number was the baron of Mancheſter.[*] But inferiour to them were the Common Thanes, denominated vavaſours or ſub-feudatories by the Normans, and enjoying their lands in ſubordination to a royal thane, and under the limitation of feudal ſervices to him[32]. And of this claſs were the lords of Newton, Chetham, Ardwick, Chorleton, and Chorleton-row, Stretford, Withington, Ruſhulme, Droylſden, and Gorton. Below both was the great body of the people, the common ſoccagers and the villains of one or the other; cultivating the lands, ſome in ſubjection to, and ſome for the uſe of, their reſpective maſters[33]. And in a county-court, which was held every year on the firſt of May, all the tenants of the crown renewed their oath of fealty to the king. And in a borough and manour court, which were held on the ſame day, all the burgeſſes and free tenants renewed theirs to the king and the lord[34]. An oath, taken to the prejudice of the chief, was authoritatively decreed by the laws to be no ways obligatory in itſelf[35]. And a plot, framed againſt the life of the royal or private ſeignior, was puniſhed exactly in the ſame manner, and equally made a capital offence. The penalty was the loſs of life and fortune, or the payment of the king's or lord's werigild, the heavy fine impoſed for the actual murder of a king or a lord[36]. But the oath of fealty to the latter was aſſuredly among the Saxons, as it certainly was among the Normans, taken with a reſervation of the allegiance which was due to the king and his ſuc-

Sect. II. successors[37]. And thus one continued chain of subordination was carried regularly from the villain to the monarch, the higher link of the whole being fastened to the foot of the throne, and keeping the whole machine of national power steadily dependent from it.*

But all this subjection was greatly tempered with that spirit of lenity and goodnature, which appears to have strongly marked the genius of the Saxons, and induced them to allow even a property to their slaves[38]. At their settlement of the kingdom under feudal tenures, and for the regular ascertainment of the feudal services, the whole country was divided into hides or mansions, families, or plough-lands; a quantity of ground esteemed sufficient to maintain the members of a single house or family, and employ the labours of a single plough, and containing two hundred and forty of our present acres[39]. And the landholder, on the highest estimation, was charged only with sending two men and two horses to the publick service for every plough-land[40]. The boroughs also were cessed by hides; and even such towns as Warwick, Leicester, and Oxford provided only ten, twelve, and twenty men, at the conclusion of the Saxon government[41]. A peasant, that rose to the possession of five hides of land, was in some cases admitted by the law to the same rank with a baron[42]. And every gentleman in the kingdom was indulged

* *Σειρην μεν κεν επειτα περι ριον Ουλυμποιο*
Δησαιμην· τα δε κ' αυτε μετηορα παντα γενοιτο·
Τοσσον εγω περι τ' ειμι θεων, περι τ' ειμ' ανθρωπων.

Iliad. L. 8.

I fix the chain to great Olympus' height,
And the vast world hangs trembling in my sight;
For such I reign, unbounded and above,
And such are men and gods, compar'd to Jove.

Pope.

with

with the un-controuled liberty of ſporting on his own grounds[43]. So mild were even the feudal tenures of the free. Nor were even the villain ones reſigned up to the arbitrary pleaſure of the lord. They were generally ſettled and determined, as among the Britons before[44]. And they were determined with mildneſs and ſettled with lenity. Ten hides of foſter or demeſne land were bound only to furniſh annually to the king ten vats of honey, three hundred loaves, and twelve ambers of Welſh and thirty of common ale; two old rams or ten wethers, ten geeſe, twenty hens, and ten cheeſes; one amber of butter, five ſalmons, twenty pound weight of fodder, and a hundred and twenty eels[45]. And, as the townſhip of Salford was charged only for three hides[46], it remitted ſomewhat leſs than a third of this proviſion into the king's kitchen and ſtable. The demeſnes of private lords were aſſeſſed in the ſame manner, being obliged, like the royal, to remit ꝺꞃinc-leanꞅ or loans of ale, and other ꞃihꞇ ᵹaꝼu or ſtated payments in kind[47]. And, as long as the villain diſcharged theſe aſcertained ſervices, the lord of the fee had no authority to eject him from it[48]. The Saxon villain, by this means, became actually inveſted with property in the ground which he occupied and in the profits that he received from it.

Sect. II.

Such was the general tenure of eſtates among the Saxons. The deſcent of the military lands was in the courſe of a regular and hereditary ſucceſſion. And the ſoccage ones devolved by the channel of gavelkind. This cuſtom the Saxons brought with them from Germany[49], very different from the Britiſh, and not extending, like that, to all the tenures of the kingdom, but affecting merely the large and comprehenſive one of free-ſoccage. All the ſons equally divided the freehold inheritance of their father amongſt them[50]. And the firſt encroachment on this mode of deſcent was by the introduction of a power, which was utterly unknown to the original Germans, and the commencement of teſtamentary diſpoſitions[51]. Even after that event the law of gavelkind conſtantly took place, where it was not tied up by a particular bequeſt[52].

And,

Sect. II. And, under this limitation, it continued in full force through all the period of the Saxon history, and descended the only rule of free-soccage inheritances below the Conquest[17].

[1] P. 217, 218, 219, Wilkins.—[2] B. I. c. viii. f. 3.—[3] See quotations in Brady's History vol. i. p. 71 and 72.—[4] Spelman in Feudum and Brady's Hist. p. 73.—[5] See B. I. c. viii. f. 3. And we meet with the word feoh as early as Ethelbert LL. 1. and Hlothaire and Eadric LL. 16, signifying derivatively property in general, and money or goods in particular.—[6] See Bishop Nicholson's epistle prefixed to Wilkins p. 9, and Cnute LL. Sec. 69. The British word is disguised by the interpolation of the G, as Edwin king of Northumbria is called Ædguin in Nennius p. 116, and Aetius named Agitius in Gildas c. 17. The Britons antiently inserted G in the middle of words unnecessarily (Lhuyd p. 9), and Hæred was sounded Hærged, as Aetius was pronounced by them Agitius and Edwin Edguin.—[7] Cnute LL. Sec. 75 and Conf. LL. 35. And see also W. Conquer. LL. 22, 23, and 24.—[8] Henry I. LL. 1. And the Conqueror established the Saxon law in omnibus rebus, only adding some particulars, adauctis his quæ constituimus, p. 218, Wilkins.—[9] Conc. Ænham. p. 122. Wilkins, Cnute LL. Sec. 75 and Henry I. LL. 13, and Conf. LL. 35.—[10] Ina LL. 51, and Cnute LL. Sec. 14. It is called the Army in the Grand Custumier of Normandy (Brady's Hist. p. 165).—[11] See Bp. Nicholson's Ep. p. 6 and 7.—[12] Malmesbury f. 45, Hominio palam omnibus dato.—[13] Cnute LL. Sec. 69, Henry I. LL. 14, and W. Conq. LL. 22 and 23.—[14] Cnute and Henry ibid.—[15] W. Conq. LL. 24.—[16] Cnute LL. Sec. 75 compared with Conf. LL. 35 and Conq. LL. 22—24, and Cnute LL. Sec. 69 compared with Henry I. LL. 14. And see B. I. c. viii. f. 1. This has strangely led our learned detailer of the feudal customs to make the heriot and the relief the same (see Dalrymple p. 46—47, edit. 4th).—[17] Cnute LL. Sec. 69, and Henry I. LL. 14.—

14.—[18] W. Conq. LL. 29.—[19] Henry. I. LL. 1. And see the original preface to them.—[20] LL. 1. compared with LL 2. and Hlothaire's and Eadric's LL. 6. The ceding the fee to the heir on his coming of age is not expressed, but plainly implied.—[21] Henry I. LL. 1.—[22] See the Saxon oath of homage in Bp. Nicholson's Epistle p. vii, and the Norman in Bracton L. II. c. xxxv. s. 8. and Statutes 17 Edw. II.—[23] Ina LL. 51. And see Canute LL. Sec. 12 and 14.—[24] See Spelman in Feodum. —[25] B. I. c. viii. s. 3.—[26] Canute LL. Sec. 75. See also Bracton l. 1. c. viii. s. 1. for freemen sometimes holding villain lands.—[27] From original charters in the possession of my friend Thomas Astle Esq; of South-Lambeth, a gentleman who has a very curious collection of Saxon records, the finest (I believe) in the kingdom, and, what is more to his honour, is most obligingly communicative of them.—See a charter communicated by him to Mr. Manning, and inserted in Appendix to Lye's Dictionary, N°. IV.—And, in an unpublished record of his, Duke Ethelfred A. D. 903, having had all his *hereditarii libri* ignis vastatione combusti, petitioned king Edward and the parliament to give him license alios libros perscribendi, &c.—[28] B. I. ch. viii. s. 3.—[29] From another record of Mr. Astle's, published in Lye's Dict. N°. II.—Mr. Dalrymple says, that the law of Canute, which is quoted above, " proves beyond contradiction" the grants *under the lords* not to have been hereditary at that time (p. 14. edit. 4th). But he was mis-led by using only the Latin version, in which boc-land is rendered terra hereditaria, and by not reflecting, that in the same laws the heriot is required from the mesne as well as the superiour lords, and that the existence of the one is a full evidence of the other.—[30] Ina LL. 51.—Cnute LL. Sec. 12 and 14—Cnute LL. Sec. 75 and Conc. Ænham p. 122. Wilkins—Cnute LL. Sec. 75 and Conf. LL. 35—and Conf. LL. 35.—[31] Jud. Civ Lundon. p. 71 and Ina LL. 45. So Edgar Atheling; and so Ethel-red, Ethel-bert, Athel-bald, and Athel-wulf, the father and brothers of the great Alfred. And see Conf. LL. 35. p. 208 and Malmesbury f. 12.—[32] Cnute ibid. and W. Conq. LL.

Sect. II. 24 and a deed of Henry I. in Spelman under Hundredus.—[33] Jud. Civ. Lund. p. 71.—[34] Conf. LL. 35. Compare Barones verò qui suas consuetudines habent with the preceding parts.—[35] Alfred LL. 1.—[36] Alfred LL. 4.—[37] See Spelman in Homagium and Glanville l. 9. c. i.—[38] Ethelbert LL. 85, LL. Wihtred p. 11. and Ina LL. 3. See also Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 20.

[39] The measures of the Saxons and Normans, according to the popular opinion, varied universally with the lightness or heaviness of the soil. But common sense shews, that they must have been well-known and stated measures, though perhaps different in different counties. The hide particularly was certainly the same all over England, as it was the standard of the publick taxes or services. And Bede by his manner of mentioning it demonstrates it to have been so, one regular and well-known measure throughout the whole heptarchy. The isle of Thanet (he says) est magnitudinis, juxta consuetudinem æstimationis Anglorum, familiarum sexcentarum (l. i. c. 25). Anglesey (he affirms) nongentarum sexaginta familiarum mensuram, juxta æstimationem Anglorum,—tenet (l. ii. c. 9). The isle of Hii, he remarks in another place, non magna est, sed quasi familiarum quinque, juxta æstimationem Anglorum (l. iii. c. 4). And the isle of Wight is, juxta æstimationem Anglorum, mille ducentarum familiarum (l. iv. c. 16). So the Saxon Chronicle affirms Cenwalle, king of the West-Saxons, to have given his relation Cuthred three thousand hides of land (A. D. 648). Huntingdon and the name shew it to have been the quantity generally allotted to one hide or house, one family, or one plough (Huntingdon f. 206 and 182). And the general complement of a hide was two hundred and forty acres at first (See Selden's Works c. 1917 Wilkins's edition, and also B. II. c. xi. f. 2. for Kirkmanshulme).—

[40] Athelstan LL. 16 p. 59.—[41] Gale's extracts from Doomsday.—[42] Jud. Civ. Lund. p. 71.—[43] Cnute LL. Sec. 77 and Conf. LL. 35.—[44] W. Conq. LL. 33.—See B. I. c. x. f. 3.—

 [45] Ina

[45] Ina LL. 70. Wilkins, who has made many miſtakes in his tranſlation, here reduces the number of eels to a hundred. And for the Welſh ale ſee BRAGET in B. II. ch. viii. ſ. 1.—[46] Doomſday B. in Appendix N°. II.—[47] Cnute LL. Sec. 78 and North Preſb. can. 67.—[48] W. Conq. LL. 33.—[49] See Spelman in Feudum and Gaveletum for its exiſtence in Germany.—[50] Cnute LL. Sec. 75, Conf. LL. 25 p. 305, and W. Conq. LL. 36.—[51] Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 20.—[52] W. Conq. LL. 36.—[53] Glanville L. 7. c. 3 and Skene's Regiam Majeſtatem L. 2. c. xxvii.

There were ſome few lands not feudal, but allodial: and Mr. Carte ſhews them not to have been forfeitable even for rebellion (v. i. p. 364). They have been frequently confounded with Boc-land (See Brady's Hiſt. p. 67, and Nicholſon's Ep. in Wilkins). But Boc-land was ſubject to heriots and reliefs, as I have ſhewn, and was forfeitable. See alſo Cnute LL. Sec. 75 and Conf. LL. 35. They are the eſtates that are mentioned in Conf. LL. 35, as diſcharged from both. And they were moſt probably thoſe which belonged originally to the relations or Ealodeu of the Britiſh ſovereigns, which had never been ſubjected to feudal tenures, and were granted away with their former privileges by the Saxon kings. They neceſſarily returned to the crown, however, on the extinction of families. And they were moſt probably re-granted to others under the feudal reſtrictions. But ſtill they certainly were not what Mr. Carte p. 364 aſſerts them to have been in this new ſtate, the Boc-lands of the Saxons; unleſs we can ſuppoſe what credulity itſelf would heſitate to believe, that all the baronial lands in the kingdom were originally allodial, and every ſtate had left itſelf without any proviſion for its own defence.

Upon this view of the feudal tenures, the remarks of Mr. Hume, That by the Saxons the king "was only conſidered as "the firſt among the citizens," that "his authority depended "more on his perſonal qualities than on his ſtation", and that his werigild "was a ſenſible mark of his ſubordination to the

"community",

Sect. II. "community", v. i. p. 213, appear equally forced and fanciful. The payment of *half* the king's werigild to the kingdom (Wilkins p. 64 and 71) could not be more a mark of the king's ſubordination to the ſociety, than the diſcharge of *all* a father's to his family was a ſign of his ſubjection to his children and ſervants. Recipit ſatisfactionem univerſa domus, ſays Tacitus of the latter, c. 21.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

THE GENIUS AND CONSTITUTION OF THE SAXON ROYALTY — THE NATURE AND REGIMEN OF THE SAXON LORDSHIPS AND TOWNS.

I.

THE mode of ſucceſſion to the royalty, in all the kingdoms of the Saxons, was nearly the ſame as had previouſly prevailed among the Britons, truly hereditary and lineal. Ida, the father of the Northumbrian monarchy, was ſucceeded in Bernicia by Adda his firſt ſon, and afterwards by Ealdric his grandſon; by Theodric his ſecond ſon, and Frithwald his next grandſon; by Ethelric or Huſſa his third, and Ethelfrid his other grandſon, in order'. And Egbert, the founder of the united monarchy of England, was followed by Ethelwulf his ſon, and by Athelbald, Ethelbert, and Ethelred, the ſons of Ethelwulf, in ſucceſſion. The elder line of the original parent regularly aſcended the throne, in preference to the younger. And the younger lines ſucceſſively poſſeſſed the royalty, upon failure of the elder. This was the ſtated regulation for the deſcent of the crown. But it admitted ſome deviations from it. On the demiſe of Edmund the great grandſon of Alfred, Edred, the brother of the late monarch, received the ſovereignty in preference to the ſons Edwy and Edgar. On the death of Ethelred the third ſon of Ethelwulf, neither of his ſons, Athelm and Æthelwald, ſucceeded to the vacant throne; Alfred their uncle, the fourth ſon of Ethelwulf, being adopted for his heir by Ethelred. And the Confeſſor adopted the Conqueror for his, in preference to Edgar Atheling his nephew.

If

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If these deviations were left un-settled by the law, determinable by the sole will of the monarch or the prevalent authority of a faction, the Saxon government must be condemned as a wretched system of absurdity. It would at once inherit the disadvantages of an hereditary sovereignty, and be subject to all the dangers of an elective one. But the exceptions were only few in number, all previously ascertained by authoritative customs, or determined at the time by the concurrent suffrages of the king and parliament. And the former enjoyed an exclusive right of determination in one single particular only, which shall be mentioned immediately. Under such regulations, the deviations were the result of political wisdom, and formed a proper check on the consequences of a right un-alterably lineal and in-defeasibly hereditary: Thus Edred succeeded as the natural guardian of his eldest nephew, Edwy, who was then an infant[2]. The uncle, in all nations, has naturally assumed the guardianship of the nephew; and is to this day the regular possessor of the fee, and the regular regent of the tribe, during a minority among the Highlanders of Scotland. And Canute succeeded to the throne of Edmund, as the specially appointed guardian of his children. Such a one the king had a power of nominating by his own authority. And Canute assumed the office, under the pretext of a special appointment from Edmund[3]. The government ought indeed to have been administered by the regent, in the name of the ward. But this was a refinement as much too great for the Saxons, as it still remains for the Highlanders[4]. And, since the heir apparent of a monarch might from lunacy, ideotism, or other circumstances either political or personal, be utterly disqualified to govern the nation; the reigning king, and his parliament under him, were prudently entrusted with the power of determining the unfitness of the person, and of delegating the crown to another. So on the prospect of the impending ruin of West-Saxony from the invasions of the Danes, and with the design of inducing Alfred to exert all his abilities in the defence of the publick, Ethelred the third son of Ethelwulf, with the

concurrence

concurrence of his parliament, superseded the natural right of
his own two sons, and settled the crown upon Alfred at his death[5]. On a view also of Edgar Atheling's incapacity to manage the helm of state after the decease of his uncle, with the advice and consent of his barons, the Confessor transferred the succession to the Duke of Normandy[6]. And the descent of the crown has continued nearly under the same restrictions to the present period, hereditary and lineal in general, but occasionally defeasible by the king and his parliament.

The Saxon royalty however was subject to two regulations, which are now entirely unknown, and were abolished at the Conquest. The Britons and Saxons admitted the spurious equally with the legitimate sons of royalty. And the Saxons and Franks precluded all the daughters from the right of succession. Maelgwn, king of the Ordovices, leaving no lawful progeny at his death, he was succeeded by his bastard son Rhun[7]. Egfrid, king of Northumbria, dying without any children in 685, the throne was immediately filled with his spurious brother Aldfrid[8]. And, on the demise of Edward the eldest son of Alfred, the crown became the inheritance of the illegitimate Athelstan; the son succeeding the father by the right of seniority, and even taking place of the legitimate Edwin, Edmund, and Edred[9]. Thus far the Britons and Saxons entirely agreed concerning the descent of the crown. But they differed essentially in another particular. The Britons before, and the Normans afterward, admitted the daughters of a king to the throne on the failure of his sons. But the Saxons adopted for the crown the regulations of the Britons for private inheritances, as the Franks also adopted their own; and deprived the daughters of all right to the royalty. And accordingly, in the whole course of the Saxon history, and through the long series of six hundred years, we see not a single female ascending the throne or even requiring the sovereignty[10].

The revenue of the king was composed of various articles. The frequent incidents of heriots and reliefs would make a considerable income of themselves. And the mulcts, so regu-

larly

Sect. I. larly imposed for offences by the courts, formed a considerable addition to them; one third only being reserved by the earl, and equally without question by the centenary, and the rest being remitted into the treasury [11]. Both were occasionally increased by the three capital aids, which were due to the king from his military tenants; one upon the first marriage of his eldest daughter, another on the creation of his eldest son a knight, and a third for the redemption of his own person from captivity [12]. The two first, however, were considered rather as benevolences than rights, as only due to the indigence of the lord, and not compelled by the rigours of the law [12]. The last was sufficiently determined by the necessities of the case. And all three were the natural result of that strong connexion and close intimacy, which the feudal system endeavoured to form betwixt the tenant and his lord. In the frequent wars also among the clashing kingdoms of the heptarchy, and still more amid the ravages of the Danish expeditions into England, large estates would be continually escheated to the crown. But the most considerable, and the only regular, branch of the revenues arose from the profits of its extensive demesnes, the duties of the king's own ports, the tolls of his own boroughs, and the rents of his own lands [13]. The last were only returns in kind at the commencement of the Saxon empire; but were nearly all converted into payments in money before the conclusion of it [13]. And in lieu of the provisions which the township of Salford originally remitted to the officers of the crown, in the reign of the Confessor, and after the seat of empire had been transferred to the south, it disbursed thirty-seven pounds and four shillings annually into the exchequer; including the farmed profits of the hundred-court, as well as the easy rents of the demesne-lands [14]. All the smaller deficiencies of this revenue were naturally supplied to the king by talliages and aids; the latter being partly considered like the aids before, as free-gifts, and both levied occasionally by his own authority upon his own demesnes [15]. And all the greater were made up by publick and general taxes, assessed by the authority of parliament, and collected by com-

 missioners

missioners from the king, on all the lands that were held in military service from the crown[16]. Of these the Hidage or Dane-geld was the principal, being a gentle land-tax of a shilling a hide, assessed equally upon houses and fields, and the only imposition that appears to have been continued, lasting below the Conquest, and making a regular part of the crown-revenue[17].

The constitution of the Saxon parliaments has been greatly disputed among the antiquarians. Some have asserted the commons, a body of men elected by and representative of the people, to have been an essential branch of the legislature. And others have denied it. The question was first started in the busy period of faction and the reign of the second Charles. And it has been warmly canvassed since. The patrons of liberty have obstinately maintained the affirmative; and the partisans of monarchy as resolutely adhered to the negative. Faction has thus mingled continually with the controversy, and exerted her usual arts of chicanery, perverting records and mis-quoting histories. But, as the diffused spirit of liberality has long discountenanced the knaveries, so the lenient hand of time has nearly allayed the prejudices, of party. And, in this the cool evening of political zeal, we can at once discern the object in dispute to be merely a point of curious speculation, un-interesting equally to the cause of liberty and the principles of monarchy, and easily determinable by an appeal to reason and records *.

Under the feudal system of England, the whole kingdom and a single barony were exactly the mirrours of each other. And the rights of the king over his feudatories were nothing more than the privileges of the feudatory over his vassals. If the sovereign had a just claim to the heriot, the relief, and the homage, wardships, marriage-licences, and escheats, from his military tenants; they had as just a one to the same incidents

* This was written before the commencement of the party-disputes, that for more than six years past have so ridiculously agitated the nation, but are nearly terminated at present; early in the spring of 1768.

Sect. I. from theirs [18]. If the monarch was empowered to require the personal attendance of his immediate subordinates in war, so was the baron [19]. And, if the one was authorized to demand a fine from them for an occasional discharge from the service, so was the other [19]. If the king might expect three capital aids from his barons, the barons might also call for three from their tenants; and, like him, receive a subsidy on the first marriage of their eldest daughter, on the creation of their eldest son a knight, and on the captivity of their own persons in war [20]. If the former had a power to levy occasional talliages on his tenants in demesne, the latter had the same power over his [21]. And, if the former had a right to extraordinary aids from his chiefs, the latter had a claim to proportionate subsidies from his vavasours [22].

From this interiour view of the feudal polity, we see the royalty and barony exactly modelled on the same principles and invested with the same privileges. The baron I have already shewn to have holden a court, at which all his vassals were obliged to attend, and he presided as the judge and they assisted as the jury. But the vassals who attended were only the feudatories of the chief, the mesne lords or frank tenants that held immediately under him. They, and they only, were the members of the court; in their presence were the acts of it executed; and by their assent were they ratified [23]. And in this judicature, and with the concurrence of these members, was that legislation executed by the baron, which was the incident equally of the baronial and parliamentary court, and those laws were enacted, which exist to this day the variegated customs of different manours. Such also, in every particular, would be the court or parliament of the king. The vavasours were obliged by their tenures to attend the little parliament of the barony. And the barons would be equally obliged by theirs to attend the court-baron of the royalty. The former were bound to act as assessors with their lord, on causes that arose among the tenants of the manour. And the latter would

equally be bound to be affeffors to the king, on all that emerged
among the tenants of the crown. The former were empowered, under the direction of their lord, to make laws for the regulation of the barony. And the latter muft have been privileged, under the controul of the monarch, to make rules for the government of the kingdom. The one judicature was called the court of the baron; the other was denominated the court of the king [24]. And legal inftruments were paffed, and legal inftitutes framed, in both. A confirmation of lands, and a donation of privileges, were made to the abbey of Croyland in two parliaments under Edgar [25]. A writ was iffued to the fheriff of Lincolnfhire in the reign of Bertulph king of Mercia, refpecting the boundaries of fome abbey-lands, and returnable to him and his council where-ever they fhould be convened at the conclufion of Eafter [26]. And the laws of Edmund, the fon of Athelftan, were enacted in his court at Eafter [27].

The real members of the parliament, therefore, appear from the effential qualities of the feudal fyftem to have been merely the royal thanes, or the immediate feudatories of the crown. They, and they only, could have been obliged by their tenure to attend upon the royal court. And they only, therefore, could have been the genuine conftituents of the parliament. The fub-feudatories of the kingdom could no more have been obliged to do the one, or allowed to be the other, than they could have been required to perform their feudal fervices, or permitted to difcharge their feudal payments, directly to the crown. The attendance in the court-baron was merely the incident of a baronial feud. And the attendance in the court-royal would be merely the appendage of a royal one.

This argument, as powerful as it is plain, I think, and derived from the very genius and principles of the feudal tenures, is confirmed by records and corroborated by hiftory. The publick acts of the Saxons are exprefsly declared to have been paffed with the confent, moft commonly of the witen, wits, or wife men, and at other

Sect. I. times of the eldest wits, the elders, the majores natu, and the aldermen, the greater and wealthier personages, and the reeves or presidents, the proceres the proceres majores, and the primates, the principes, the duces, the judices, the optimates, and the magnates, of the kingdom; terms all, except witen and judices, which will be explained hereafter*, sufficiently distinct in themselves, and absolutely exclusive of subordinate feudatories [28]. Those of the Normans are equally asserted to have been resolved upon with the assistance of the great men, the principes, the primates, the proceres, and the magnates, the barons, the earls and barons, and the baronage; terms rather more distinct, and evidently inclusive only of principal or royal feudatories [29]. And in that most authentick monument of history, the well-known charter of king John, where all the members of the senate were necessarily enumerated, in order to ascertain their rights and secure their privileges; the only constituents of the parliament are expresly specified to be the earls and greater barons in particular, and all the feudatories of the crown in general [30]. These are authorities so clear in their import and so decisive in their determinations, that nothing but an attachment to the prejudices of party can persuade any to credit, in opposition to them, the existence of a body of commons as a branch of our original parliaments [31].

These Witena-gemots, or council-courts, were merely the result of the feudal provisions. A parliament was held of all the feudatories to the barony. And another was convened of all the feudatories to the crown. Thus does that important doctrine which is the basis of our constitutional liberty, the necessity of parliamentary concurrence, appear to have been the vital principle and actuating soul of the feudal tenures. It was diffused through every part of the system, and for ever formed a barrier, at once invincible and legal, against the natural exorbitances of the baronial and royal prerogative. The royal moot was held almost entirely for the trial of causes and the formation of laws, these being the regular subjects of its deliberations, and taxes only levied occasionally by it. And, when

* In B. III.

when the commons were admitted afterwards into the national conventions, they were summoned merely for the fuller and readier assessment of the taxes. Hence the original members of our parliament, the lords, and the lords alone, retain at once a legislative and a judicial authority to the present period. And hence, when other courts were erected after the Conquest in the chambers of the royal palace, and in subordination to the royal judicature, the new justiciaries obtained the title of barons and the appellation of lords.

The baronial parliament was assembled twice in the year, and the royal one thrice. The latter was held at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas. And it was convened occasionally at any other time of the year by summons. The writ, issued to the sheriff of Lincolnshire in the reign of Bertulph, was returnable to the king and his council, where-ever they should be sitting on the concluding day of the Easter season [32]. A donation of privileges to the abbey of Croyland was passed in parliament by the same sovereign, in Easter-week [33]. The laws of Edmund were also enacted at Easter [34]. Those of Canute were made at Christmas [34]. And the general assemblies of the proceres in Germany were regularly convened at Easter, Christmas, and Whitsuntide [35]. The attendants on the parliament and the suitors to the county-court [35] were equally privileged from arrests, in their journey to the assembly and on their return from it. And the former have accordingly transmitted the immunity, considerably enlarged, to their successors the present peers, and exactly the same to their associates the present commons. When the parliament was convened, the sovereign acted as the earl or the sheriff in the county, the centenary in the hundred, and the baron in the manerial court. He was the speaker, he presided among them, and he assisted in their deliberations [37]. And the points, that were submitted to their consideration, were equally as in the county, the hundred, and the inferiour courts, not prudently decided by a plurality of voices, but with a rude simplicity of thought determined by unanimous consent [38].

Sect. I. The number of royal thanes or capital tenants, at the Doomsday survey, was not fully seven hundred in all [39]. But it was much greater during the Saxon empire. The Normans received most extensive domains from their liberal master; Geoffrey bishop of Constance possessing no less than two hundred and eighty manours, Alan earl of Bretagne and Richmond no less than four hundred and forty two, and Robert earl of Mortaigne and Cornwall even seven hundred and ninety three [40]. And many of the Saxon barons possessed only an inconsiderable degree of affluence, as even a greater barony was commensurate only with a tything, and all the ten lords in both were sometimes unable to pay the fine imposed upon one of them [41]. In such circumstances the attendance on the king's court, which was always esteemed a troublesome duty, would be equally considered as an expensive service. A law was therefore enacted by the Saxon government, which made an estate of forty hides, or about nine thousand and six hundred acres of land, a requisite qualification for a parliamentary baron [42]. This was not a law of exclusion from a right [43]. It was only a rule of dispensation from a duty. The former would have been too gross a violation of all the feudal principles. And the latter appears to have been the actual practice soon after the Conquest. The same distinction of greater and lesser barons subsisted equally before and after the Norman invasion, and in both periods assuredly was made by the same authoritative standard of fortune [44]. But as after the Conquest the greater were summoned singly to parliament, and absolutely obliged to attend, so the lesser were cited collectively, allowed to come, and permitted to stay away [45].

The lesser and greater received equally the denomination of barons and of knights. The titles were both feudal, and signified a soldier and a vassal. But, after the law had drawn a line of distinction betwixt the higher and lower feudatories of the crown, by degrees the former assumed commonly the denomination of barons, and the latter received the appellation

 of

of knights [*]. And what is very remarkable, and ſtrikingly confirms what I have ſaid above, this diſtinction appears to have prevailed as early as the days of Alfred; his tutor and biographer, Aſſer, plainly marking the three great and military orders of feudal ſociety, in his account of the perſons with whom the king formed a party in the woods againſt the Danes. It was, he ſays, cum paucis ſuis NOBILIBUS, et etiam cum quibuſdam MILITIBUS, et VASALLIS[46], with a few of his barons, and alſo with ſome knights, and the dependents of both. As the knights, however, were all abſolved afterwards from their obligation to a regular attendance in parliament, ſo were ſome of them originally excuſed from any at all, I think. A ſtandard of fortune was kindly ſet up by the crown, below which the military tenants of the king were left at liberty to appear or be abſent. And another would be equally erected, below which they had never been expected to appear. The feuds retained from the crown were by the natural operation of coheirſhip, the particular interpoſition of a royal licence, and other incidents, divided into various fragments, and broken even into tenths, twentieths, thirtieths, and fortieths [47]. And theſe trifling particles of a fee, even under the ſtricteſt obligation of baronial tenures, could never have charged their proprietors to the moſt un-frequent attendance in parliament. It muſt have been originally foreſeen, that thoſe operative cauſes would immediately produce, and infinitely generate, theſe minute and petty infeodations. And ſome proviſion would certainly be made by the law, at the original inſtitution of feuds, with regard to this duty of attendance. Such a one accordingly appears. In the conſtitutions of Canute, the heregeate of a royal thane or baron among the Danes, if he was poſſeſſed of a ſocne or manerial juriſdiction, was ſtated at four pounds. If he had a further relation to the king, by having apud regem promotiorem juſtitiam, by ſitting in his parliament and being a more honourable juſticiary; it was rated at more. And if he poſſeſſed leſs and was leſs powerful, if he poſſeſſed neither a manerial juriſdiction nor a parliamentary eſtate, he was charged

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charged only two pounds[48]. This estate of obligation to pay suit to the king's court of parliament, I apprehend, was a whole knight's fee, all that stated quantity of land, which was reckoned sufficient for the maintenance of a knight and his family. From the particulars which I have previously mentioned, a barony appears to have been composed of forty hides. A knight's fee probably consisted of five; and, for the first two hundred years after the Conquest, was esteemed to be worth about twenty pounds a year[49]. The very appellation of a knight's fee expressively denotes the fact. And the possessor of such a fee, only, could have been bound to appear in parliament, as he alone was obliged to attend in military expeditions, and he alone was required to receive knighthood from the king, or to pay a fine of commutation for them[50].

[1] Nennius p. 116 and 117, and Carte's genealogical tables p. 209.—[2] Edwy's father, king Edmund, died at twenty-four years of age (Malmesbury f. 29). And Brompton says expressly c. 862, Edredus,—eò quòd pueri Edwinus et Edgarus, filii Edmundi, *præ immaturâ ætate adhuc regnare non poterant*, in regno successit.—[3] After Edmund's death, Canute omnes episcopos et duces necnon et principes cunctosque optimates gentis Angliæ Lundoniæ congregari jussit. Qui cùm venissent ante eum,—interrogavit eos qui fuerunt testes inter eum et Eadmundum—, qualiter ipse et Eadmundus de fratribus et filiis ejusdem inter se locuti fuissent.—They replied Eadmundum regem velle Canutum *adjutorem et protectorem* esse filiorum ejus *donec regnandi ætatem habuissent*. Then Canute conatus est a præfatis optimatibus fidelia juramenta recipere. And the parliament took the oaths! Florence p. 618.—[4] See also p. 364 Introduction to Hist. by Brady for the like in other kingdoms.—[5] The two sons of Ethelred are made legatees by Alfred in his curious will (Asser p. 77, Wise). And the agreement betwixt Ethelred and Alfred was made at Swinburn in cognitione totius West-Saxoniæ principum, dominorum, et seniorum

niorum (p. 75), and Alfred therefore became totius West-Saxoniæ nobilitatis consensu pariter et assensu Occidentalium Saxonum rex (p. 73).—[6] The fact of William's succession has been variously represented. But it may be decisively settled, I think.

Sect. I.

Eadmer (p. 5. Selden), Hoveden (f. 256 and 257), and Florence (p. 633), Dunelmensis (c. 196), Brompton doubtfully (c. 957), Diceto (c. 479), and the Saxon Chronicle (A.D. 1066), make Edward to have appointed Harold.

Eadmer (ibid.), Hoveden (f. 257), Dunelmensis (ibid.), Diceto (c. 481), and Brompton (ibid.), either positively say themselves, or make William to say, that Edward had promised the succession to William; and all concur in asserting, that Harold had previously sworn to it.

Huntingdon (f. 210), M. Westminster (p. 218), Ingulphus (f. 511), and Malmesbury more doubtfully (f. 52), assert Harold to have been driven by accident to the continent. And Hoveden (f. 257), Eadmer (ibid.), Brompton (c. 947), and Dunelmensis (ibid.), declare him to have gone over designedly, in order to receive the hostages which he had given to Edward and Edward had deposited with William. But they all aver, that Harold swore to preserve the kingdom of England to him.

M. Westminster (ibid.) quotes doubtfully an opinion, that Harold was sent by Edward to bring William to England, as he designed to constitute him his heir. And M. Paris (p. 809. Watts) cites as doubtfully an assertion, that Edward bequeathed the crown to William, and that the bequest was void, as made on his death-bed and without the assent of parliament.

Rievallensis (c. 367), Malmesbury (f. 52), and Upodigma Neustriæ (p. 435, Franckfort 1603), Ingulphus (f. 511), Ordericus Vitalis (p. 492. Duchesne), Gemmeticensis (l. vii. c. 31. Duchesne), and Pictaviensis (p. 181 and 191. Duchesne), all agree that Edward appointed William for his successor.

Brompton (c. 497), Rievallensis (ibid.), Dunelmensis (ibid.), and Diceto (ibid.), Hoveden (ibid.), Huntingdon (ibid.), M.

Sect. I. Westminster (ibid.), Malmesbury (ibid.), and Eadmer (ibid.), Upodigma (p. 436), Ordericus (ibid.), Ingulphus (ibid.), Gemmeticensis (ibid.), and Pictaviensis (ibid.), all agree that Harold swore to the succession of William.

Malmesbury (ibid.) and M. Westminster (ibid.) mention doubtfully, that Harold was sent to tell William of his actual or intended appointment. Ingulphus (ibid.) asserts Robert, arch-bishop of Canterbury, to have been sent to acquaint him with the former. And Upodigma (p. 435), Ordericus (ibid.), Gemmeticensis (ibid.), and Pictaviensis (ibid.), reconciling both accounts together, declare Robert to have been sent *to notify the design*, and Harold *to confirm the grant by oath and do him fealty*.

And Gemmeticensis and Upodigma (ibid.) by the tenour of their story, and Ordericus and Pictaviensis (ibid.) in direct terms, affirm the designation to have been made in parliament, Optimatum suorum assensu, and Concedentibus Anglis.

From this account it is plain that Edward, some time before his death, resolved upon the appointment of William for his successor, and that he sent Robert the arch-bishop to notify the resolution—That he made the designation, the states ratified it, and Harold was deputed to acquaint the duke with it—That Harold actually went, and in the name of the king and states swore to the duke's succession and did him fealty.

This account alone gives consistency and propriety to the whole history of Harold's expedition to the continent, his oath to William, and the latter's challenge of the crown. And this is given us by historians the nearest to the period, and the most authentick in their notices. The embassy of Harold is also represented in one of the most authentick of all historical monuments, a suit of tapestry-hangings still preserved at Baieux in Normandy, and nearly as old as the Conquest. And it is represented there equally as a formal embassage from Edward, and as the cause and foundation of all the subsequent history; the piece beginning with the departure of Harold from Edward, and ending with the death of Harold at Hastings. See Mont-

Montfaucon's plates of it, with an explanation of the whole by him, M. Lancelot, and Smart Lethieullier Esq; in the appendix to the Anglo-Norman Antiq. of Dr. Ducarel, folio, 1767. William frequently asserted his right, as the adopted heir of Edward (Brady's Introd. p. 251). And the Norman family continued to assert it for a long time afterwards (ibid.). Sect. I.

See therefore a variety of mistakes in Mr. Hume's Hist. v. 1. p. 191 &c. and in Lord Lyttelton's Henry II. v. i. p. 2—9.—* [7] Mona p. 163 compared with Carte p. 214 from the Cottonian MS. of Gildas.—[8] Bede's Vita Cudbercti c. 24.—[9] Brompton c. 831, 837, and 838.—[10] The well-known Salick law of France, and Baluzius T. 1. col. 40, where the females are declared, as among the Britons (B. I. ch. 8. f. 3), to have no right to an inheritance till the utter extinction of the males.—Sexburga, the wife of Kenwalch king of the West-Saxons, is no instance. Malmesbury f. 6 and the Saxon Chronicle p. 41 mention her to have kept the sovereignty for a twelvemonth. If she did, she only retained her husband's power in her hands, during the great confusions that ensued about the succession. But the authority of Bede is against her reigning at all. Cùm mortuus esset Coinvalch,—acceperunt subreguli regnum gentis, et divisum inter se tenuerunt annis circiter decem (l. iv. c. 12). And, in a fact so near to his own times, the authority of Bede is decisive.

How unjust therefore is the observation of Mr. Hume, that the Saxons "either had no rule, or none that was steadily "observed, in filling the vacant throne," and that "present

* Mr. Lethieullier, in his explanation of the curious tapestry above, has made some strange mistakes as to the inscriptions upon it, which it will be proper to note here. Thus p. 8 he gives us Nuntii Willelmi Ducis Hic, for Nuntii Willelmi Ducis in one compartment, and Hic in another, belonging to the Venit Nuntius of p. 9. P. 9 he has omitted this inscription entirely, Hic Dux Wilgelm cum Haroldo venit ad palatium suum. P. 11 he gives us, Fuga vertit Redn, for Fuga vertit only. P. 22 Castellum at Hestenga-ceastra is read Castellum at Hesteng in one compartment, and Ceastra, supposed to refer to William's camp, in another; when the whole refers to Hastings, called Hæstinga-ceastre by Athelstan (L. L. 14). P. 27 we have Tenens confor instead of Tenens confortat pueros. And p. 28 this is wholly omitted, Et fuga verterunt Angli; and the words are said to be effaced, when they are very plain.

Sect. I. "convenience in that emergency was more attended to than "general principles!"—p. 214. v. i.

[9] Brady's Hist. v. 1. p. 82 from Doomsday Book, and Conf. L L. 31.—[10] John's Magna Charta Art. 12 in Blackstone's Law-Tracts v. 2, and records 15 John p. 117. Introduction—and Bracton L. 2. c. 16. f. 8.—[11] Doomsday Book passim.—[14] Doomsday Book in Appendix No. II.—[15] See records 39 Henry III and extract from Black Book of the Exchequer p. 178 and 179 Introduction, and records p. 31 and 32 of Boroughs.—[16] John's Magna Charta Art. 14.—[17] Conf. L L. 11 and Doomsday Book.—[18] B. II. ch. 5, f. 2.—[19] A record 7 Hen. III p. 117 Introd.—[20] John's Magna Charta Art. 15 and a record 15 John p. 117 Introd.—[21] The Charter of Manchester in Appendix No. III.—[22] A patent roll 15 Henry III p. 52 Glossary to Introd.—[23] Two grants in Introd. p. 116 and Monasticon v. i. p. 106, Sartum quod Robertus filius Hammonis dedit ecclesiæ—sicut *designatum fuit* per *Barones* ipsius Roberti; and Monasticon v. iii. f. 123, Willielmus comes Cicestriæ omnibus sanctis ecclesiæ filiis, Ego concedo omnes donationes quas *Barones mei* canonicis ecclesiæ Cicestriæ donaverunt vel donaturi sunt.—[24] Quotations p. 113 and 114 Introd. &c &c.—[25] Ingulphus f. 501 and 502.—[26] Ingulphus f. 489. If these charters are even spurious, the argument is equally valid. Forged at the Conquest, they would be sufficient witnesses concerning the nature of the Saxon parliaments.—[27] See preface to them in Wilkins.—[28] Alfred's laws were enacted with the advice of his witen (p. 34. Wilkins), and also Edward's (p. 49 and 51), Athelstan's (p. 62), Edmund's (p. 73), Edgar's (p. 76), Ethelred's (p. 102), and Canute's (p. 126). Ina's were with the consent of his eldest wites (p. 14) and his aldermen (p. 14), and Hlothaire's and Eadric's with that of their elders (p. 7); Athelstan's with that of his reeves (p. 65); Wihtred's with that of his eadigra gehealtendlic (p. 10) or greater and wealthier personages; and Cœnulf's in 811 cum consilio et consensu totius concilii, *id est*, Principum, Ducum, Judicumve, Majorumque natu (a charter in the hands of Thomas

Astle

Astle Esq. And see records in Brady's Introd. p. 9 and Appendix to it p. 49.—[29] Prefaces to Confessor's Laws, Henry I. LL. 2, records in Brady's Introd. p. 9, and Appendix to it p. 54.—[30] See it in Blackstone's Law Tracts, v. 2.—[31] So in Ethelbert LL. 2, about the close of the sixth century, we find a provision made, that if the king call to him hir leode, his leuds, or his vassalage (the barons, the only leuds of the crown, see also Hickes v. i. p. 105 and Baluzius T. 1. col. 14 and 17), and any injury be done to any of them, the penalty is a twofold mulct and fifty shillings to the king.—[32] Ingulphus f. 489.—[33] Ingulphus f. 490.—[34] Prefaces to the laws.—[35] Brady's History p. 87. And the parliaments of the Britons seem pretty plainly to have been held at the same seasons (Howel Dha l. i. c. 10. a. 2 and c. 21. a. 14).—[36] Cnute LL. Sec. 79. And this privilege is still retained by persons going to the county-court, at elections of representatives, coroners, and verdurers.—[37] Preface to Wihtred's LL. and Coram rege—et primatibus in p. 21 Introd.—[38] Preface to Wihtred's LL. unmodlice and mid ealpa, and cum unanimi consensu in Bertulph's donation, Ingulphus f. 490. And for the county and hundred courts see Hickes's Diss. Epist. p. 3 Consentientibus universis, and p. 13 Universitas hundredi and Universum hundredum. And for a borough-court see p. 9 Diss. Ep. Universis civibus.

Mr. Hume therefore is entirely mistaken, when he asserts the business of the county-court to have been determined "by a "majority of voices" (p. 228. v. 1).

[39] Brady's Introd. p. 170 from Doomsday B.—[40] Introd. p. 13 from Doomsday B.—[41] Conf. LL. 20.—[42] Hist. Eliensis l. ii. c. 40 in Gale.—[43] Mr. Carte and Mr. Hume in their histories, and Sir W. Dugdale in the preface to his Baronage, all assert that it was.—[44] Proceribus majoribus in Withlaf's donation. Ingulphus f. 448. Spurious as the charter assuredly is, it shews the distinction to have begun before the Conquest.—[45] King John's M. Charta Art. 14.—[46] Asser p. 30. See also Milites in LL. Conf. 21 and Ducarrel's Anglo-Norman Ant. App. p.

4.—And see Carte v. ii. p. 247.—[47] Introd. p. 19.—[48] Cnute LL. Sec. 69 compared with Henry I. LL. 14. And so in the laws of the Confessor Habere justitiam is to determine causes (see LL. 9); in a charter of the Conqueror persons are oblig-ed to attend the bishop's justitia or court of justice (Wilkins p. 230); and the pepowder court of some of our fairs is called by Bracton Justitia Pepoudrus (L. 5. Tract. 1. c. 6).—[49] Introd. p. 19.—[50] Introd. p. 19 and a record p. 212.

II.

THE Saxon lord of Manchester was a member of the royal parliament. And, as such, his revenue was almost exactly the same as that of the king. He received his heriots, reliefs, and escheats from his tenants in general; and levied his tolls, his returns in kind, and his payments in money upon his demesne ones in particular. These principally composed the baronial as well as royal income. And the whole would be considerably enlarged by the mulcts imposed in his courts, the three capital aids, and the occasional talliages. Thus was every baron of the kingdom, in appearance, the little sovereign of his subject lands. And the rights appendant to his seigniory were actually entitled, as they remain to the present period, the royalty of the district. But, by a sensible provision of the law, the mimick monarch was constantly reminded of his subordination to the crown, even in the legal exercise of his power over his own feudatories and tenants. Every special act of authority over them was made dependent on the royal pleasure. And he could not levy the capital aids, could not assess the occasional talliages, could not even collect the proportions of the publick taxes, or even exact a fine of scutage from them, without a special writ from the sovereign[1].

The persons, that ranked immediately below the baron in dignity, were the greater subjects of the barony, the mesne lords

 and

and frank tenants. These were the landed Gesithecunde men of the Saxons, the greater Gesithes or military companions of the baron; being possessed of land, holding it immediately from a lord, and being bound to the military services for it[2]. And they were also distinguished, even among the earlier Saxons, by a name that has been hitherto supposed, I think, to have been first introduced into the country by the Normans, the submissive appellation of vassals[2]. The mesne lords, or lordlings, I have frequently mentioned before, the proprietors of the townships under the baron. And the frank tenants, or franklins, were the possessors of demesne lands under him[3]. These equally with those enjoyed their estates by the military tenure, and were equally obnoxious to the military service, attendance in war or the mulct of scutage[4]. And the mulct was collected from the latter in proportion to the knights-fees, or members of fees, which they held under the barony; but was levied on the former by another standard, and was a reasonable or stated payment[5]. Both these classes of men were ordinarily subject to the baron only. But they were both reminded frequently by their tenures, of their superiour subjection to the crown. The king could summon them into his service, if the lord neglected to bring them[6]. And the king could distrain in their lands for his rights, if the other neglected to discharge them[6].

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The town and township of Manchester, after the Conquest, were the immediate demesne of the chief[7]. And the town appears in the great charter of its liberties to have therefore been charged with the payment of talliages to him[8]. But, as the Norman baron could have taken into his own possession only such lands as were previously held by the Saxon, both it and the township were equally the demesne of the latter. This would necessarily be the case, from the progress of population that I have noted before; beginning at the township as the center, and thence spreading gradually over the parish. And the frank tenants of the township were originally some principal esquires among the immediate servants of the seignior,

Sect. II. nior, whom he planted with them on his demesnes, and to whom he assigned considerable portions in frank tenancy[*]. These would settle without the town, and in the adjoining parts of the township. And the halls and districts of Aldport, Beswicke, Ancoates, and Collyhurst were pretty certainly their original mansions and domains.

The little divisions into which our townships are broken, like the townships themselves, were derived to us from the Britons. And their British appellation shews it. The original name is retained to the present moment in the neighbourhood of Manchester. And it is Hamel, popularly enlarged into Hamelet or Hamlet. This word has puzzled all our etymologists, but is nothing else than the Gavel or Gavelet of the Britons, and signifies an estate in land or a division of the country. The G and H, and the V and M, are known to be perpetually interchanged among the Britons[10]. And the hamlets of the township of Manchester, and of all its subject townships, resulted from one and the same principle originally; the little family of each vassal being modelled exactly like the baron's, and its little demesnes parcelled out like his.

The halls and hamlets of Beswick and Ancoates were originally named from the primary possessors of them, Anna and Betti, the common appellations of men among the Saxons[11]. But Collyhurst received its name from the wood, which continued near the hall to these later ages, and from the little brook with the British denomination that glides along it, Colly, Colne, or water[12]. And, as the fee of Aldport is particularly noticed in one of our antient records, and remains a peculiar district to the present time, so its hall was probably raised along the Roman road to Stockport and Buxton. There, just behind the Roman well which I have formerly mentioned, and the small house that has been lately erected over it, was a large close which has been recently partitioned into four, and is principally laid out in a garden, spreading to the north under the significant appellation of Aldport Field. And a long line of disjointed foundations was discovered there about nine years

ago,

ago, commencing nearly from the well, extending one yard in breadth, fourteen in length, and two in depth, and consisting of unhewn stones, broken bricks, and adhering morter[13].

The baron, the mesne lord, and the frank tenant, whatever ignorance has boldly conceived and liberty fondly presumed concerning the feudal ages, were the only men of consequence in the kingdom. They alone enjoyed their possessions by the military tenures. And the military were the only honourable ones of the feudal system. The baron formed the first rank in the scale of dignity, because he held immediately from the crown. And the others ranked only in the second degree, because they were the feudatories of a subject[14].

These frank tenants appear equally on the baronial and the royal demesne. On the former, being with the baron and mesne lord the only military tenants of the barony, they were with them (as I have formerly shewn) the only members of the baronial court. And, on the latter, equally with the barons they retained their lands in capite from the crown, and equally with them were obliged to attendance in parliament for them. Thus, in our parliamentary records, after the mention of barones and milites are frequently specified omnes alii qui de nobis tenent in capite, or alii qui regi servitium militare debent, or liberè tenentes qui de rege tenent per servitium militare[15]. And this was the case, even in circumstances that should have naturally prevented it. Even towns of the royal demesne were sometimes granted away in frank tenancy, not to a few royal feudatories, but to the whole body of the burgesses. This was an assignment, that could not have been originally made, and yet was practised very antiently. And by it the borough of St. Albans, and several other towns, became Burgi Regni, boroughs of the royalty, or towns held in capite from the king[16]. These burgesses were necessarily obliged by their tenures, like the frank tenants on the demesne lands of the crown, to attend upon the king in his court of parliament. And they were naturally allowed to appear there by deputation. Two burgesses of St. Albans, accordingly, at-

Sect. II. tended during the reigns of Edward the first and some preceding kings, in the name of all their brethren and in lieu of their personal attendance[17]. And in the Scotch parliaments, which were evidently formed on the same model as our own, and actually retained their antient constitution much later, among the barones et alii magnates of the assembly we find expresly mentioned Burgenses qui de domino rege tenent in capite[17]. This is a particular concerning our constitution, which is very curious in itself, and utterly unnoticed by our antiquaries of history or law. It shews the introduction of burgesses into parliament to have been long before the æra assigned for it by the monarchical writers, but to have been made in a manner very different from that which has been asserted by the democratical. And the burgesses were admitted in consequence of their baronial tenures, and formed an essential part of the legislative body of the peers[18].

All the towns in England were the demesnes either of the king or his barons. And the greater of them were distinguished among the Saxons by the appellation of Ports, or the much commoner one of Boroughs. These were naturally such as enjoyed the pre-eminent privilege of a market. And Manchester I have already shewn to have necessarily possessed this honour, from the period of its first foundation. The inhabitants of it are accordingly denominated the burgesses, and its houses are called the burgages, in all the antient records of the town. And its principal magistrate retains to this day the appellation of the borough-reeve[19].

This, and all the market-towns of the kingdom, were subject to the authority of a borough-court. And its jurisdiction was commensurate with the extent of the borough. The market-towns of the Saxons, therefore, had a settled government and a defined district. And all of them were virtually, and some of them actually, incorporated. The body of burgesses at Exeter was formed into a real corporation, being invested with the property of some lands that lay without the city, and receiving all the rents of them[20]. And those of Canterbury,

terbury were even associated into a gild, and endowed with thirty-three acres of meadow[20].

Inattention and unthinkingness have frequently thrown a strange colouring over the face of our antient history, by overlooking the idiomatick language of our fathers, and assimilating all their ideas to our own. And this is particularly the case with the word Freeman in our old records. That does not mean generally, as popular construction naturally supposeth it to do, every man that was free, and consequently, as the mind is ready to infer, every member of our free community; but such only as moved in the higher orbits of our polity, and approached the nearest to the monarch, the sun and center of our system. Such were they who held by the peculiarly honourable tenure, that of military service to the sovereign or a baron. And these, enjoying a peculiar freedom, were naturally entitled therefore the Free Men, not to the exclusion of others, but for the greater discrimination of these. Thus I have shewn the word before, in the term ꝼꞃeo-boꞃh or free pledge, to mean particularly the lord of a township under a baron[21]. And the appellation appears to have ascended afterwards, and to have been appropriated to the order immediately above, the military tenants of the crown. If the feudatories of a baron were honourably marked with the signature of freedom, the baron himself, the most honourable person in the line of feudal subordination, would naturally be supposed to have a still superiour right to it. And with the barons it seems to have settled permanently after the Conquest. Thus all the freemen or, as the title is in the Saxon, all the thanes of Herefordshire, as I have formerly observed, appear convened in the county-court, and sitting on a cause of property, during the reign of Canute[22]. And these, as I have also intimated, were actually the great landholders of the county.

The baron, the mesne lord on baronial estates, and the frank tenant on baronial and royal demesnes, though they were the

Sect. II. only men of consequence in the kingdom, were not all of them constituent members of the county and hundred courts. Those were only the proprietors of feuds, and the frank tenants of demesnes, immediately under the crown. These, and these alone, could be obliged to pay suit and service, either to the king's high court of parliament or to his inferiour ones in the country. The obligation of service to either would equally arise from the same principles of feuds, and the same attendance be equally commanded in both. And this reasoning is fully confirmed by facts. The members of the county-court at Pinenden in Kent, immediately after the Conquest, are denominated by the cotemporary Eadmer the principes or great chiefs and the primores or first landholders, of the county; an appellation, sufficiently restrictive to the feudatories of the crown only[as]. And all the liberi homines of the kingdom, who held their lands by military service from the crown, are expresly required by the Conqueror to be ever ready in attending the courts of justice, and honestly and speedily to determine the causes that should be brought before them[at]. Accordingly in Scotland, the government of which appears sufficiently on the face of it to have been merely a counterpart of our own, the shire-court consisted only of such persons as equally owed an appearance in parliament[au]. And, what is very extraordinary but little known, the voters in the county-court at an election there are all of the same class, and possessed of the same qualifications, with the candidates themselves; being such freeholders only, as possess the superiority of a lordship immediately from the crown, and therefore retain their antient denomination of barons. These were the great peers of the realm, by whom, in a general assembly of all the barons within the kingdom, the causes of the crown's military tenants were tried upon an appeal to the king; and, in a partial one of all within the county and the hundred, they were previously adjudged in the country. The members of the hundred-court would be the same as the constituents of the county. They were accordingly distinguished, as early as the laws of the Confessor,

fessor, by the same sort of pre-eminent title that the lords of the Saxon parliaments are shewn to have had above, the majores natu or the barons of the hundred. And, what is equally decisive in its evidence, they appeared in arms at the court on the coming of every new centenary, to swear allegiance to the king and his officers [25].

The military tenants of the crown composing the line of nobility in the feudal kingdoms, the mesne lords and frank-tenants under them formed the numerous order of gentry, and ranked in the middle station betwixt the nobles and free-soccagers. This word Soccage, which has been obscured by explanations, and forced to put on an air of abstruseness against its will, imports nothing more than the appertinance of a soca, soke, or manour. And Soccager is only a person who is the retainer of a manour [26]. The superiour holders were denominated knights or frank tenants, the inferiour were entitled villains, and the intermediate received merely the appellation of socmen or soccagers. These were in dignity below the knights and frank tenants, because they held not by the obligation of the sword. They were above the villains, because they were actually free soccagers [27]. They formed the last link in the chain of feudal liberty. And when the military tenures of the island, that had subsisted for so many ages among us, in the last century were swept away for ever by a decisive stroke of legislation; the tenure of free soccage necessarily emerged from its native subordination, and became the first holding of the kingdom, the only honourable mode of possession, and the general freehold of the present days.

Subordinate then to the lord and his feudatories, were the free soccagers. These were in the country the yeomanry of the parish, and in the town the burgesses of Manchester. And the houses in the latter were held by a species of free soccage, which was peculiar to towns, and was therefore denominated either simply burgage-tenure, or more descriptively soccage within a borough. But, to shew the idea which was entertained of this free holding by the military genius of the feudal system, the

Sect. II. villain and the burgess were placed by it nearly on the same footing. And the baron, who disparaged his ward by marrying him either to a burgess or villain, if the ward was under fourteen years of age, was deprived of his wardship on complaint [28]. The tenures of free soccage, however, were essentially distinguished from the holdings of villainage, as they were subject to no disgraceful services of husbandry, and obnoxious only to the payment of stated rents. And they are plainly distinguished by this characteristick in the laws of the Saxons, the free soccage of the country being denominated ᵹafollande, or ground retained by the service of a rent, and that of the town ᵹafolᵹildan hure, or burgages yielding rent [29]. The owner of a gafol-gildan house ranked with the proprietor of gafol-land; the former being sometimes denominated a burgess, and the latter a gebur or boor, a ceorl, ceorlisc, or churl, and a geneat or neat-herd; and both, in the scale of polity, ranking immediately below the gesithes or military companions of the baron [30]. And these gafols or gables still continue charged on many of our freeholds, and retain their antient appellation of the Chief or Lord's rent. But the tenures of free soccage were subject to all the obligations of feuds, except the military and justiciary services. Their heriot and relief, particularly, were equivalent to the annual rent of the house or land [31]. They were liable also to be charged with a talliage by the lord; this being collected as a poll-tax upon the inhabitants, according to their respective circumstances; and these being ascertained by the reciprocal oaths of their neighbours [32]. And they were all assessed in parliament, included in their baronies, to the publick taxes of the kingdom [33].

The condition of our towns in Britain was pretty nearly the same, in all probability, at the period of the Danish invasion and the æra of the Norman conquest. At the latter the towns could scarcely have recovered, and could certainly not have more than recovered, the wasteful ravages of war, and the barbarizing settlements of the Danes among them. And, at both, they would be greatly reduced from their former and more refined

fined condition at the Roman departure. In the sure mirrour of Doomsday-book, we see clearly represented the real state of our towns in general and of the Roman in particular, at the conclusion of the Saxon empire; and, in the reflexion from it, may pretty certainly discern their condition before the Danish invasion. And, to a mind delighted to mark the growth of civil refinement or trace the progress of civil barbarism, such a comparative view of our towns will be at once amusive and useful. In the reign of the Confessor, Clausentum or Southampton had 76 burgesses or houses, the colony of Aquæ Solis or Bath 154, and Durnovaria or Dorchester in the West 172: Camboritum or Cambridge 188, Cantiopolis or Canterbury 263, Calleva Attrebatum or Wallingford 276, and Isca Damnoniorum or Exeter 333; the colony of Deva or Chester 487, that of Lindum or Lincoln 1150, and the municipium of Eboracum or York about 1600. And Norwich had 1320, Thetford 944, and Ipswich 538; Sandwich 307, Warwick 304, Oxford 271, and Huntingdon 256; Shrewsbury 252, Hertford 164, Great Yarmouth 70, and Taunton 64; Northampton 60, Barnstaple 49, Buckingham 27, Stafford 18, and Tamworth 10.

In all these towns, the useful regulation of watches and wards was constantly observed by the Saxons. The appointment of a city-watch was originally made by Augustus, and must have been peculiarly necessary for a city like Rome, enormously large and infinitely populous [34]. And the institution would naturally be carried from the capital to all the cities of the empire. It could not have been a part of that fine system of domestick polity, which the Saxons brought over with them from the continent, and which, in the history of the human intellect, will ever reflect honour on the genius of Germany. The Germans had no cities [35]. And the regulation was originally adopted by the Provincials. But it was strictly adhered to by the Saxons, and has been faithfully transmitted to the present times. And in the county-court of October the collective body of the royal thanes, barons, or tenants in capite, the only suitors to the court, provided regularly every

Sect. II. year, with the earl and sheriff, for the careful observance of watches and wards throughout the county[36]. These were kept equally in the country and in towns[37]. But in the latter they were doubly necessary, because of the timbered buildings and narrow streets in the Saxon cities. And the burgesses watched every night in the year by turns[38].

The barons or knights forming the nobility, and the mesne lords and frank tenants composing the gentry, of the feudal polity; the free soccagers within and without the boroughs necessarily stood forth the first order of the actual commonalty, and the connecting link of the gentlemen and villains. Villains were all expressly denominated, and villains were all in fact, who were immediately below the free soccagers. But these were reducible into two classes; the villain soccagers and the native villains. The former appear from their appellation to have partaken of the absolutely free tenure immediately above them, and of the purely villain one directly below; and were subject to villain services, but had them ascertained and determinate[39]. The latter appear also from their name to have been in a state of compleat and perfect villainage. And both were equally subject to all the feudal incidents that were compatible with villainage, escheats, heriots, reliefs, and wardships[40].

The lands retained in pure villainage were like the primitive feuds, originally resumable, as they were expressly held, at the will of the lord. But the rigour of the tenure was so far alleviated by the lenity of the Saxon customs, that, even at the Conquest, the villain tenant could plead prescription against his lord, and was not removeable from his estate as long as he performed his services[41]. And, as early therefore as the Saxon times, the native villains of the kingdom had generally taken deep root in the lands of their respective lords, and shot up into the vigorous body of our present copyholders. Their services were originally indeterminate and arbitrary[42]. But from their nature, commonly uniform and regular, they would gradually settle into some degree of positiveness; and actually appear

pear at the Conqueſt limited by ſome reſtraining, though perhaps general, principles of certainty [43]. And retaining their lands to the preſent period, nominally as at firſt by the will of the lord, but really and in fact by the cuſtom of the manour or the copy of its court-rolls; they are now diſtinguiſhed among us by the mixt appellation of Copyholders at the will of the lord, and have had their ſervices converted into the more honourable return of ſtated rents.

The villain ſoccager is found on the demeſnes of the crown only, and is therefore in all probability the creature merely of royal clemency to the naifs [44]. His ſervices were villain duties, but certain and determinate [45]. And theſe exiſted on the royal demeſnes of Salford, before the Conqueſt. The tenants on thoſe of Derby, Warrington, and Blackburn remained in abſolute villainage to that period; and cuſtomarily repaired the king's houſes, and performed the villain offices about them, formed fiſhponds, and conſtructed haias or incloſures, and ſtabilituras or ſtands, in the woods for hunting [46]. And theſe were ſervices uncertain in their calls and indeterminate in their continuance. But the demeſne-tenants of Salford and Layland had been previouſly abſolved from the duties. They were not obliged even to one aſcertained operation of the others, the ſending mowers into the king's harveſt in Auguſt; and conſtructed only one haia in the woods at the ſeaſon of hunting [47]. And, as even the determinate offices of villain ſoccagers are now taken away by commutation, ſo the villains in antient demeſne have always ranked as the ſuperiour copyholders of the kingdom, and have now an intereſt in their lands equivalent to the freeholds about them [48]. They are however diſtinguiſhed ſufficiently from freeholders, even at preſent, by this peculiar ſignature of their villain parentage, That their lands cannot be transferred, like freeholds, by the ordinary channel of conveyances. They betray their original affinity to the native villains or common copyholders by this, That their eſtates, like theirs, are conveyed only by the proceſs of a ſurrendery to the lord or his ſteward in the court of the manour [49]. And they prove themſelves to be derived from the more honourable branch of the

Sect. II. the stock of copyholders, because they exist almost peculiarly on the royal demesnes, and in these surrenderies of the lands are declared to hold them, not at the will of the lord, but expressly by the custom of the manour[50].

Below all these was another class of men, consisting of such as were properly slaves. In the wild ideas that the spirit of liberty, so happily prevailing in this country, has raised concerning all sorts of feudal vassalage at present, the distinctions of villenage and servitude are entirely confounded, and the former is considered even by our historians and lawyers as actually the same with the latter. But they were very different. The villains were employed in the cultivation of the lands; and the slaves were engaged in the ministeries of the houshold[51]. Those were settled only on the estates of the great proprietors, while these were retained in every family. Those were the same with our present copyholders, and these answered to our present servants. The slaves therefore must have been a numerous body of men, as they were the servants of every order besides. And what is very remarkable, and strongly marks the honourable spirit of the Saxon system, even some of these were free. Some even of these approached so near to the confines of liberty, as to partake of its chearing influence. Certain days of grace, says Alfred in one of his laws, are granted to all free servants, eall ꝼꞃeoum mannum, but not to mere slaves and drudges, ðeopum mannum] ꞃne ꝩyꞃhꞇum; which they may spend as they please, either in doing acts of religion, or in earning something for themselves[52]. If any one, adds a law of Wihtred, shall supply his slaves (ðeopum) with flesh-meat in Lent, whether they be free or base, ᵹe ꝼꞃiᵹne ᵹe ðeopne; he shall be adjudged to the pillory for the fact[53]. The free slaves seem to have been precisely the same as our present servants, under the necessity of being such merely from their poverty, and under the obligation of continuing only from their compacts[54]. But the others were persons condemned to servitude by the laws, and suffering in slavery the just rewards of their crimes[55]. These ꝩiꞇe-ðeopes or mulct-slaves, as the law

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ſometimes denominates them, were bought and ſold juſt as the redeemed captives of Africa and our own convicts are in our plantations at preſent, and were only forbidden to be tranſported into foreign countries [56]. And even theſe were put under the protection of the laws, and even theſe were made capable of poſſeſſing property [57]. In one of the few ſermons which have come down to us from the Saxons, the humane preacher of it, feelingly alive to all the preſſing evils of the Daniſh ravages, enumerates among the calamities of the nation what indeed compleats our idea of the national miſery, That the ſlaves themſelves (ðpælas or thralls) were involved in the general ruin, and plundered of the little all which they had earned with ſuch difficulty in the hours allotted to themſelves [58]. The times allotted to the free ſlaves were the twelve days of Chriſtmas, Aſh-wedneſday, and St. Gregory's mind-day, fourteen days at Eaſter, and the feſtival of St. Peter and St. Paul, a whole week in harveſt-time, the day before All-ſaints, and the four wedneſdays in Ember-weeks [59]. Some of theſe in all probability were alſo allowed to the others. And ſome certainly were, as they were equally poſſeſſed of property with their free brethren.

Thus did the feudal polity of the barony deſcend in a long pyramid from the chief to the ſlave. The chief formed the point. The meſne lords and frank tenants ſwelled out the growing ſtructure. The free-ſoccagers expanded the bulkier body. And the pure and privileged villains concurred with the free and the perfect ſlaves, to compoſe the extenſive baſis. Only three of the tenures remain to the preſent day, free ſoccage, and the two claſſes of villainage; the one the only free holding of modern times, and the others nominally baſe, ones, but virtually as free and nearly as beneficial as the freehold. And thus did the ſun of liberty diffuſes its influence through the whole extended ſphere of the feudal œconomy, ſoftening even the gloom of ſlavery and the ſhades of villainage, lighting up the humble abodes of ſoccage, and ſhining bright on the regions of military ſervice. To the feudal tenures, and to them alone, are we indebted for the inſtitution of parliaments. And

 to

Sect. II. to them, and them only, do we therefore owe the existence of all our rational and constitutional liberties [a].

[a] Records 15 John, 7 Henry III, 10—19 and 31 Edw. I, and 19 Henry III, in p. 117—121 Introd. These records convict Glanville of a mistake in l. 9. c. 8.; which is very remarkable. And Bracton l. 2. c. 16. s. 8 concurs with them.—[b] Ina LL. 45, 51, 50, and Wihtred p. 10, and Hickes's Thesaurus v. i. p. 10, for Gesithes; and Asser's Alfred p. 33, Rex—cum *nobilibus vasallis* Summurtunensis plagæ contra paganos infatigabiliter rebellavit, and p. 30, Rex—cum paucis suis *nobilibus* et etiam cum quibusdam *militibus* et *vasallis* kept to the woods. In the former extract he uses the word Vassal with a general acceptation, but in the latter with a particular one—[3] Records p. 117 and 217 Introd.—[4] Records p. 117 and 129 Introd.—[5] Records 15 John in p. 117 Introd. and 7 Henry III. in p. 118.—[6] P. 116 Introd. from Gervase of Tilbury.—[7] Albertus Gredle dedit iv Bovat. ex dominio suo in villâ de Mancester (a record 20 Edward III).—[8] See charter in Appendix.—[9] Item isti [barones] suos armigeros vel alios sibi servientes sub uno friborgo [habeant], Conf. LL. 21.—[10] See gavel and gavelet in this sense very frequently in Howel Dha.—[11] Bede l. iii. c. 18 and 21. So also girl antiently signified a man, Hickes's Thesaurus v. i. p. 106.—[12] This in a record 15 Edw. II. is denominated Coln-hurst, the brook being called either Colly or Colne, as in B. I. ch. v. s. 1.—[13] In a record 15 Edw. II. we find mentioned Feodum domini de Aldport on the Medlock.—[14] See Ina LL. 45.—[15] P. 121, 123, 74 and 125, and 218, Introd.—[16] Record 8 Edw. II. p. 37 Introd., Sicut cæteri burgenses *regni*. So Eadmer p. 105, *Regnum* Angliæ (the royal vassals) ad curiam regis Lundoniæ pro more convenit. And so Bracton decisively in that passage, which has been interpreted so wrongly (see Hume v. 2. p. 108), *Regnum* ex comitatibus et baroniis dicitur esse constitutum (L. 2. c. 34. f. 1). So also the king's leode or vassalage in Ethelbert LL. 2. And

2 this

this sense of the word *regnum* gives a new meaning to some records and quotations in Brady, particularly in p. 82, 83, 125, and 222 Introd., and additional force to others in p. 113 and 114. Brady did not comprehend the full force of the word.—" Record p. 37 Introd. And in such monuments as mention barones, milites, et liberè tenentes, and then subjoin omnes de regno, as one p. 125 Introd., these borough-barons are meant. This gives certainty to some of those dubious expressions in Brady's monuments.—There is only one English record which gives us this extraordinary notice. And the principal part of it runs thus. Ad petitionem burgensium villæ de Sancto Albano suggerentium regi, quod licet *ipsi tenent villam prædictam de rege in capite*, et ipsi, *sicut cæteri burgenses regni*, ad parliamenta regis, cùm ea summoniri contigerit, per duos comburgenses suos veniri debeant, *prout totis retro-actis temporibus venire consueverant*, pro omnibus servitiis regi faciendis—, nihilominus they have not been summoned to the present parliament in burgensium præjudicium et *exhæreditationis periculum manifestum*. Brady did not remark the import of the record. And his unequal antagonist, Tyrrel, in p. xcviii of his history v. 1. produces what I take to be a similar monument, but did not know how to apply it properly; in 17 Edw. III Barnstaple in Devonshire presenting a petition to the king, and claiming a right by a charter from Athelstan of sending two burgesses to parliament. This arose, I doubt not, from some confused idea that they had entertained of the town's having been formerly a Burgus Regni, and perhaps, as alledged, from the days of Athelstan.—And in the Scotch parliament appear burgenses qui de domino rege tenent in capite (Stat. Roberti III. fol. 63, in Skeen's Reg. Maj.), who in a law made 81 years before are reckoned among the barones et alii magnates at one time, and among the liberè tenentes at another (Stat. Rob. I. fol. 29). —This also accounts for that singular division of boroughs, as it seems, which has so long prevailed in Scotland, into royal burghs, burghs of regality, and burghs of barony. The first only send representatives to parliament, answering (as I shall shew

Sect. II. ſhew in B. III) to our demeſne boroughs. The burghs of regality therefore were the ſame with the burgi regni. And the name muſt have once obtained in England, though we have ſo totally loſt all remembrance of it and the fact at preſent. —[18] Hence perhaps the repreſentatives of the Cinque Ports are to this day denominated the Barons of them.—[19] Mr. Hollinworth in his MS. hiſtory fondly contends from theſe terms, for Mancheſter being a parliamentary borough in the Saxon times; and gravely appeals to a lord chief-baron for the juſtneſs of his law.—And that great enlightner of our Engliſh hiſtory, Dr. Brady, perplexed with the indiſtinctive appellations of boroughs and towns, and perhaps blinded a little by the prevalence even of conſtitutional prejudices, has run into a very different miſtake, and ſuppoſes all boroughs, as ſuch, to have been created by the royal incorporation. This errour appears very conſpicuous in various parts of his learned and uſeful treatiſe upon boroughs: ſee B. II. ch. 7. ſ. 1.—[20] P. 5 of Brady on Boroughs, extract from Doomſday B.—[21] P. 10 ibid. from the ſame.

How miſtaken therefore is Mr. Hume in his juſt and ſenſible reaſoning upon the Norman parliaments, when he aſſerts the Saxon boroughs at the Conqueſt to have been "not ſo much "as incorporated," to have "formed no community," and to have not been "regarded as a body politic," being merely a number of "tradeſmen living, without any particular civil tie, "in neighbourhood together" (p. 119, v. 2).

[22] P. 9.—[23] Ad judicium rectum et juſtitiam conſtanter omnibus modis pro poſſe ſuo ſine dolo et ſine dilatione faciendum (p. 218 Wilkins). So *omnes milites* of the county appear in a roll 9 Henry III (p. 44, Appendix to Introd.) to be electors of two legaliores milites, who were to be choſen in full county-court. So alſo in Art. 19 of John's Magna Charta the milites and liberè tenentes of the county are ſuppoſed to be always preſent in the county-court. And indeed the words milites and liberi homines, un-attended with any words that reſtrict them to ſub-feudatories, ſhould always be underſtood of the higher feuda-

feudatories, the principal or royal thanes.—[24]A. D. 1425, all prelates, earls, barons, and freeholders, of the king, are declared to be under obligation to appear personally in *parliament* (Murray's Laws of Scotland, 1681, p. 8). In 1427 the small barons and freeholders are excused from coming, on their sending two or more, chosen *in the head-court of their respective shires*, to be their commissaries (p. 17). In 1429 all the freeholders of every shire are declared to be bound to their personal appearance *at the head-courts of their shires* (p. 22). And in 1449 the freeholders of the royalty are noted, as under the necessity of attending equally at the king's *parliament* and the *justice aires* or two head-courts in the county (p. 34).—[25] See LL. 33 and B. 11. c. 5. s. 1. And earls and barons were first excused from attending at the county-court, in 52 H. III. c. 10.

I have the more willingly entered into this disquisition, as a fortiori it evinces the members of the king's parliamentary court to have been merely the military tenants of the crown, and strikingly points out the absurdities, by which inattention often injures the cause of liberty in dressing her up so fantastically. Thus even Mr. Hume, the least fanciful of these airy speculatists, but building all his conceptions upon the word Freeman, and supposing it equivalent to our present Freeholder, has refined in a train of ingenious errours upon the Saxon government. In p. 228 v. 1 he says, That "the administration of justice by the courts of decennary, the "hundred, and the county, were well calculated to defend "general liberty, and to restrain the exorbitant power of the "nobles," as "all the freeholders were assembled" there. And in p. 230 he adds, That "the county-courts, where all the "freeholders were admitted, formed a very wide basis for "the government, and were no contemptible check on the "aristocracy." How unjust is this, when all the members of the hundred and the county courts were actually nobles, and actually constituent parts of that aristocracy!

[26] Mr. Justice Blackstone in his Comment. vol ii. p. 80 derives the name from the same word, but makes it to signify

"a free

Sect. II. "a free and privileged tenure." The interpretation however is obviously unjust, since there was a villain soccage as well as a free one. And the former is sometimes denominated only Soccage, as well as the latter. It actually is so in Britton and Fitzherbert vol ii. p. 100 of his own Commentaries. And we have equally a burgage-tenure, meaning merely an appertinance to a burgh or borough; and a socome in Scotland, signifying only the obligation to grind at the manerial mill.—[28] Bracton L. 1. c. xi. s. 1, L. 2. c. 8. s. 2, and L. 4. Tract. 1. c. 28. s. 1 and 5.—[28] Stat. of Merton in 1235.—[29] Alfred and Guthrum LL. 2, and Ina LL. 6.—[30] Ina LL. 51, Edgar LL. p. 79, p. 47, Ina LL. 21, 30, and 6, and Wihtred p. 10.—[31] Conq. LL. 40, Glanville l. 9. c. 4, and Regiam Maj. L. 2. c. 71.—[32] Record, and extract from Black Book of the Exchequer, p. 178 Introd. And see p. 180 a petition of the barons 33 Ed. I.—[33] See a record 21 Hen. III, where the barons or tenants in capite are said to have given a thirtieth of all their moveables pro se et suis villanis, for themselves and all their tenants, even including their villains (Introd. p. 221).—[34] Dio p. 799 and 800.—[35] Tacitus de M. Germ. c. 16.—[36] Conf. LL. 35.—[37] Conq. LL. 56.—[38] Ibid. So in the Leges Burgorum of Scotland, De omni domo in quâ aliquis habitat, unus tenetur propter metum periculi vigilare, qui cum baculo ostiatim circumibit, et erit de ætate virili, &c. c. 86. fol. 143.—[39] Bracton L. 4. Tract. 1. c. 28. s. 1 and 5.—[40] Blackstone in Comm. p. 97 and 100. vol. ii. And in B. I. c. viii. s. 3 we see the British villains equally subject to heriots and reliefs.—[41] Conq. LL. 33.—[42] Bracton L. 2. c. 8. s. 2. and L. 4. Tract. 1. c. 28. s. 5.—[43] Conq. LL, Lur dreit service.—[44] Bracton L. 4. Tr. 1. c. 28. s. 5.—[45] Bracton L. 4. Tr. 1. c. 28. s. 5.—[46] Doomsday Book in Appendix.—[47] Ibid.—[48] Blackstone in Comm. p. 100 and 101. vol. ii.—[49] Bracton L. 4. Tr. 1. c. 28. s. 5.—[50] See a Deed in Blackstone p. 135, v. 11.—[51] Ethelbert LL. 11, and Wihtred p. 11.—[52] Alfred LL. 39.—[53] P. 11.—[54] Athelstan LL. 1. p. 62.—[55] Ina LL. 24, and Edward LL. 9.—[56] Ina LL. 48, and Athelstan LL. 19 (p. 59), and Ina LL. 11.—[57] Ethelbert

LL. 84—89, Wihtred p. 11, Ina LL. 3, &c.—[59] Diff. Epist. p. 100, and Johnson on Alfred's LL.—[1] Alfred LL. 39.

[60] Mr. Hume asserts the Saxons to have been "divided "into three ranks of men, the noble, the free, and the slaves" (p. 223—224):—"The nobles," he says, "were called Thanes, "and were of two kinds, king's thanes and lesser thanes. "The latter seem to have been dependant upon the former, "and to have received lands, for which they paid rent, "services, or attendance in peace and war" (p. 224). Below the nobles "there were no middle rank of men" (p. 224). "The lower rank of freemen were deno-"minated Ceorles" (p. 226), and the upper were merchants or traders (p. 225—226). "But the most nume-"rous rank by far seems to have been the slaves or villains" (p. 226).

Here is a number of mistakes. I shall note them very briefly.

The thanes were not all nobles. Only the royal ones or great feudatories were. And there *was* a middle rank below the nobles. The lesser thanes, or sub-feudatories, formed it. The lower order of freemen was not merely ceorles, or the upper merchants and traders. The upper consisted of the lesser thanes. And both the traders and ceorles, the free-soccagers of town and country, composed the lower. Nor did the villains and slaves form the last class of all. They did not unite to form any. The villains were one order of men, and the slaves another. There were therefore five ranks of men, instead of three, in the gradations of the Saxon polity. And these were the nobles, the gentlemen, the freeholders, the villains, and the slaves.

Nor did the thanes pay any rents for their lands. Nor did they perform any services for them, distinct from their attendances in peace and war. And, to suppose with Mr. Hume that they did either one or the other, is to confound the military and free-soccage tenures together, and reduce the thane to a level with his ceorle.

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The churls "seem to have been removeable at pleasure.— "The slaves or villains were incapable of all property" (p. 226).

The churls, as free soccagers, were the same with our present freeholders, and therefore could not have been removable at pleasure. And even the villains were not, as I have already proved. But Mr. Hume has again confounded the villain with the slave, though so strikingly distinguished from each other. And I have shewn even the slaves to have been capable of property.

"The Saxons, who subdued Britain, as they enjoyed great "liberty in their own country, obstinately retained that invalu- "able possession in their new settlement" (p. 213).—"A fierce "and bold liberty" marked "these founders of the English go- "vernment" (p. 213).—"The seeming liberty, or rather licen- "tiousness, of the Saxons, &c." (p. 223).

Yet in p. 217, 219, 221, 224, 225, 226, and 227, *all below the nobles* are represented as in a state of abject dependence, subject to the tyranny of the others. And in p. 245 "the ceorles "and *common people*" are said to have been "removeable at "pleasure" from their lands, as being only "tenants during "the will of their lords."

How strangely careless, and how grossly inconsistent, are these accounts!

In p. 112 v. 2. speaking of the Norman polity, Mr. Hume says thus. Below the military vassals were "what in a proper "sense we call the people. A great part of them were serfs, "and lived in a state of absolute slavery *or* villainage. The "*other* inhabitants of the country paid their rent in *services* "which were *in a great measure arbitrary*." And in p. 113 he goes on thus. "The towns were situated either within the "demesnes of the king or the lands [the demesne lands] of the "great barons, and were *almost entirely* subjected to the abso- "lute will of their master."

The slave and the villain are here confounded as before. The other inhabitants were the free soccagers, who paid no rent in *services* at all. And, if they had, these could not have been *in a great measure arbitrary*, as even those of the villain soccagers

were

were determinate. The inhabitants of the towns held equally by free soccage. They paid stated rents. And therefore they could not possibly be *almost entirely subjected to the absolute will of their master*.

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CHAP. VII.

THE GENERAL OECONOMY OF THE TOWN OF MANCHESTER UNDER THE SAXONS — AND THE CUSTOMS, MANNERS, AND DRESSES OF ITS SAXON INHABITANTS.

I.

ALL the boroughs or market-towns in the kingdom were free in their own nature. Their lands were possessed by a free tenure. And their inhabitants were under the jurisdiction of their own court and the authority of their own reeve, a court in which they were the judges, and a reeve of whom they were the electors. These were indeed considerable liberties. They were privileges of a very extraordinary nature, to be reached out to mere shopkeepers and mere marketers by the hand of a military government. And they very strongly evince the regard which was shewn, even amid the rigours of the feudal polity, and in the state of our interiour commerce under the Saxons, to the useful community of our little traders. All boroughs therefore, by the genuine principles of their constitution, were actually free. And they were even so compleatly free, that if the villain of any lord in the kingdom purchased a house in a borough, and remained settled and un-claimed in his burgage for a year and a day, he absolutely commenced a freeman, and had an equal right with the native burgesses to all the franchises of a borough[a]. So inseparably was liberty the privilege of a market-town, that, even if it received any foreign engraftments of villain-

age

age on its antient ſtock, it ſoon refined them by its own nature, and incorporated them into its own ſubſtance.

But, when the drooping genius of commerce began to raiſe up its head, the king and baron remarked the effort and encouraged the ſpirit. They made ſome new conceſſions to particular towns in their demeſnes. And theſe, diſtinguiſhed over the reſt by the immunities, peculiarly aſſumed the appellation of Free Boroughs. Thus Great Yarmouth, Dunwich, Bridgewater, Helſton, Mancheſter, and others, were all exalted into free boroughs within the compaſs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries[2]. But the extraordinary favours, which were granted to theſe particular burgeſſes, were not (as they have been wildly underſtood to be) any improvement of their perſonal freedom; but merely a qualified exemption from toll in their own market and throughout their own barony. Theſe were their only additional franchiſes, as appears at once upon a collation of the original charters, which conſtituted the free boroughs that I have mentioned before. All agreeing in the adoption of that one honourable appellation, they again agree only in the enjoyment of this one privilege. And we find the ſame favour to have communicated the ſame title to the burgeſſes in Scotland[3].

The borough of Mancheſter therefore, in the earlieſt period of the Saxons, was literally free. And the free œconomy of its diſcipline was conducted by the united authority of three or four judicatures.

The tything-court of the baron was divided into the greater and leſſer leets. And the greater were peculiarly the Views of frank pledge; and held, as at preſent, only twice in the year, at the cloſe of ſpring and concluſion of autumn[4]. But the leſſer or ordinary leets were convened, as they are to this day, regularly once in three weeks[5]. And the juriſdiction of both extended equally over the whole deanery or manour. In the former, only, did the baron preſide; as his bailiff, ſeneſchal, or ſteward appears to have done in the latter[6]. In both,

Sect. I. both, the lords of the subject townships were the regular assessors with them. And in the fourteenth century, when the tything and manour had been long extended into many of the neighbouring parishes, the lords of Withington, Asheton-under-Line, Pilkington, and Undesworth, Worthington, Lostock, Harwood, Childwall, and others, are mentioned upon record as obliged to attend even in the inferiour leets, and as denominated THE JUDGES OF THE COURT OF MANCHESTER BY CUSTOM OF OLD[7]. All violations of the peace were considered as breaches, not of the king's, but of the baron's and bailif's peace; were peculiarly brought before the lesser leet; and were impleadable at the suit of the parties or the prosecution of the bailif. And the proceedings were conformable to the common law of the kingdom[8]. This moot still retains its antient appellation of Manchester Court; but has long been reduced by the erection of a court of sessions, and scarcely retains any semblance of its original dignity at present. And, in the greater leet, the judicial authority of the baron has been delegated to the bailif; and that of the bailif, in the lesser, has devolved on his deputy.

The modes of punishment which were inflicted by both, besides such as I have previously noticed, were those of the gallows, the pillory, and the tumbrel. These antient implements of police and discipline the lord of Manchester had in the township, at the beginning of the fourteenth century[9]. And he must naturally have had them through the whole extent of the Saxon history, as every baronial court both in England and Scotland, for ages after this period, had the power of life and death belonging to it[9]. The furcæ or gallows were a common engine of punishment, amongst the antient Germans and Britons[10]. The tumbrel was the same with our present cucking-stool, as is plain from the Laws of the Boroughs in Scotland. There the brewer of bad ale is ordered by one law to have justice executed upon her, and to be placed upon the tumbrel, and required by another to suffer the justice of the town in which she resides, and to be put on the cucking-stool[11].

stool[u]. And it is incidentally recorded as Saxon in the notices of Doomsday; the same offender at the neighbouring Chester being either placed in cathedra stercoris, the dung-chair, or obliged to pay a fine of four shillings[x]. It received this last appellation, I apprehend, from the same idea that has given the title of cathedræ stercorariæ to some antient chairs of stone which are preserved at the Lateran in Rome; because it was in form what these were in reality, a mere close-stool. The Mancunian stool remained within these few years, an open-bottomed chair of wood placed upon the end of a long pole, and suspended over the water of Daubholes. But it had long been here, as it has all over the kingdom, an engine of punishment only for whores. And it had therefore obtained at Manchester, as we see that it had in Scotland three or four ages ago, the name of the cucking-stool or whore's chair; having dropt its original appellation of the tumbrel, and resigned it up to the common dung-cart. But the pillory, which appears from this its British name to have been actually derived to us from the Britons, was descriptively denominated among the Saxons the healſꝼanᵹ or neck-stocks. And the punishment of it was inflicted, or a fine of commutation imposed, on several sorts of offenders[y].

Where particularly, in the neighbourhood of Manchester, the gallows of the manour were placed, it is difficult to determine. They were at a small distance only from the town probably, as those which were erected at Salford for the hundred, and those which were afterwards raised at Asheton-under-Line, when Asheton was constituted a manour, were both fixed a little remote from their respective towns. The field of execution at Asheton was to the right of the road from Manchester, and, being now divided into two, is called the Gallows-meadows. And that at Salford has been equally divided, and is equally denominated the Gallow-fields to this day; being the fifth and sixth inclosures in the foot-path along the Irwell from Boat-house lane towards the Lock, and facing the great Hulme meadow on the other side of the

current.

Sect. I. current. But the fossa or pit for the tumbrel, dung-chair, or cucking-stool, as also for testing the accused by plunging, or putting convicts to death by drowning, which I have shewn before to have been in use among the Germans originally, and a regular appertinance to every Saxon manour, was probably much nearer to the town. It was that large collection of waters in all probability, which was simply denominated the Pool, continued un-drained to the middle of the last century, and has given the name of the Pool-house and the Pool-fold to the edifice that was erected within it and the buildings that have been constructed upon it. The emphaticalness of the name, and the proximity of the site to the town, concur to suggest the supposition. And hereafter I shall shew it to have been described, and even within these two hundred years, as a dark and horrid lake of water. But there is an additional weight of evidence, that strikingly confirms the other, and nearly lends the opinion all the certainty of fact. And that is this. There was a large field, which seventy years ago reached up from the site of the old pool to the present course of Tib-lane, and is now covered over with buildings. This had therefore the great pool formerly, as it has Pool-fold at present, at one extremity of it, and at that which is nearest to the town. And, what is very remarkable, it was popularly named to the period of the present erections, and is called in all the records that mention it, the Plungeon or plunging Field. The street, that now runs from the southern angle of Pool-fold into Tib-lane, was then denominated Plungeon Lane. And the Meeting-house near the angle being one of the first edifices that were erected upon the ground, in that strain of opprobrious humour which the long struggles of a century had produced in the Churchmen towards the Dissenters, it was affrontively denominated St. Plungeon's even to our own times.

The borough-court of Manchester was popularly called the Portmote, was held by the borough-reeve, and assembled originally three, but more recently four, times in the year[13].

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Every burgess was obliged to attend regularly at it in person, without excuse and without summons, or to send his wife or eldest son as his representative[14]. And, if he neglected, he was amerceable to the value of twelve pence[15]. But this obligation has been long extinguished. The portmote of our fathers has been buried in the grave of time. And, the judicial authority of the borough-reeve in it is even forgotten by tradition at present.

There was also another court, which has been totally unnoticed by the lawyer or historian, is equally buried with the portmote, and equally common to all the boroughs in the kingdom. This was a Laghemote, a court of laga or law. It appears in the baronial records of Manchester, and is mentioned in the charters both of Manchester and Salford. And it appears also in an antient manuscript that I have perused, relating to the polity of the city of London, and once reposited (I believe) in its archives. It was not a settled and regularly convened judicature. It was held merely at the discretion of the borough-reeve, who presided in it[16]. But, as it was pretty constantly summoned, so was it at an appointed period[17]. It was held in the intervals between the quarterly returns of the portmotes, and was merely the lesser borough-court; though, like the lesser leet, it assumed a different name from the greater[18]. It was the same undoubtedly as the Husting or Bur-ware-mot in the charters of Great Yarmouth, London, Lincoln, York, and Norwich; and, like them assuredly, was required to be assembled only once a week[19]. And, if a burgess was summoned into the laghemote upon any allegation against him, and did not appear either in person or by proxy, he forfeited twelve pence to the lord for the disobedience, and was obnoxious to an action from him in the portmote[20].

The borough-reeve was one of the burgesses, elected by the rest, and removed at the conclusion of his year[21]. Being the president of the portmotes and laghemotes, and retaining his seat in both below the Conquest, he was as late entrusted with

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Sect. I. all the civil authority over the town [21]. And he received ſome pecuniary advantages, from the frequent impoſition of mulcts in the courts; his proportion of the fine in ſome caſes being two fifths of the lord's [22]. He poſſeſſed alſo an extra-judicial authority, as the perpetual juſticiary of the town; by which, on a claim and an acknowledgement of debt, he could aſſign the defendant a day for the payment of it in his court the week following, and compell him to the performance by fine [23]. But he was likewiſe the ſteward of the lord in the town, by the conſtitution of his office; and collected the tolls for him in his own perſon or by deputy [24]. And no man might purchaſe any wares in the borough, but with his knowledge and under his inſpection [25]; as the Saxon laws ſtrictly required all marketing to be made in towns before the reeve or other credible witneſs, to prevent thefts or to detect them [26].

The only ſervice of free ſoccagers being the payment of ſtated rent to the lord, our anceſtors of the borough were ſubject to this burden. And each of them paid only twelve pence to the baron for his burgage [27]. This was the ſettled return of ſervice in the thirteenth century, and moſt probably the ſame in all the preceding ones. It appears from its ſmallneſs to have been rated upon the houſes, long before that period, and ſome time about the Conqueſt perhaps. And the rent has generally been long ſold away to the burgeſſes, but remains rated and a ſhilling to the preſent day upon one or two of them.

The regular inhabitants of the town were all burgeſſes, either the actual poſſeſſors of burgages under the lord, or ſuch as had previouſly ſold them, and now hired others from their neighbours [28]. And the houſes of the Mancunians, like the general lands of the Saxons [29], were naturally divided into freeholds of inheritance and freeholds not of inheritance. In the kingdom and the borough, the latter might be ſold or bequeathed at the will of the proprietor; a right of pre-emption only being reſerved to the heir in this, and perhaps in that [30]. The former among the Mancunians could not be ſold away, either

either in part or in whole, without the consent of the heir, unless the owner was reduced to necessity [31]. Such a situation evacuated the obligation; and, whatever was the age of the heir, his consent then was not requisite to the sale [32]. And we see exactly the same sort of limitations in conveyance, imposed upon the same species of lands among the Saxons and Germans. Among the Saxons, bocland that had descended from relations could not be conveyed away by the owner, if it appeared that the original purchaser or original seller designed the estate to pass always in the course of inheritance [33]. And, among the Germans, an hereditary possession could not be sold from a family, unless the distresses of famine or captivity made it necessary; and even not then, till the next heirs to the fourth degree of consanguinity had received an offer of the purchase [34]. But every burgess might let out his burgage or chattels to his neighbour, without impediment or licence from the lord [35]. And, having no natural heir at his death, he might bequeath both at his own discretion, saving only the rated service or settled rent to the lord [36].

It was provided by the Saxons, that any of the king's tenants in the neighbouring manour of Derby, wishing to relinquish his land, might be allowed to depart on payment of forty shillings to the lord [37]; and that a burgess of Hereford, willing to recede from the town, might sell his house to another with the consent of the reeve, and on the payment of three pence to him [38]. And, exactly on the same principle, a Mancunian that had sold his burgage, and wished to relinquish the town, paid four pence to the lord, and was permitted to depart [39].— It was also ordered by the Saxons, that a widow, marrying within a twelvemonth from the death of her husband, forfeited all her dowry [40]; as, in one of the few Saxon wills that have been safely transmitted to us, the relict of a sheriff receives all the estates of her husband forfeitable on her second marriage [41]. And, precisely in the same spirit, the widow of a Mancunian remained in the house, and was maintained by the heir; but on her marriage was constrained to depart without

Sect. I. her dowry of maintenance, and to leave him in possession of all[42].—The heriot and relief, discharged to the lord by the heir, were the arms of the deceased, his sword, his bow, and his lance[43]. All the inhabitants of the Saxon domain, except the actual villains and slaves, were obliged to be furnished with arms; the relief and heriot of a free burgess being the personal weapons of the dead, and even a churl or yeoman being bound to an attendance in war[44]. The whole number of men therefore, that could be brought into the field, was a great part of the collective body of adults in the kingdom. A formidable cavalry of sixty thousand barons, knights, or royal thanes might be called out to war[45]. And each could muster a little army of cavalry and infantry under him, out of his own military tenants, his own military companions, and his own free soccagers; all marshalled under the banner of their own barony, and all engaging under the eye of their own landlord[46].

The inhabitants of Manchester enjoyed several privileges, common indeed to other burgesses, but certainly considerable in themselves. And for such actions as arose within the demesne of the baron, and in such as were cognizable by the judicature of the borough, they could not be impleaded in any court but their own, and might refuse to reply before any but their borough-reeve and their fellow-burgesses[47]. Any causes, respecting the king's crown or the invasion of property, were denominated felonies by the law, and remitted only to the judgment of the leet[48]. In all breaches of the peace, except one which was particularly introduced by Christianity, the highest penalty, that could be inflicted on a burgess, was merely a fine of twelve pence[49]. And every burgess might pasture the hogs, which he had reared himself, in the woods of the lord; except in a particular part of his wood-land, which was kept un-disturbed for his own diversion, and in the inclosed thickets of his parks[50]. The same liberty was frequently indulged in the earliest period of the Saxons; but any use of it, without the leave of the lord, was strictly guarded by penalties[51]. The burgesses might keep

keep their droves in his woods for nothing to the season of pannage, and then carry them away without a licence from him [52]. And they might even continue them during the season, only paying him for their lay [53].

In all civil actions, this was the common law of the borough. No man might bring his neighbour to an oath of purgation, unless he had judicially commenced a prosecution against him [54]. If any sued a burgess for debt and the defendant acknowledged it, the borough-reeve assigned him the eighth day afterwards, for his appearance before him and the payment of the money. And, if the debtor attended not at the time, he was fined twelve pence to the lord and eight pence to the borough-reeve, and compelled to pay both the debt and costs [55]. But if any commenced an action, and could not procure sufficient sureties for the prosecution, he might afterwards forego his suit without incurring a forfeiture [56]. If a burgess was impleaded before the day of the laghemote and appeared at it, he was constrained to answer immediately without excuse or delay, or subjected to a fine for default. And, if he was not impleaded before the meeting of the court, he was excused from answering for the first day [57]. If any one had followed a complaint against himself for three court-days, and had attestation from the borough-reeve and his neighbours of the portmote, that the appellant had not appeared to make good his allegation, he was not obliged to put in any reply to him afterwards [58]. And a burgess might arrest any man for his debt, that was found within the precincts of the borough, whether he was a knight or not, and (as it was added after Christianity was introduced) whether he was a priest or clerk [59]. If he lent any thing to a villain in the borough, and the day of payment was elapsed; he took a mortgage of the person in order to secure the money, delivered it up eight days afterward to his sureties, and obliged them to answer the gage or debt [60]. Mortgages of land were well known among the Saxons, and generally assigned, as the common conveyances were executed, in the presence of the hundred or county court. Thus we find ten bovats in Lin-

Sect. I. comshire attested by a jury to have been invadiata or mortgaged for three pounds, during the reign of the Confessor[60]. And a nobleman in Kent about the year 900, borrowed thirty pounds from one Goda, and gave him the township of Cowling as a security for it[61]. If a person lent any thing to another without a witness, the borrower was not obliged to answer him for it. And, even if he had a witness, the party might deny the fact upon oath, and refer it to the compurgatory oaths of two men[62].

In criminal actions, the common law of the borough was this. If any challenged a burgess for theft, the borough-reeve attached him to answer at the leet, and stand to its determination[63]. And, if a burgess personally injured another within the borough, it was the duty of that officer to attach him by pledge or surety, if he could be found out of his own house[64]. But if he contended with any one in anger, struck him without drawing blood, and afterwards gained the shelter of his own house before he was attached by the borough-reeve; he was not obnoxious afterwards to any prosecution from the governor[65]. He was at liberty to make a private reconciliation with the injured party: and, if that could not be effected, the quarrel was compromised in the publick court, and no forfeiture incurred to the reeve[66]. And afterwards, when Christianity introduced a reverence for the sunday, if a burgess wounded any one from the ninth hour, or three a-clock in the afternoon, of saturday to monday morning, he forfeited no less than twenty shillings to the lord[67].

Every one was equally obliged and allowed to answer for his wife and family[68]. And the wife, in return, was permitted to answer for her husband, if he was accidentally absent from the town; to pay his farm or rent to the borough-reeve, to attend for him (as I have already shewed) in the portmote, and even prosecute any action for him[69]. But, if a villain sued a burgess for any thing, the latter was not obliged to answer him, unless he brought his cause in the name of a burgess or some other lawful man[70]. By the essential principles of the

feudal

feudal syſtem, the native villain was naturally ſo little a lawful, law-worthy, or free man, that even after his manumiſſion had been purchaſed from the lord by another, and even after he had been accidentally honoured with knighthood, if he was produced as a witneſs or appeared as a proſecutor againſt any but his former maſter, the tincture of his original condition was ſuppoſed to continue upon him, and the teſtimony and proſecution were equally rejected[71].

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The polity of Mancheſter was not marked by the moſt diſtinguiſhing colour in all the variegated cuſtoms of free-ſoccage, that which is denominated Borough-Engliſh. By this local and partial incident of the burgage-tenures, the original principles of inheritance were abſolutely reverſed, and the youngeſt ſon received the houſe in preference to the eldeſt. And the law ſubſiſts in ſome of our boroughs at preſent, particularly in thoſe of Surry[72]; and from its remarkable appellation is ſuppoſed to lay claim to a Saxon origin, and to have exiſted before the introduction of the Norman cuſtoms. But its real derivation has been overlooked by all our hiſtorical lawyers. It was originally an incident of the Britiſh feuds, and a principle of the Britiſh gavelkind. And its influence extended with that of gavelkind over all the abſolute property of baronies, and even operated where the power of the other was loſt, on the cuſtomary property of villainage. In the diviſion of a paternal inheritance among the ſons, and in the ſettlement of a villain poſſeſſion on the death of the occupant, the laws of Howel Dha expreſsly require the burgage, or principal burgage, to deſcend to the youngeſt ſon[72]. The cuſtom appears not to have been planted on any part of the continent, and was therefore the peculiar production of the Britiſh genius. And from the Britons it was inherited by the Saxons, incorporated into their own gavelkind, and confined, like that, within the circuit of the free-ſoccages, and even contracted into the ſphere of the burgage-tenures[73].

The baron of Mancheſter was empowered, by his own authority, to aſcertain from time to time the varying ſtandard of

 proviſions

Sect. I. provisions in the town, and to punish the victuallers, the butchers and innkeepers, that offended against it[74]. But the assize was in reality regulated by the portmote, as this had the cognizance of all the offences and the determination of all the punishments[75]. And it punished every violation of the assize by the highest fine that could be imposed on a burgess, a mulct of twelve pence to the lord[76]. The saturday was originally appointed, and continues to be at present, the weekly market-day of the town[77]. And the lord had a right to the toll of that and every other day in the week[78]. Such as were standers in the market, whether they were burgesses or strangers, discharged their toll to the lord[79]. And this was payable, not only for wares exposed in the market, but also for commodities lodged in the town or grounded in the township[80]. But the stallage was not arbitrary at the discretion of the borough-reeve or his deputy, as in law it ought never to be; and was not even enlargeable by the leet in proportion to the sinking value of money, as it ought certainly to be in equity. It was absolutely stated, and most probably from the commencement of the Saxon settlements among us, but certainly within two centuries after the Conquest. And it was only a penny for every stall or standing[81]. But, if a member of another manour went away without paying his toll, he forfeited twelve shillings to the lord, and paid it besides[82]. The smallness of the rate evinces this to be very antient. And the largeness of the penalty shews that to be only recent.

All the burgesses were obliged to grind at the lord's common mill and bake at his common oven[83]. And they were bound to make the customary returns to both[84]. The payment to the mill was pretty certainly the same among the antient Welsh and the Roman Britons, trigesimum vas or the thirtieth part of the corn; such a proportion being detained by the lord's miller for grinding the whole[85]. And this deduction was the smaller, because the tenants were under the additional obligation of keeping the mill in repair[85]. But among the Saxons, where the reparation was resigned to the lord, the proportion would

would be greater[86]. It was different in different towns. It was the twentieth part at Knutsford in Cheshire[87], the sixteenth at Kuerdley in our own county, and the sixteenth at the neighbouring Barton. And it was the sixteenth also at Manchester[88]. The payment to the oven is no where ascertained in our records. But it was most probably the same as at Knutsford, an obolus or halfpenny for every bushel of baked flour[89].

On the first erection of a water-mill and oven at the towns of the Roman Britons, the citizens would be admitted of course to grind at the one and bake at the other. And both were constructed with this design by the lord. The admission would be a considerable favour to the tenants; and they would naturally make an acknowledgment to the lord for it, a payment either in kind or in money, sufficient at least to keep the mill and oven in repair, and discharge the incident expences of both. And hence commenced those customary payments to the lord's milne and bakehouse, which remain in part within our own township at present. As the circle of cultivation was expanded, the indulgence would naturally be continued with it, and carried with the spreading colony of the tenants into the neighbouring townships. And those pecuniary acknowledgments to the Manchester mill, which formerly subsisted among them, were now begun. But, the growing area of population removing many of the tenants to a distance from the town, the allowance of baking at the lord's oven would be precluded by the impossibility of enjoying it. And, as the more extended cultivation carried them to a greater and greater distance, the grant even of grinding at the mill would gradually be diminished and at last extinguished. Thus the former custom appears never to have reached beyond the limits of the town[90]. And the latter is not found to have extended beyond the sphere of the neighbouring townships, Ardwick, Crumpsal, Openshaw, or Moston[91].

But, where the line of this concluded, another would naturally commence. The Roman watermill was too useful a dis-

Sect. I. covery to the world, not to be enjoyed in every part of the parish. And, as it could not be enjoyed in the remoter by the resort of the tenants to Manchester, because of their distance from it; other mills would be built by the lords of these distant townships, and under the permission of the baron. Thus one was early erected in the district of Heaton-Norris, and the tenants of the erecting lord were admitted to grind at it[90].

This indulgence, conceded at first to the chiefs of the remoter townships, would soon be obtained by favour or by purchase for others not half so distant. The trouble of repairing to Manchester would naturally incline the mesne lords to purchase the privilege, for the sake of themselves as well as in regard to their tenants. And the profits accruing to the baron from the custom of every township to his mill, and exceeding greatly the expences incurred by him, would as naturally induce him to expect an equivalent for the exemption. Thus a mill was early erected for the inhabitants of Gorton, even while those of Openshaw and Moston, townships equally distant from the town, still frequented the mill at Manchester[91]. And the tenants paid to their lord, as they previously had to the baron, the sixteenth part for the grinding[92].

In consequence of these partial concessions, the un-indulged districts would be restrained from a participation of the privilege, and obliged to repair to their original mill at Manchester. And this would be a natural provision, to secure the remaining custom to the baron, and keep up or enhance the purchase of future exemptions. Hence was derived the duty of secta ad molendinum, or the obligation of following the lord's mill; what was previously esteemed a favour by the tenant being now required as a duty by the baron. And this service appears imposed by him on all the citizens of the town, the inhabitants of the township, and the tenants of Moston, Openshaw, Crumpsal, and Ardwick[94]. In consequence of this exaction of duty, exemptions would be more frequently purchased, mills

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more variously multiplied, and the mesne lords would impose the same obligation on their tenants. Thus Ardwick, Openshaw, Crumpsal, and Moston appear at the commencement of the fourteenth century the only townships that were not yet discharged[94]. And the service of suit to the mill is found fixed on their respective tenants by the lords of Gorton and Heaton-Norris[95]. The obligation upon the four first districts has been long removed; transferred, as in the rest, to the mills of their proper lords. And that on the town and township of Manchester, un-transferrible in its nature, remains charged to the present period; happily forming the endowment of our incomparable school, but greatly robbed of its value by the rude interposition of private selfishness and publick violence.

Such was universally the origin of the suit to the lord's mill. And thus the several districts of the parish were first obliged to the service. Many whole townships having mills much nearer to them than the baron's, and many extremities of townships having the mill of another mesne lord much nearer than their own, without a coercive command to the contrary they would certainly have repaired to the former, and totally deserted the latter. All therefore were required to carry their corn, not to any of the mills about them, however nearer they might be, but to that of the general or particular lord. And, as the duty before had been inseparably interwoven with their tenures by custom, the observance was now enforced upon them by the penalty of forfeitures. These compulsive usages appear to have prevailed among the Saxons. And the fine for carrying the corn to any but the lord's mill, without a previous discharge of the stated acknowledgment to him, in some places as early as the reign of Athelstan was an absolute forfeiture of the whole[95].

' Conq. LL. 66 p. 229 Wilkins, and Glanville L. 5. c. v.— And it was the same in Scotland; see Skene's Regiam Majestatem &c. L. 2. c. xii. fol. 36, Leges Burgorum ibid. c. xvii.

Sect. I. c. xvii. fol. 134, and the Law p. 18 of Brady upon Boroughs.—[2] Brady ibid. p. 18 and 19, and his appendix N°. 2, 3 (a), 8, and 9; and the Charter of Manchester in appendix to this work, N°. 3, explained by the extract from a record annexed to it.—[3] Brady p. 19.—[4] A record Kuerden quarto p. 54, Thomas Ashcton miles habet visum franci plegii bis in anno. See Appendix, N°. 4.—[5] Inquisition 15 Edw. II. 1322.—[6] Inquisition, Pax domini et balivorum infringitur, and Manchester Charter in appendix article 34.—[7] Inquisition.—[8] Ibid.—[9] Record in Kuerden quarto p. 52 in appendix, N°. 3. And see Leges Burgorum c. xliii. fol. 116.—And pillory is in British piluri.—[10] Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 12, and Dio p. 1008 and Tacitus Ann. L. 14. c. 33.—[11] Leges Burgorum c. 21. fol. 104, Justitia de eâ fiet, videlicet, ponatur super Tumbrellum, and c. 69. fol. 141, Justitiam villæ patietur, scilicet, quòd ponatur super *le cuk stule*.—See also Gale from Doomsday-book p. 778 for Chester.—[12] Wihtred's LL. p. 11.—[13] Inquisition, and Manchester Charter article 9, in appendix N°. 3, for the Borough-court being latterly assembled four times in the year, and B. II. c. v. s. 1. for its being in the days of Edgar and Canute generally assembled only thrice.—[14] Inquis.—[15] Ibid.—[16] Inquisition, Si necesse fuerit, and Manchester Charter art. 2.—[17] Charter art. 2 and 19.—[18] Inquis.—[19] Semel tantùm in hebdomadâ, see the Charters in appendix to Brady on Boroughs N°. 2, 17, 20, 21, and 22, and Manchester Charter art. 3.—[20] Charter art. 2.—[21] Charter art. 11 compared with Salford Charter in appendix, N°. 3.—[22] Charter art. 2 and 6.—[23] Charter art. 3.—[24] Art. 16 and 24.—[25] Art. 13.—[26] B. II. c. v. s. 1.—[27] Art. 1.—[28] Art. 1, 33, and 21.—[29] Alfred LL. 37.—[30] Alfred ibid. and art. 14.—[31] Art. 15.—[32] Ibid.—[33] Alfred LL. 37.—[34] See Wilkins p. 43.—[35] Art. 21.—[36] Art. 30.—[37] Doomsday-book in Appendix N°. 2.—[38] Doomsday-book in Gale p. 768.—[39] Art. 33.—[40] Cnute LL. Sec. 71.—[41] Diss. Ep. p. 55.—[42] Art. 31 and Inquisition compared with Salford Charter.—[43] Art. 32 and Inquisition and Salford Charter.—[44] Ina LL. 51.—[45] See Spelman in Feodum.—[46] See s. 2.—[47] Art. 7 and Inquisition

quisition compared with Salford Charter, and Leges Burgorum c. 7. fol. 132.—[48] Inquisition.—[49] Inquis.—[50] Art. 18.—[51] Ina LL. 49.—[52] A. 18.—[53] Ibid.—[54] A. 12.—[55] A. 3.—[56] A. 4. And see a vadimonium or security given for a prosecution in Doomsday-book, Brady's Hist. vol. i. p. 142; and also an allowance required by the church, for the litigants in a cause to compromise the matter and withdraw their suit (Synod. Exon. A. D. 1287. p. 149. v. ii. Concilia Mag. Brit. & Hibern.).—[57] A. 19.—[58] A. 9.—[59] A. 20.—[60] A. 22.—[61] Extract from Doomsday in Brady's Hist. vol. i. p. 142. And see Edward LL. 1, and Charter N°. 4 in appendix to Lye's Dictionary, for a mortgage of lands.—[62] A. 25.—[63] A. 8.—[64] A. 27.—[65] A. 6.—[66] Ibid. The words, by the councel of his frends, are explained in the Salford Charter by per visum burgensium.—[67] A. 5 and Inquisition. In this account of the common law of Manchester, I have been obliged to guess at the meaning of two or three articles. Customs well known at the time of the charter, they are naturally exprest with a conciseness that throws a shade of obscurity over them at present.—[68] A. 28.—[69] Ibid.—[70] A. 29.—[71] See Glanville L. v. c. 5. and Skene's Regiam Majestatem L. ii. c. 12. fol. 36.—[72] Salmon's Surrey p. 108, and Howel L. ii. c. 12. a. 4 and 11. And the famous Littleton mentions Borough-English, as he had read, to have prevailed in Ireland as well as Scotland and England, and to have been denominated Lohempy in the first (Peck's Stamford p. 22).

[73] Mr. Justice Blackstone, investigating the cause and occasion of borough-english, ingeniously refers it to the pastoral state of our ancestors; when, like the Tartars at present, the father might send away his elder sons properly portioned as they grew up, and the younger would therefore become his heir (Comment. v. ii. p. 83). And Mr. Salmon, with nearly the same turn of thought, had previously ascribed it to this, That the northern nations, over-stocked with people, made it a point of honour to take arms and go abroad, leaving the younger stripling at home, to drudge and plough for the maintenance of the family (Surrey p. 10). But both of them have forgotten, in

Sect. I. in the hurry of framing their hypothesis, that in this state of our forefathers, even could it be proved, the younger son would be heir, not to the house alone, which is the custom of borough-english, but to the lands also, of his deceased father. And, if the former was subject to the laws of property, the latter would equally be so.—

[74] A Record of claim, Kuerden quarto p. 52, Appendix N°. 3.—[75] Inquis.—[76] A. 26.—[77] Inquis.—[78] Record of claim in Appendix.—[79] A. 16 and 17.—[80] The lord had stallage in villâ infra manerium suum ac membra et hamlettas ejusdem manerii, scilicet, in villis de Asheton in Salfordshire &c. (a record of claim in Appendix). This toll is expressly declared to be picagium as well as stallagium, or due for goods only pitched in the township (a record Kuerden quarto p. 54). And it is denominated picage-toll to this day.—See therefore a great mistake in Spelman's explanation of Picagium, who interprets it to be toll due for breaking into the ground to erect stalls, confounding it with Stallagium.—[81] A. 16.—[82] A. 24. In the original it is, Any of another *shire*. But the context requires the word to signify manour, that shire or division over which the lord had a seignioral jurisdiction. So Priest-shire and Shrift-shire are used for the district of a parish-priest or confessor (Northumb. Presb. canon 12 and Edgar canon 6). So shire stands also for a diocess in p. 219. v. i. Concilia, and frequently for a hundred in Leland's Itinerary. And it is applied even to a manour in this Saxon law: If any one depart without leave from his lord or steal into *another shire*, and be there caught, let him return where he first was, and pay his lord sixty shillings (Ina LL. 39).—[83] A. 10 and Inquis.—[84] A. 10 and Inquis.—[85] Mona p. 127. And see Howel Dha l. 1. c. 44. a. 11, where the court-smith is allowed the same liberty in the mill as the king.—[86] See a record in Dugdale's Warwickshire (Thomas) p. 912.—[87] Leicester's Cheshire p. 295.—[88] Inquisition.—[89] Leicester p. 295.—[90] Inquisition, Quilibet BURGENSIS debet furnire de consuetudine.—[91] Inquis.—[92] Ibid.—[93] Ibid.—[94] Ibid.—[95] Dugdale's Warwickshire (Thomas) p. 912. a record.

II. THE

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THE baronial manſion on the ground of the preſent College, in all ages of our hiſtory, was the little capital of the manour and the mimick palace of the pariſh. And in it the lord exercifed the moſt remarkable attribute of baronial royalty, and minted his own money. This was even below the Conqueſt the common privilege of all the barons in the kingdom, though not more than one or two pieces remain at preſent the indubitable coinage of any of them[1]. And his houſe was the ſchool of civility for all the gentlemen, and the academy of arms for all the military tenants, in the tything. The manners of the baron, ſoftened by his connexions with his brethren, and refined by his three annual attendances on his ſovereign, would be the ſtandard of politeneſs to all the gentry below him, and naturally temper the barbariſm of their military diſpoſitions. The knights and eſquires were his perſonal companions, engaged with him in the hour of diverſion, and ſhared his moments of ſocial gaiety. Their ſons alſo would be bred up with the young baron, receive their education with him, and with him be trained to arms. And the lord retained a body of geſithes, or military companions, conſtantly about him; men poſſeſſed of no land, but under obligations of military ſervice to him, the eſcuyers of the Normans, the ſquires of the Saxons, and ranking immediately below the meſne lords and frank tenants[2].

The appellation of Eſquire, indeed, is univerſally ſuppoſed to be Norman in its origin. But it is not. This the popular uſe of the term among our peaſantry, at preſent, very ſtrongly ſuggeſts to us. And ſome monuments of the Saxons ſhew it. There we meet with the word, in its correſpondent term of the Latin language. 'To every one of my eſquires, ſays the

Sect. II. good king Alfred in the Latin tranflation of his will, cuilibet armigerorum meorum, I give a hundred marks. If there be any furplufage of my effects, he fubjoins in another place, I will that my efquires and their attendants, and all that are with them in my retinue, armigeri mei cum valectis, et omnes qui cum ipfis in fervitio meo exiftunt, have the diftribution of it[3]. And the term is ufed equally in the laws of the Confeffor, all the feigniors of manours being ordered to have their knights, their efquires, and their menials, item ifti fuos armigeros, under the jurifdiction of their own court[3]. But the origin of it may be carried ftill higher; and the name and the office are both derived from the Britons. Tacitus, fpeaking of Cartifmandua the queen of the Brigantes, reprefents her as repudiating her hufband Venutius, and taking Vellocatus, his efquire, to her bed and throne, armigerum ejus, Vellocatum, in matrimonium regnumque accepit[4]. And the term is truly Britifh; Yfgûyder and Sciather, which in the Britifh pronunciation would be Efquier and Squier, fignifying a fhield-bearer in the Welfh and Irifh; and Sguibher being ufed in the latter for a fquire to this day, Yfgwier for an efquire in the former, and Skuerryon for fquires in the Cornifh.

The education of a merely military age principally confifted of thofe bodily exercifes, which taught the pupil an expertnefs in the management of his arms, and prepared him for the gracefuller difcharge of the duties of war. Even the bufinefs of it was made up of the fame exercifes, the kindred diverfions of the chace, and the fofter engagements of fociety. And the refined employ of the ftudy, that brighteft colour in the fecular fcenery of life, was utterly unknown almoft. Thefe cares formed fo confiderable a part in the education of the young, that both Alfred and Charlemagne provided mafters for their fons, as foon as ever their age would allow it; and had them carefully trained up in the equal difcipline of arms and hunting[5]. They likewife claimed fo large a fhare even of the bufinefs of the adult, that the latter, among his complicated fchemes of conqueft, employed himfelf daily in the exercifes of

 riding

riding and hunting; and even the former, amid the more engrossing attentions to the publick preservation, practised all the arts of hunting and hawking with un-remitting industry, and even sometimes employed his vigorous understanding in improving them, reforming some of the customary usages, and instructing his falconers, hunters, and dog-boys in others[5]. And, while these were the principal objects of active life, Charlemagne was never taught to write or Alfred to read; and the latter continued unable to read till he was thirty-eight, and the former to write as long as he lived[6].

The education of the women was directed by the same spirit. The daughters of Charles were bred up merely to carding and spinning; and those of the first Edward among the Saxons to spelling and reading during their infancy, and spinning and needle-work in their riper years[7]. And these manual attentions were very prudently taught them, to fill up the many large vacuities of an un-lettered life with an innocent and reputable employ[7].

Our Saxon fathers at Manchester have frequently beheld the area of the College converted into a theater of imitative war, and the baron, his knights, and his esquires engaged by turns in the peaceful parade of arms. And they have equally seen him go forth in the morning to the chace, and return from it in the evening, accompanied by his knights and esquires on their hunters, and attended by a retinue of burgesses, yeomen, and servants on foot. The feats of the field would generally conclude with festivity in the baron's hall[8]; a festivity mingled with the illiberal excesses of intemperance, and disgraced by the tumultuous follies of ebriety. And this was a vice peculiarly prevalent among the Saxon gentlemen, and retained by them to the last[9]; as it is inherited with their virtues by their descendants of Manchester, remaining amongst us at present the wretched signature of our German origin, and the adhering relick of our original barbarism. The notice of the baron would be the great object of desire among the lower rank of his retainers, and his smile a sufficient reward

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Sect. II. for their little services. His friendship would be eagerly sought for by his peers, and all the native selfishness of a court employed in artless intrigues and rough contentions to obtain it. And some of them, such pretty certainly as enjoyed a stated degree of wealth, occasionally received the honour of knighthood from him[10].

The little palace of the parish, however, was at once small in its extent and mean in its appearance. Such were the mansions of all the gentlemen in the kingdom[11]. And indulging the vices of a social spirit, and expending their fortunes in a train of in-elegant hospitality, the Saxon lords were naturally careless about the size, and regardless of the aspect, of their houses. It was also constructed merely of timber. So were all the houses of the kingdom nearly, below the middle of the seventh century[12]. And even the church of Manchester was so to the fifteenth. A life of rural grandeur and rude hospitality affords no encouragement to the refined arts of architecture. And it was pretty certainly constructed in the form, which I have shewn to have been adopted for their principal houses by the original Britons, and in which some of our oldest buildings in the kingdom and the town remain to the present period. It was built in a quadrangular figure, inclosed a little area within, and consisted of a great hall and several small chambers[13]. The nature of the furniture, and the structure of the windows, would be equally the same in the Saxon as I have previously described in the British houses. And the ground, from which the Britons before and the Saxons now were supplied with the requisite quantities of wood for fuel, seems to be the little knoll, that is taken into the town at present, and bounds the level of Hides-cross. This was more recently covered with trees. A part of it retains to the present moment its old and Saxon appellation of Withen-grave, or the little wood of willows. And the whole carries the expressive denomination of Shude-hill, the scide, scude, or billet eminence[14].

When a Saxon gentleman paid his addresses to a lady, and she and her friends approved of the overture, the latter ap-

pointed

pointed a forspreca, a prolocutor or attorney, and commissioned him to settle the preliminaries in her and their name[15]. The forspreca entered immediately into conference with the suitor and his friends. And these formally avowed the gentleman's regard for the lady, and engaged in a joint stipulation to maintain her[16]. The lover then signified the allocation or settlement which he intended to make upon her[17]. And the Saxon settlements were of two natures; one exactly similar to the modern, and commencing only after the death of the husband; and the other taking place immediately on the marriage, and considered as a present for the wife's acceptance of him[18]. The proportion of both was left to the determination of the parties[19]. But the lady by law might require for the former one half of the husband's property, and eventually, in case of issue by the marriage, and unless she married again, the whole of it[20]. And the latter was conveyed to her in full and actual right, not merely for the term of her life, but for ever; was dispoſable by her testament, and descended without it to her heirs[21]. Thus was the wife solemnly purchased by the husband, and actually considered as his bargain by the law. In the most antient body of the Saxon institutes, is a provision very kindly made for the ratification of these mercantile transactions, and requiring, "if a man cheapened and purchased "a maid, and the bargain was fair," that the agreement should be valid; but, if there was any un-fairness in the contract, that then "the woman should be carried back and the "man should have his shot again[22]." And in a second law, equally venerable for its antiquity and equally curious for its simplicity, it is also provided, if a freeman lie with a freeman's wife, that the injurer shall be fined, "shall purchase the "injured another with his own shot, and bring her to him[23]."

These important particulars being adjusted, and the future husband and his friends having covenanted to the performance of the conditions, the relations of the lady came, affianced their kinswoman to him, and accepted his troth[24]. And that implement of betrothment among ourselves, the ring, was

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Sect. II. used in the Saxon formality of engagements. The investiture of offices was originally administered by the Britons, as it continued for many ages among us, by the formal delivery of one [25]. But the ring was actually used in the ceremony of betrothment by the Germans, was expresly bestowed as the pledge of a future marriage, and gave the engagement an inviolable sanction [26]. And, if the husband intended to carry his wife out of the barony, he and his friends covenanted to the good usage of her; and stipulated to her relations, if she committed any offence against the law, and was unable with her own property to discharge the fine for it, to allow them to come and answer for her [27].

The marriage was then celebrated in the manner of our present espousals, the woman being presented to the man, and (at least after the introduction of Christianity) a priest invoking the blessings of heaven on their union [28]. The wife retained in her own possession by the law, and even for some ages after the Conquest, the keys of her own hoꞃꝺeꞃn or treasury, of her own cyꞅꞇe or chest, and of her own ꞇeᵹe or closet [29]. And she retained the keys of all so absolutely free from the controul of her husband, that, if stolen goods were found reposited in any of them, then, and then only, the wife was deemed accessory to the theft [29]. But divorces were allowed by the Saxons at the pleasure of the parties, as among the Britons before. And, equally as among the Britons, their marriages were frequently incestuous [30]. It reflects however a peculiar honour on the Saxons, that those ebullitions of animal passion which break out with so much violence, even in the present and civilized disposition of the affections under the influence of Christianity, and often destroy the fairest scenes of personal and family happiness, were kept by them under a strict controul. Adultery was punished equally with murder, and scarcely known among them [31]. And fornication or keeping was punished with considerable severity, even by the tenour of their antient constitutions [32].

It

It is curious to examine, but difficult to ascertain, the peculiar dresses of the Saxons. These were most probably a mixt assemblage of their own original garments and the Roman-British habits. They certainly imitated the dress of the Britons in some particulars, as the Franks also adopted a part of the Gallick wardrobe [33]. And both were probably uniform and the same, through the long course of the Saxon period. The Saxons were not liable, like us, to the multiplied innovations of foreign commerce and the fluctuating fopperies of imported luxury.

The dress of the Franks in the eighth century is described with some particularity by a cotemporary historian, in noting that of Charlemagne. And the whole is too curious in itself, and too nearly connected with the Saxon history, not to be called out into notice. The monarch, says his secretary and biographer Eginhart, drest in the usual mode of the French at this period. Close to his person he wore a shirt and drawers of linen. And he had breeches over the one, and a waistcoat, edged with silk, over the other. He had shoes on his feet, and garters round his thighs. And in winter he wore a short fur-cloak, made of otter-skins, and covering his breast and shoulders. Such was the very simple manner, in which a French monarch then drest himself! Such were the imperial robes of a Charlemagne! And the author with an un-necessary circumstantiality subjoins, that this was little better than the dress of the common people [34].

The exteriour garment of our islanders was the British Sagum or Irish Cocula, denominated the former by the Franks and the latter by the Saxons; which now covered the head, fell down in a cloak-like form over the body, but reached only to the middle of the thigh [35]. It carried a large shag on the outside, was ornamented in the Roman manner with Clavi, frequently decorated with winding stripes, and coloured over with scarlet [36]. And this mantle continued in equal use among the Irish and French, below the middle of the last century [37]. The stockens and breeches were of linen, fastened above the

Sect. II. knee by fasciolæ or garters, that were drawn twisting and worming about the thigh[36]. And the foot and adjoining part of the leg were sheathed in the British half-boot, which was made sometimes of leather and sometimes of hides, and laced to the leg by long straps, that lapped over the stockens, the breeches, and the gartering of both[37]. The Saxons wore also gloves, an article of dress which seems to have been first introduced by the Romans, adopted by the Britons, and transmitted to the Saxons[38]. The shirt was of linen, the hair was kept short, and the beard was shaven[39] And the hair of their kings was drest and ornamented with an expensive gaiety of luxury, unknown even to the queens of these modern ages, but evidently borrowed from the most effeminate of the Roman princes. Thus Athelstan had his yellow locks inwreathed with threads of gold; just as Commodus wore his, all glittering with golden sprigs[40].

But there was one particular in the Saxon appearance, which not only formed a striking contrast to this foppery of their kings, but was very extraordinary in itself. They retained to the last the rude custom which they had received from the Provincials, and stained all the naked parts of their bodies with paint; making various incisions in their flesh, exactly in the British manner, and then dropping dies into the wounds[41]. And, to compleat the British figure, they wore bracelets on their arms, a chain about their necks, and a ring on their third finger; the two first being generally made of gold among the higher orders, and the last invariably with all[42].

The dress of the women, in all probability, was pretty nearly the same[43]. And the Sagum particularly was worn by the French women about St. Maloes, little more than a hundred years ago[44]. Only the Saxon females wore caps of linen[45]. And in the Roman mode, which they had adopted from the British ladies, they decorated themselves with Vittæ or bands, frequently framed of gold, and bending in fair half-moons upon their heads[46].

2 See

[1] See Mr. Clarke's learned work on the Saxon coins &c. (p. 202). This privilege is confined by him to the times below the Conquest. But it begun with the right of sitting in parliament, was therefore exercised (as we shall see hereafter) by the Saxon bishops, and is plainly mentioned in Athelstan LL. 14. Besides the towns specified, says the law, let there be one coiner in every other burgh.—Mr. Clarke supposes only one piece to remain, coined by Robert Earl of Gloucester. But there is another, minted by a Saxon baron at Nottingham, in Thoresby's Leeds p. 344.—[2] Ina LL. 51. See also B. II. c. 6. s. 2.—[3] Asser p. 78 and LL. Conf. 21.—[4] Hist. L. 3. c. 45.—[5] Eginhart c. 19 p. 95, Filios, cùm primùm ætas patiebatur, more Francorum equitare et armis ac venationibus exerceri fecit; and Asser p. 43, Antequam aptas *humanis artibus* vires haberent, *venatoriæ* scilicet et *cæteris artibus quæ nobilibus conveniunt*.—Eginhart c. 22 p. 106, Exercebatur assiduè equitando ac venando, *quod illi gentilitium erat*, quia *vix ulla in terris natio invenitur quæ in hâc arte Francis possit æquari*. The Saxons seem to have been equally practised in both.—Asser p. 16, In omni venatoriâ arte industrius venator incessabiliter laborat non in vanum, nam incomparabilis omnibus peritiâ et felicitate in illâ arte fuit, sicut et nos sæpissimè vidimus; and p. 43, Rex inter bella et regni gubernacula *regere* et *omnem venandi artem agere* [the mode of expression, here, strikingly shews us the high repute in which hunting stood at that time], et falconarios et accipitrarios caniculariosque docere.—[6] Charlemagne tentabat scribere, tabulasque et codicillos ad hoc in lectulo sub cervicalibus circumferre solebat, ut cum vacuum tempus esset manum effingendis literis assuefaceret. Sed parum prosperè successit labor præposterus et serò inchoatus (Eginhart c. 25 p. 118); and Asser p. 16 and 55 for Alfred. So Wihtred king of Kent, in a donation of 693, says of himself with great composure, that *pro ignorantiâ literarum* he had made his mark, and had desired others to *subscribe* their assent, testes idoneos ut *subscriberent* rogavi.

Sect. II. gavi. But twenty-three years afterward he ſeems to have learnt to write, as he is a *ſubſcribing* witneſs at the council of Baccancelde. Juſt ſo Tobias the biſhop only makes his mark to one deed, ſignum manûs, and ſubſcribes to another afterwards. See Mr. Aſtle's collection. And our legal expreſſion for ſubſcribing to a deed at preſent, that of *ſigning* it, is only taken from the idea of making one's mark, and ſtrongly proves the univerſality of this practice formerly.—[7] Eginhart c. 19 p. 96, Filias lanificio aſſueſcere, coloque ac fuſo (ne per otium torperent) operam impendere, atque ad omnem honeſtatem erudiri, juſſit; and Malmeſbury f. 25 concerning Edward, Filias ſuas ita inſtituerat, ut literis omnes in infantiâ maximè vacarent, mox etiam—colum et acum exercere conſueſcerent, ut his artibus pudicè impubem virginitatem tranſigerent. And in B. I. c. x. f. 5 I have ſhewn the Roman-Britiſh virgins to have been all equally ſpinſters with the Saxon.—[8] Tacitus of the Germans in general (c. 22), Diem noctemque continuare potando, nulli probrum: and Malmeſbury f. 57 of the Saxons in particular, Ingenitum ſit illi genti comeſſationibus inhiare; potabatur in commune ab omnibus, in hôc ſtudio noctes perinde ut dies perpetuantibus.—[9] Malmeſbury f. 57, In cibis urgentes crapulam, in potibus irritantes vomicam, et hæc quidem extrema victoribus ſuis participarunt.—[10] Magnaque et comitum æmulatio, quibus primus apud principem ſuum locus; Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 13. And ſee Edw. Conf. LL. 21, Barones etiam *milites* ſuos ſub ſuo friborgo habeant, and Camden p. 126. The king could knight only the tenants in capite, as the leading principles of the feudal tenures ſuggeſt to us.—[11] Malmeſbury f. 57, Parvis et abjectis domibus.—[12] Malmeſbury f. 11, Ante Benedictum lapidei tabulatûs domus in Britanniâ niſi perrarò videbantur.—[13] See B. I. c. vii. f. 2.—[14] So hull and hill, fill and full, &c.—[15] LL. Edmund p. 75 Wilkins.—[16] LL. 1 and 2.—[17] LL. 3.—[18] Ibid.—[19] LL. 4; and Tacitus de Mor. Germ. ſays the ſame, Dotem non uxor marito ſed uxori maritus offert, interſunt parentes et propinqui et munera probant (c. 18).—[20] LL. 4.—[21] LL. 7, Canute LL. 50, and Hickes's Theſaurus

v. 1. p. 42 præf. and p. 152 Dif. Ep.—[22] Ethelbert LL. 76.—[23] Ethelbert LL. 32. And fo Tacitus of the Germans in general (c. 18).—[24] Edmund LL. 5 and 6.—[25] Howel Dha l. i. c. 16. a. 6. &c.—[26] Codex Legum Antiquarum, Frankfort 1613, Wifigoth lib. iii. cap. 3.—[27] Edmund LL. 7. So in the laws of the Wifigoths (l. iii. c. 2), Si pater de filiæ nuptiis definierit et *de pretio convenerit*.—[28] Edmund LL. 8.—[29] Canute LL. Sec. 74 and Bracton L. 3. Tr. 2. c. 32. f. 9.—[30] Ethelbert LL. 78, and Gregory's 5th refponfe in Bede l. i. c. 27.—[31] Ethelbert LL. 32, Edgar's Pen. canon 6 and 20, and Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 19.—[32] LL. Wihtred p. 10. on alðriht.—[33] Cealchythe canon 19 p. 150 Concilia v. 1, and Baluzius tom. 2. col. 742.—[34] Veftitu patrio, hoc eft, Francifco, utebatur; ad corpus camifiam lineam, et feminalibus lineis utebatur; deinde tunicam quæ limbo ferico ambiebatur, et tibialia; tum fafciolis crura, et pedes calciamentis, conftringebat; et ex pellibus lutrinis thorace confecto humeros ac pectus hieme muniebat: habitus ejus parum a communi ac plebeio abhorrebat (Eginhard c. 23. Schminkius). And the hiftorian has affectedly followed here the fteps of Suetonius, and copied in many expreffions his defcription of Auguftus's habit in p. 82. Oxon.—[35] Cuthbert's 28th canon at Clovefhoo, Baluzius c. 148. tom. 1. Saga, and Malmefbury f. 57.—Spelman in Cocula, Ware's Ireland, Harris, v. ii. p. 174—175, and Chlamide Coccineâ in Malmefbury f. 27—and Ware, ibid. And Boniface archbifhop of Mentz, in a letter to archbifhop Cuthbert, fpeaks of the Englifh ornamenta veftium latiffimis clavis et vermium imaginibus clavata, and highly condemns them; p. 93 Concilia v. 1. This was very different from the antient drefs of Germany. There the common people wore a light fhort garment faftened by a button or thorn, and leaving a great part of the body naked; and the chiefs had one that was quite tight upon the body, and accommodated to all the limbs (Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 17 and 6, Sagulo leves).—[36] Cuthbert ibid. and Baluzius c. 741 tom. 2.—[37] Bede in Vitâ Cudberti c. 18, Baluzius in c. 741. tom. 2, and B. I. c. vii. f. 5.—[38] Pliny l. xix.

Sect. II. c. 2, Manibusque tectis manicis, Howel Dha l. i. c. 15. a. 12 for the hawker's gloves and l. i. c. 17. a. 6 for the king's, and Ethelred LL. 23 Brompton c. 897 for Chirothecæ hominum.—[39] Baluzius ibid. and Malmesbury f. 57.—[40] Malmesbury f. 27, Ut ipsi ex reliquiis ejus vidimus, and Auri ramentis illuminatum in Lampridius p. 52. Hist. Aug. Paris, 1620.—[41] Malmesbury f. 57, Picturatis stigmatibus cutem insigniti. And so Tertullian speaks of the Britonum stigmata in Camden p. 23. The only Germans that appear to have painted were the Arii: and they painted themselves black (De Mor. Germ. c. 43). But the 19th canon of Cealchythe A. D. 785 decrees, that Si quid ex ritu paganorum remansit, avellatur; Deus enim formavit hominem pulchrum in decore et specie, pagani vero—*cicatrices teterrimas superinduxerunt.* These are afterwards called *hanc tincturæ injuriam.* And this is said to be derived ex superstitione gentilium quos patres vestri de orbe armis expulerunt, the Saxon Christians most un-christianly treating the Britons as pagans and gentiles.—[42] Malmesbury f. 57, and Hickes's Diss. Epist. p. 51 for Birthric's Will. And see Ethelbert LL. 54, where the third finger appears as early as his time to have been constantly called the Gold-Finger. It was so likewise in France (Baluzius T. 1. c. 75). But the British ring was placed upon the second (B. I. ch. vii. s. 5).—[43] Nec alius feminis quàm viris habitus (Tacitus of the Germans in general, c. 17). And see Ware, Harris, v. 2. p. 174—175.—[44] Bede l. iii. c. 9.—[45] See Clarke on Saxon Coins p. 256, and Howel Dha l. i. c. 32. a. 2.

CHAP. VIII.

THE TRUE ORIGIN OF OUR PRESENT LANGUAGE, LETTERS, WEIGHTS, AND COINS—AND THE POSITIVE AND COMPARATIVE PRICES OF THINGS BEFORE THE CONQUEST.

I.

IN the wildneſs and extravagance, with which the Saxon-Britiſh part of our hiſtory has been hitherto treated, the Britons are univerſally ſuppoſed to have been exterminated by the ſword of their conquerours, and to have left the Saxon parts of the iſland inhabited ſolely by Saxons. And, in the natural progreſſion of errour, the language of the Saxons and ourſelves has been therefore aſſerted to be as pure and un-mixed as the nation, and as little tinctured with the words as this was with the blood of the Britons. We have even ſeen the proceſs of the reaſoning boldly inverted by the great Lexicographer of our language, and the aſſerted fewneſs of Britiſh words in it made a ſtrong argument in favour of extermination [a]. And all our writers have agreed, that the preſent dialect of England has ſtreamed from the pureſt fountains of Germany, and carries ſcarcely the ſmalleſt taint with it from any accidental influxes of Britiſh. This account has been repeatedly given and never contradicted, and has therefore been recently urged with the ſtrongeſt confidence, and is now become a regular part of the philologer's faith. But the opinion is as erroneous as it is general. The abſolute extirpation of the Britons, and the compleat plantation of England by the Saxon adventurers, is ſuch a ſtrange and monſtrous opinion, ſomething ſo infinitely

 beyond

Sect. I. beyond all the usual consequences of conquests, and indeed all the possibilities of population, as should shock even the credulity of romantick belief. And I have already shewn it to be absolutely false in fact[a]. The reduced Britons remained under the dominion of their conquerours, mingled with them in the towns, and incorporated with them in the country. And the nature and state of our present language strikingly coincides with the account. The old British has been hitherto an unknown and un-practised wilderness, to almost all our writers on the origin of the English. Scarcely one of them had obtained the smallest acquaintance with the ground; and even such had only skirted the borders, and hovered about the confines, of it. And yet, with a rashness that is very uncommon in some and highly condemnable in all, they have presumed to speak of what they knew themselves not to understand; and to pronounce decisively on a subject, of which they were conscious that they had obtained no information. Hence the extermination of the Britons was asserted as a positive fact or inferred as a strongly presumptive one, in opposition equally to good sense and decisive testimony. And the English was affirmed to be genuine and un-mixt Teutonick, though the traces and lineaments of the Celtick are plainly impressed upon the front of it.

As the Saxons were originally derived from the broad stem of the Celtæ, their language was originally Celtick. This they necessarily carried with them on their migration across the Rhine. And they as naturally retained it in their new possessions on the Elbe. But the Germans, a nation distinguished from the Celtæ by the difference of their religion and the dissimilarity of their language, previously to the days of Cæsar had invaded that ample continent, and subdued most of the Celtick colonies upon it; having in his time extended their dominions to the Rhine, and even carried their arms into Gaul[b]. This expedition appears from the history of the German idolatry, which I shall give hereafter, to have been made not more than eighty or a hundred years before the time of Cæsar[c]. And the German tribe, that particularly subdued the Saxons and

Angles,

Sect. I.

Angles, seems pretty plainly to have been the Jutes. These, under the conduct most probably of their king Woden, passed over from the shore of Scandinavia into Germany soon after the beginning of the fourth century, and reduced the neighbouring Angles and Saxons. Hence, on the invasion of Britain by a body of Jutes, and on application to Jutland for an additional supply of troops, levies of Angles and recruits of Saxons were immediately detached to them. And the commandants of these succours, equally with the first commandants of the Jutes, were all descended from Woden;[*] the conquered countries having been assigned in large appanages to the sons of the king. The conquerours naturally communicated their language to the conquered. All three communicated it afterwards to the reduced Britons. And the dialect of Germany was now first heard, and for ever planted, in the precincts of Manchester.

The British appellation of Mancenion, and the Roman one of Mancunium, had been previously changed into the present denomination of MANCHESTER. The addition of Caster to the initial syllable of the name, as the Roman nature of it shews, was made at the only period in which the language of Italy was familiar to the British ears and British tongues, the long one of the Roman residence among us. And this appellation, by which the Mancunium of the Romans is so greatly celebrated in most of the commercial parts of the world at present, seems to have been assumed as early as the first or second century; since Tamea beyond the Friths, a country finally relinquished by the Romans in 170[s], was previously denominated a Chester by the conquered Caledonians, and is now called Brumchester therefore by the inhabitants of Athol. Current among the Britons, the name of MANCHESTER was equally received and retained by the Saxons. And it has actually continued for sixteen or seventeen centuries, and is likely to continue to the close of time; an appellation exactly of the same significancy with Mancenion, and only importing, like it, the place of tents. But most of the more remarkable

I objects

Sect. I. objects about the town, at this period, exchanged their British denominations for Saxon. And even one of the rivers, even the monarch of the Mancunian currents, now resigned up its original name of Belisama, and received another, from the marshes and marshy meadows, that skirt its channel on both sides in one continued line to the sea, obtaining the descriptive denomination of Mersc-ey, Mers-ey, or marshy water [6].

At the time of both these conquests, however, the Jutish or German language would naturally receive a large colony of Celtick words into it [7]. And, in consequence of both, the English retains to this day such a collection of Celtick terms, as nothing but an actual collation of the languages could induce us to believe. Many words indeed have undoubtedly been lost in one dialect, and so left the kindred terms of the other without any trace of the original correspondence at present. Many English terms of a Celtick original, also, have had their descent effectually disguised by the primitive inflexions or later substitutions of their constituent letters. And yet, besides these, besides the many Celtick words that might assuredly be discovered in the English, on a stricter examination of both languages; and besides such as an author is afraid to produce, lest he should seem to his own judgment to be fancifully over-straining the point, and catching at ideal similarities; - there remains a large catalogue of three thousand British terms, discoverable even now in the English. Of these I shall lay before the reader a few only, some of the most remarkable and striking instances that occur under the three first letters of the alphabet, and such as may relieve the tediousness of a vocabulary by their novelty and use. To bring more of them into the work, would obstruct the progress of the history too much, and give one topick, however curious and new, too disproportionable a share of the whole. And to have closed the proof merely with a few examples; not to have gone over two or three letters of our language with a steady, though painful, regularity, and not to have given a compleat view

view of its British genius and complexion under them; would have been a kind of unfaithfulness to the subject, an unfair desertion of the argument, and an equal injustice to it and my readers.

A SPECIMEN OF AN ENGLISH-BRITISH DICTIONARY.

A

ADDER-COP *n. s.* a spider, Manchester, Ᾰttep-coppa, Saxon—

ATTER-COP *n. s.* a spider's web, Cumberland—

COB-WEB *n. s.* the same [*kop-web*, Dutch *]—

COP-WEB *n. s.* the same, Manchester.

The exact coincidence of the Mancunian dialect with the Welsh, in this strange appellation for the spider, ADDER-COP, and in its derivative COB-WEB, is as remarkable in itself as it is curious in its consequence. The Welsh language alone can illustrate the meaning of the words above. And this it does very happily. The spider is called in Welsh Coppyn, Pryf Coppyn, and Adyr-Cop. These names literally signify the top-insect, the top-bird, and the top. And they were originally applied to the spider probably, from its constant appearance at the top of the British houses within, which rose, as I have shewed before, all open from the ground-floor to the cieling,

* All that is inserted betwixt crotchets is the property of Dr. Johnson or his author. And the edition of the English Dictionary, which is here quoted, is the third or that of 1765.

cieling, and would therefore afford a hoſpitable ſhelter to the ſpiders in their lofty tops.

ADDLE *adj.* rotten [from ꝺel, a diſeaſe, according to Skinner and Junius, perhaps from ẏꝺel, idle, barren, unfruitful]—Hadl (Welſh) in a decay, ruinous, or rotten; Hadlu (W) to putrify, to wax rotten, or to be corrupted; and Hadledd (W) corruption or rottenneſs.

AGOG *adj.* in a ſtate of longing deſire [a word of uncertain etymology; the French have the term *a gogo* in low language, as *ils vivent a gogo*, they live to their wiſh: from this phraſe our word may be perhaps derived]—This word, thus obſcured by the attempt to illuſtrate it, may be ſet in its proper light by the following arrangement. And the genius of our language, in the progreſſive formation and the mutual relation of its terms, will be laid open at the ſame time.

JOG *n. ſ.* a ſlight puſh or ſhake [from the verb]—
JOG *v. a.* to puſh or ſhake ſlightly [*ſhocken*, Dutch]—
JOG *v. n.* to be ſlightly ſhaken—
JOG *v. n.* to trot ſlowly, which ſlightly ſhakes the body—
JOGGER *n. ſ.* one who trots ſlowly [from *jog*]—

SHOG *v. n.* to jog, to go on uneaſily, Mancheſter—
SHOG *v. a.* to ſhake any thing: ſee next word for Dr. Johnſon's etymon—
SHOG *n. ſ.* a violent ſhake [from *ſhock*]—
SHOCK *n. ſ.* a ſhake [*choc*, French, *ſhocken*, Dutch]—
SHOCK *v. a.* to ſhake violently [*ſhocken*, Dutch]—
SHAKE *v. a.* to put into a vibrating motion [ſceacan, Saxon; *ſhecken*, Dutch]—
SHAKE *v. n.* to have ſuch a motion—
SHAKE *n. ſ.* the motion itſelf [from the verb]—

QUAKE *v. n.* to ſhake [cpacan, Saxon]—
QUAKE *n. ſ.* a ſhake [from the verb]—
QUAG-MIRE *n. ſ.* a ſhaking marſh [that is, *quake-mire*]—
QUAG *n. ſ.* the ſame: unnoticed by Dr. Johnſon—

Sect. I.

WAG *v. a.* to move or ſhake any thing ſlightly [ꝑagian, Saxon; *waggen*, Dutch]—

WAG *v. n.* to be in quick or ludicrous motion—

WAG *n. ſ.* properly a man of ludicrous geſtures, or an acting droll; now a jeſter in general [ꝑoegan, Saxon, to cheat]—

WAGGLE *v. n.* to move from ſide to ſide [*wagghelen*, German]—

WACKER *v. n.* to move quickly or ſhake tremulouſly, as the teeth do on a very col day, Mancheſter—

JOGGLE *v. n.* to ſhake: no etymon in Dr. Johnſon—

GOGGLE *v. n.* to move about: no etymon—

COCKLE *v. n.* to move haſtily about in little broken waves, a ſailor's term, applied to the ſea—

COCKLE *n. ſ.* a tremulous weed [coccel, Saxon]—

GOGGLE-EYED *adj.* one whoſe eyes are continually moving about, and looking out at every corner of their ſockets, and ſo ſquint-eyed [ſcegl-egen, Saxon]—

GIG *n. ſ.* any thing that is whirled round in play, as a top, a ſmall notched board with a ſtring, &c. [etymology uncertain]—

JIG *n. ſ.* a light deſultory dance or tune [*giga*, Ital. *geige*, Teutonick; a fiddle]—

JIGGUM-BOB *n. ſ.* any pretty piece of moving mechaniſm [a cant word]—

GIG *n. ſ.* a moving machine uſed in dreſſing cloth, Lancaſhire—

TO SET UPON THE GIG, *a proverb*, Lancaſhire, to put a man upon an enterprize, to ſet him in motion to any thing—

AGOG *adj.* in its firſt ſenſe a perſon ſet upon a gig, and, ſecondarily, one whoſe will is all in motion to an object—

Theſe words, we ſee, are ſo many ſtreams from the ſame fountain. And that is a Britiſh one. Cogail (Welſh and Armorick) Gogail (Howel Dha A. D. 942) Gigal, Queiguel, Kigel (Corniſh) Queiquel (Armorick) and Cuigeal (Iriſh) ſignify a diſtaff or ſpindle; ſo called from the ſwiftneſs of its revolutions in ſpinning; and therefore a fit emblem of any thing lightly

 moving

moving about. Gwgun (W) also is a whirl, a gig, or a little top, and Ciogal (I) is a little top likewise. Gogam (I) is to make gesticulation, Gogach (I) is either wavering or reeling, and Cogal (I) the weed cockle or the beards of a barley-ear, so called from the tremulous motion of both in the smallest wind. Guag (I) is a light, giddy, fantastical fellow, a whimsical, unsettled, and capricious person; and Guag Eilyn, Guag Ysprid (W) a phantom or ghost. And Y-Sgogi (W) signifies to wag or to move from a place, and Siglo (W) to shake or be shaken, Sigl (W) a shaking, and Siglen (W) a quagmire.

AMBER *n. s.* a remarkable sort of fossil [from *ambar*, Arabick, whence the lower writers formed *ambarum*]—

AMBER-GRIS *n. s.* a fragrant drug found on the western coasts of Ireland, &c. [from *amber* and *gris*, or *grey*, that is, *grey amber*]—

In B. I. ch. ix. s. 2. I have shewn, that the Britons dealt much in this curious fossil, Amber, and that it was found in their country. We have no need, therefore, to travel into Arabia for its appellation. It certainly had one in the British. And both it and Ambergris have one still, Omra (I) and Ambr (W) signifying the former, and Ambyr (W) the latter.

APE *n. s.* a kind of monkey remarkable for imitating what it sees [*ape*, Islandick]—Ab, Eppa (W) and Apa (I and Erse).

Dr. Johnson derives the word from the Islandick language, though the Islanders have no monkeys among them any more than we. And it here appears to be originally British. But a great difficulty still remains behind, to point out how the Britons could have the name who had not the object. And it may be thus done, I think. Some native animal of our woods was certainly called an Ape formerly by the Britons. It could not be any of our quadrupeds. And, among our birds, we have only one that is of the imitative kind. It is now called a Dotterell, and might with great propriety be denominated an Ape. It mimicks every motion of the fowler, thrusting out its foot when he puts out his, and stretching its wing as he does his arm. And it is so pleased with this apishness, and so intent upon it, that the humour is made the principal

means

Sect. I. means of taking it; the bird, in the eagerneſs of imitation, attending to nothing but the fowler's geſtures, till the net ſweeps over its head or the ſhot ſtrikes it to the ground.

APRON *n. ſ.* a cloth hung before, to keep the other dreſs clean [a word of uncertain etymology, but ſuppoſed by ſome to be contracted from *afore one*]—

NAPPERN *n. ſ.* the ſame, Mancheſter—

Napran (I) Apparn (C) and Aprun (I). So plainly is the word diſcovered in the Britiſh. And it was only Nappern originally, I believe, and is of the ſame Celtick root with NAPKIN, ſignifying merely cloth.

AYE *an adverb of affirmation* [perhaps from *aio*, Latin]—A (Welſh) A, Ha (Corniſh) and Ha (Armorick) yes.

B.

BAILIFF *n. ſ.* a ſubordinate officer [a word of doubtful etymology in itſelf, but borrowed by us from *Baillie*, French]—

BAILY *n. ſ.* the ſame, Mancheſter—

BAILIWICK *n. ſ.* the place of a bailiff's juriſdiction [of *ballie*, French, and pic, Saxon]—

BAIL *n. ſ.* the ſetting a man at liberty on ſecurity given for his appearance [of this word the etymologiſts give many derivations; it ſeems to come from the French *bailler*, to put into the hand; to deliver up, as a man delivers himſelf up in ſurety]—

Belli (A) a bailiff, Belliaich (A) a bailiwick, Baile (I) a caſtle, village, town, or city, Baile (I) any caſtle-like houſe, and Baili (W) a court before a houſe. The firſt Bailiffs were the deputies of the king or the barons, and preſided for them over their towns or villages. But, as the towns of the Britons were nothing originally but forts or caſtles, ſo the ſites of ſome of our older caſtles retain their name of Bailey to this day, the Bailey at York, the Bailey in Oxford, and the Old Bailey in London. And our legal term, BAIL, is derived from the

the same idea; the person bailed being still considered by the law as in ward and custody, and even liable to be kept so by the bailer at present; and being therefore said to be *in bail*, as all our old castles were originally used for prisons, and therefore continue to be so still—

BAIZE *n. s.* a sort of nappy cloth: no etymon—Bais (W, Howel Dha) a tunick, and Baias (W) baize.

BANK *n. s.* a long heap of earth [banc, Saxon]—

Bench *n. s.* a long seat [benc, Saxon, *banc*, French]—

Banquet *n. s.* a feast [*banquet*, French, *banchetto*, Italian, *vanqueto*, Spanish]—

Bankan (C and I) a bank, Maingk (W) Beinse (I) and Benk (C) a bench; Bank and Bench being one and the same word, signifying a long sitting-place, and the British judges (as I have shewed B. I. c. viii. s. 4) having sat for ages upon banks instead of benches. And just so the Irish Balc, answering to the Balc of the Welsh, and signifying a balk of land, is a bench likewise.—Banquet also I apprehend to be a slip of the same root. Banquegeal (A) is to feast, and Banuez, Banket (A) is a feast; the idea being taken from sitting to a table, as Cinio (W) is a feast, and Ciniau, Cuvnos (W) a table, and from sitting on banks or benches to it, as *Banquette*, French, is a small bank in fortification at present.

BAR *n. s.* the bolt of a door [*barre*, French]—

Bar *n. s.* a leaver of wood or iron: unnoticed by Dr. Johnson—

Spar *n. s.* the bar of a gate or door [*sparre*, Dutch]—

Spar *v. a.* to bar a door or gate [ſparran, Saxon, *sperren*, German]—

Sparable *n. s.* a small wooden or iron peg in a shoe [ſparran, Saxon, to fasten]—

Spar *n. s.* a small beam in a building [*sparre*, Dutch]—

Speer *n. s.* a chimney-post, Cheshire—

Speer *n. s.* a shelter in a house, made between the door and fire, to keep the wind off, Lancashire; so called from the post that supports the whole—

Spur

Sect. I.

SPUR }
SPURLACE } *n. ſ.* a prop in building: unnoticed—

SPEAR *n. ſ.* a lance [*yſ-per*, Welſh; ſpeꞃe, Saxon; *ſpere*, Dutch; *ſpare*, old French; *ſparum*, low Latin †]—

Theſe words are all one, diſguiſed only by the Britiſh mode of prefixing the *S* to ſome of them. And Baar (C) Barren (A) Barra (I) and Barr (W) is a bolt, Barr (W) is alſo a rail and leaver, and Pâr (Cardiganſhire) a bar; Sparra (I) a nail, and Sparraim (I) to nail; Y-Spûr (W) a ſhort poſt or pillar to ſet things upon, alſo the ſquare or roundle of a pillar, and in Glamorganſhire, as in Lancaſhire before, a wainſcot or a partition; and Y-Spur-lath (W) the rafter or joiſt of a houſe, and a prop alſo. Bêr (W, C, and A) and Bear (I) is a ſpit, the ſpits being originally of wood; Bêr (W) is a lance, pike, or ſpear, Beara (I) ſpears or javelins, Pâr (W) a lance or ſpear, and Y-Sbâr, Y-Spêr (W) a pike, lance, or ſpear, the firſt ſpears being only pointed pieces of wood.

BARGE *n. ſ.* a boat [*bargie*, Dutch, from *barga*, low Latin*]—

BARK *n. ſ.* a ſmall ſhip [from *barca*, low Latin *]—

Theſe two words are evidently one. And it is the great duty of a lexicographer, though I know not that it has been much attended to by any, to mark all ſuch terms as were originally the ſame, and have ſuffered ſome accidental variation. Theſe muſt both have ſignified a boat or a ſhip in general. And Bark (I) Barc (A) is a ſmall ſhip or a bark. The words are derived probably from Borracha (I) a bladder, and Borrachio (Spaniſh) a leathern bottle; the Britiſh ſhips being veſſels only of ſkins or leather, and the ſame ſort of boats among the Franks being ſometimes denominated Aſci or leathern bottles (Leges Francorum, Eccard, 1720. p. 50).

BARLEY *n. ſ.* a ſpecies of grain [derived by Junius from בר]—Barliz (C and W).

† There is no ſuch word in the Latin language. And to notice a modern word merely with a Latin termination, is ſurely too trifling for Dr. Johnſon.

* There are no ſuch words as either *barga* or *barca* in the Latin, though they are here expreſsly made the origin of the Engliſh *bark* and *barge*.

BARM

BARM } *n. s.* yeast [*burm*, Welsh; beorm, Saxon]—Bur-
BURM } man (C) and Burm (W) yeast, so called because it is the *foam* of ale, and Byrman (W) signifying foam.

BARN *n. s.* a house for laying hay or grain in [bern, Saxon]—Bern (A) a heap, Berna (A) to heap, and Bern (C) a rick of hay or corn. The first method of laying up corn or hay, would be by heaping it into a pile under the open sky. And a rick would be the original barn of our fathers. The second would be by building a moveable roof over it, like what is therefore denominated a Dutch barn at this day. And the third was by forming our present barns.

BARON *n. s.* a nobleman below a viscount [The etymology of this word is very uncertain. *Baro*, among the Romans, signified a brave warriour, or a brutal man; and from the first of these significations, Menage derives Baron, as a term of military dignity. Others suppose it originally to signify only a man; in which sense *baron* or *varon* is still used by the Spaniards; and, to confirm this conjecture, our law yet uses *baron* and *femme*, husband and wife. Others deduce it from *ber*, an old Gaulish word, signifying commander; others from the Hebrew בר, of the same import. Some think it a contraction of *par homme*, or peer, which seems least probable]—

These numerous derivations serve strongly to shew us the embarrassment of the etymologists concerning the word. And the violence offered by some of them to propriety, and by others to truth, is an additional argument of it.

The Roman Baro signifies not "a brutal man" but a blockhead, and not "a brave warriour" but a common soldier or his servant; and, according to the old scholiast upon Persius, signifies the latter in consequence of the former. And the Spanish Baron or Varon a man, and our legal Baron a husband, are only the derivatives of the Roman, as appears from the said scholiast's making Barones and Varrones the same word, and both to mean the servants of soldiers. The Hebrew etymon, as such, is not worthy even of a refutation, and should be remitted, with the

Sect. I. the Gaulish Ber and the French Par Homme, to the accumulated follies of etymology.

I have already shewn the word Baron to be purely British, and used in some of the oldest institutes of the Welsh. And Barwn (W) and Barun (I) is a baron, a lord or peer of the realm, Barwniaeth (W) and Baruntas (I) is a barony, Barunitasub (I) baronage, and Bean Baruin (I) a baroness. Mr. Baxter gives the word a meaning equivalent to the Latin and Gaulish interpretations of it above, a military man. And I have adopted it from him before. But, on a nicer examination, the word seems to be derived from the great and pre-eminent attribute of a baron, his judicial authority over his barony. Barnu (W) signifies to judge, Barn (W and A) a judgment, Barn Dremyg (Howel Dha) a void judgment, and Barnwr, Beirniad (W) Barner (A) and Barn (I) a judge.

BEAM *n. s.* a large and long piece of timber [beam, Saxon, a tree]—Beim (I) a large piece of timber, a beam.

BEAM *n. s.* a ray of light [beam, Saxon, a tree: ſunne-beam, a ray of the sun]—Dr. Johnson, we see, derives this with the preceding word from the Saxon beam, a tree. But the one has evidently no connection with the other. For where is the correspondence between a tree and a ray of light? And a much more natural interpretation is offered to us by the British, Beim (I) being a stroke or blow, and a ray of the sun, striking upon an object, being naturally considered as a sun-stroke. The Irish actually use Sol-bheim, that is, Beim Sol, and literally a sun-beam, for a flash of light; but apply it to the most eminent of all, a flash of lightening. And Sul-beim (I) is strictly a stroke from the eye, but in usual acceptation a bewitching by it.

BEAR *n. s.* a rough wild beast [beꞃa, Saxon]—Bear (I): And I have shewn Bears to have been natives of these islands in the time of the Britons.

BEAT *v. a.* to kindle a fire, Manchester; betan, Saxon, to kindle—

PEAT *n. s.* the turf of our northern mosses used for firing: no etymon—

4 Bot,

Bot, Boite, and Buite (I) fire, Poeth (W) fiery, burning, or hot, and Boeth (W) burnt, as the Welsh call those suburbs of Chester, which they have so often burnt down, Tre-Boeth. The mode also of improving lands, by cutting off the turf and burning it, is called Betting in the mixt language of some parts of South-Wales. And all concurs to shew what I have noticed before, the use of turf-firing among the primitive Britons. It would naturally be the first fewel of the country. And it even appears to have been the only one so long, that it actually appropriated the appellation of firing to itself.

BEAVER *n. s.* an amphibious animal [*bievre*, French]—Befer (C) and Beavar (I). This shews Beavers to have been formerly inhabitants of the British isles. And I shall endeavour hereafter to bring additional proofs of the fact.

BEE *n. s.* the fly that makes honey [beo, Saxon]—Begegyr (W) a drone-bee; Bychygr, Beachog (W) and Beak, Beach (I) a common bee; and all probably from Bychan (W) and Beag (I) little. BEE therefore signifies properly the small bird, and literally the small one.

BELLY *n. s.* a protuberant part of the human body [*bålg*, Dutch; *bol*, *bola*, Welsh]—

Bellows *n. s.* a bellying kind of instrument used in blowing the fire [bilig, Saxon; perhaps it is corrupted from *bellies*, the wind being contained in the hollow or belly]—

Billow *n. s.* a wave swoln and hollow [*bilge*, German; *bolg*, Danish; probably of the same original with bilig, Saxon, a bladder]—

Pillow *n. s.* a bag of feathers &c. for the head to rest on in sleep [pyle, Saxon; *pulewe*, Dutch]—

Pillion *n. s.* a pad, a pannel, or low saddle, and also a soft saddle for a woman to ride upon behind a man [from *pillow*]—

Bolster *n. s.* a larger one laid under the pillow [bolster, Saxon, *bölster*, Dutch]—

Blister *n. s.* a swelling in the skin [*bluyster*, Dutch]—

Boil *n. s.* an angry swelling in the body [bile, Saxon]—

Beal *n. s.* a whelk or pimple [*bolla*, Italian]—

Ball *n. s.* any thing made in a round form [*bol*, Danish, *bol*, Dutch]—

Beul *n. s.* the round handle of a pot or cup, Manchester—

Bil-berry *n. s.* a black-berry [from bilig, Saxon, a bladder, and *berry*, according to Skinner]—

Pill *n. s.* a medicine made into a round ball [*pilula*, Latin, *pilule*, French]—

Pill *n. s.* a ball of yarn, Provincially—

Pellet *n. s.* a little ball of any thing [*pila*, Latin, *pelote*, French]—

Bale *n. s.* a bundle of goods packed up for carriage [*balle*, French]—

Bowl *n. s.* a round mass of any thing [*boule*, French]—

Bole *n. s.* a measure of corn containing six bushels; no etymon in Dr. Johnson.

Pole *n. s.* the head, considered merely as a vessel, which scull is also. See it under CAUL. [*polle*, *poll*, Dutch, the top]—

Pail *n. s.* a vessel for holding milk, &c. [*paila*, Spanish]—

Pulley *n. s.* a small bowl or wheel, turning on a pivot, and having a groove on the outside for a rope [*poulie*, French]—

Bowl *n. s.* a round vessel for liquids, rather wide than deep [*buelin*, Welsh; which signifies, according to Junius, any thing made of horn, as drinking-cups antiently were]—

Bowlder *n. s.* a large round stone [so called from being rounded]—

Boll *n. s.* a round stalk, as a *boll* of flax; no etymon—

Boll *v. a.* to rise in a round stalk, as flax does [from the noun]—

Bullen *n. s.* hemp-stalks pilled, Provincially—

Bole

Bole *n. s.* the round body or trunk of a tree: no etymon—

Pole *n. s.* a long round piece of timber, a staff, the beam of a carriage, or a tall round beam set up erect [pole, Saxon; *pal, pau*, French; *palo*, Italian and Spanish; *palus*, Latin]—

Pale *n. s.* a narrow piece of wood used for inclosing parks, &c. [*palus*, Latin]—

Palisade *n. s.* a range of pales [*palisade*, French; *palisado*, Spanish, from *palus*, Latin]—

Peele *n. s.* a long staff used by bakers for putting things in and out of their ovens [*paelle*, French]—

Pile *n. s.* a stake driven into the ground to make firm a foundation [*pile*, French; *pyle*, Dutch]—

Pillar *n. s.* a column [*pilier*, French; *pilar*, Spanish; *pilastro*, Italian; *piler*, Welsh and Armorick]—

Pillory *n. s.* a frame erected on a pillar for exposing criminals [*pillori*, French; *pillorium*, low Latin*]—

I have brought all these words together, as derivatives from the same root, however un-observed, and as mutually illustrating each other. The leading idea, that runs through the whole, is obviously roundness, as exemplified in the prominent figure of the abdomen, the bellying of a surge, and the greater or lesser rotundity of the other objects. And Bolg (I) is either a belly or a pair of bellows, Bol, Bola, or Boly (W) is a belly, and Bola Croen (W) a little basket, literally a belly of skins. Bula (A) Pel (W) and Pillen (C) is a ball or globe, Bolot, Polot (A) a bowl for playing, Pole, Poleo (A) a pulley, and Buelin (W) Bolla, Bulla (I) and Bolla (C) a cup or bowl. Bilien (A) is a round pebble, Bilien Plom (A) a ball of lead, and Pêll (C) a ball; Pellen (C) a bowl, a globe, a hard pudding, or a bottom of yarn; Pellen (W) a bottom of yarn, a clew of thread, a ball, or a pill; and Pellenn (A) a clew of thread or a bottom of yarn. Bul (W) is the husk inclosing the flax-seed, so called for the same reason that has also gained it the name of the ovary, its nearly globular nature; and Bal

* There is no such word in the language.

Sect. I. (W) a little bundle of flax. And Boille (I) is a knob or boſs, Baillein (I) a boſs, ſtud, or bubble, and Bail (C and A) a berry; Pellenau (Howel Dha) a ſwelling in the neck, Bolg, Builgleas (I) a bliſter, and Bul-buen (A) a botch, powke, or blain full of filthy matter; Bollog (I) a ſhell, a ſcull, or the top of the head, and Bhêl (Erſe) the head. Bulan (W) alſo is any bellying or bottle-like veſſel, Ballan (I) a teat, a ſhell, a churn, or a milking-pail, Bilian (I) a ſmall veſſel, Beol (C and A) a trough or manger, Beille (I) a kettle or caldron, and Paeol (Howel Dha) a pail. Bouillouer, Pillier (A) Pileir (I) and Piler (W) is a pillar, Pioloir (I) and Pilwri (W) a pillory, Pillin (I) a bolſter, pannel, or pack-ſaddle, and Pilliuir (I) a pillow. And Bile (I) is a tree, Pola (I) a pole, Pilo (Howel Dha) the rod of an apparitor, and Pill (W) a log ſet faſt in the ground, the ſtem, ſtock, or bole of a tree, and alſo a ſtake; Pawl (W) plur. Polion, a pole, pale, or ſtake, Peul, Peyl (A) a ſtake, Paliſadren (A) a range of ſtakes or pales, a fence, or a rampart; Pall (A) a ſhovel, and Pilwrn (W) a ſmall dart.

I have thus endeavoured to purſue the original idea through a large variety of meanders and windings. This is certainly, however it has been neglected, one of the moſt agreeable parts of Lexicography. And it is very curious to obſerve how objects, differing ſo eſſentially in their nature, have all derived appellations from their accidental agreement in form.—See alſo the next ſeries of words.

BILGE *n. ſ.* the lower part of a ſhip, where it ſwells out, and alſo the compaſs or breadth of a ſhip's bottom: no etymon—

Bulge *v. n.* to jut out roundingly, as an ill-built wall ſometimes does [It was originally written *Bilge*; *Bilge* was the lower part of the ſhip, where it ſwelled out; from bılıᵹ, Saxon, a bladder]—

Bouge *v. n.* to ſwell out [*bouge*, French]—

Bag *n. ſ.* a ſack or pouch [belᵹe, Saxon, from whence perhaps by dropping, as is uſual, the harſh conſonant, came *bege*, *bage*, *bag*]—

POKE *n. s.* a small bag [pocca, Saxon, *poche*, French]—

POUCH *n. s.* the same [*poche*, French]—

POCKET *n. s.* a small bag inserted into clothes [pocca, Saxon, *pocket*, French]—

POCKET of wool or hops *n. s.* a large bag of them: unnoticed—

PACK *n. s.* a large quantity of any thing bundled up for carriage [*pack*, Dutch]—

PACKET *n. s.* a small pack, a mail of letters [*pacquet*, French]—

BUCKET *n. s.* a vessel to hold water in [*baquet*, French]—

BOX *n. s.* a small case of wood [It is supposed to have its name from the box-tree: box, Saxon, *buiste*, German]—

BOX *n. s.* a small retiring-house in the country; being so called, I apprehend, as originally made of boards, and several houses of this kind yet remaining about London, where the word is most in use: un-noticed by Dr. Johnson—

POWKE *n. s.* a little swelling in the body: unnoticed—

PUSH *n. s.* a pimple, a wheal [*pustula*, Latin]—

POCK *n. s.* a pustule [from *pox*]—

POX *n. s.* pustules [properly *pocks*, which originally signified a small bag or pustule; of the same original, perhaps, with *powke* or *pouch*: poccas, Saxon; *pocken*, Dutch]—

This is another series of words derived from the same idea as the former, and running pretty parallel with it. And the British shews it as strongly as the English. Bolgaim (I) is to blow, swell, or bulge, Builg (I) a swelling in cattle that is thought to proceed from too violent a heat or the want of water, Bolchwydd (W) the swelling of the belly, Bolchuyd, Balchedd, and Balchder (W) the swelling of pride, haughtiness, Balchio (W) to be proud, and Balch (W) haughty; and Beakam, Bokam (I) is to swell, bouge, or be puffed out, Beag and Beacan (I) a mushroom, and Bokadh (I) a rising, swel-

ling

Sect. I. ling, or puffing. Bolgan, Bulgan (W) is a budget or any bellying and bottle-like veſſel, Bilic (A) a baſin, Pillic (A) a frying-pan, and Pilig (A and W) a veſſel to waſh one's feet in; Balleg (W) a weel or bow-net, Ballasg (W) the ſhell of nuts or other fruits, Bliſgyn, Pliſgyn (W) the ſhell of a nut, an egg, &c. Bolgan (I) the middle or center of any thing, Boilſgean (I) the center of an army or the navel of the body and Boilſgeanaibh (I) hills, mountains, or any bulging body. Bolg (I) is a bliſter or a bag, as well as the belly and a pair of bellows, Bolgach (I) is the ſmall pox, and Bolgaidhe (I) blains, bliſters, or boils. Bechi (A) alſo is a burden, Bechia (A) to load, Bogan (C) the corner of a ſack or bag, Begel Bukler (A) and Bokoid (I) the boſs of a ſhield, and Bogail (W) Begel (A) and Begl (C) the navel. And Buiſt, Boſan (I) is a pouch or ſatchel, Boueſt (A) and Boigſin (I) a box, Baich, Beich (W) and Pakat (A) a fardle, truſs, or pack, Peas (I) a purſe or pouch, and Pucan, Puca (I) a pouch or bag; Pukoid (I) a powke, pock, or puſh, Pokkys Miniz (C) the ſmall pox or the meazles, and Pokkys Frenc (C) the French pox; Buked (C) a pail, and Buicead (I) a bucket.

BILL *n. ſ.* the beak of a bird [bile, Saxon]—Beal, Bil (I) the mouth, Beul (I) Bil (South Wales) the mouth of a veſſel, and Bil (I) the beak of a fowl.

BILL *n. ſ.* [a kind of hatchet with a hooked point, uſed in country-work, as a *hedging-bill*; ſo called from its reſemblance in form to the beak of a bird of prey; bille, Saxon; twi-bille, a two-edged axe]—Bochal (A) an axe or hatchet, Buyalh, Bilug (W) a hedging-bill, and Biail (I) a hatchet or axe. And the word is not derived from any fanciful aſſimilation of the weapon to a bird's beak. It ſignifies, we ſee, not only a bill-hook, but alſo an axe or hatchet in general; and only ſignifies the former as included in the latter. But the axe was not formed in the figure of the hedging-bill, and could therefore have no reſemblance to the bird's beak. And the word is plainly derived from Bilan (W), which means either a ſpear, a

 lance,

lance, or a pike, and therefore signified originally any edged or pointed weapon.

BILL *n. s.* a written paper [*billet*, French]—

BILLET *n. s.* a small one, a note [*billet*, French]—

BILLET *n. s.* a small log of wood for firing: the same etymon; Dr. Johnson generally considering the words, that agree in orthography, as one, and reducing them all, however different in meaning, under one derivation—

It may seem strange to suppose, that the Britons had such words as the two first in their language, since they had neither letters nor writing. But we must remember that they had both at last, and before the Romans came into the island; and received them both from Gaul. And, in the short interval betwixt the introduction of these and the return of the Romans, they seem to have supplied the want of the Roman paper or parchment by using writing-tables of wood; as the Irish used taibhle fileadh or plained tables, in circumstances exactly the same. This the two, so very different, ideas annexed to the word Billet, as a piece of wood and a written note, naturally suggest to the mind. And the striking coincidence of the British language with the English, I think, confirms it. Bile (I) is a tree, Billead (I) a piece or billet of wood, Bille (I) a sheet of paper or parchment, Bille Dealuighte (I) a bill of divorce, Billead (I) a bill or schedule, and Billeog (I) the leaf of a tree or a book.

BITTERN *n. s.* a bird [*buttour*, French]—

BITTER *n. s.* the same: unnoticed—

BITTER-BUN *n. s.* the same, Lancashire—

BITTER-BUMP *n. s.* the same, Lancashire—

BITTOUR *n. s.* the same, [*butour*, French]—

For this word Dr. Johnson was not able to afford us any other etymology, than that shadow and resemblance of one, which his too common measure of indolence induces him to give us for the substance; referring us to the French, and there leaving us. Neither Junius nor Skinner, nor his own greater sagacity, could find the root of it in any of the Gothick dialects.

And

Sect. I. And the reaſon was, that it is purely Celtick. Buddai (W) Aderyn y Bunn (W) and Bump y Gors (W), Kla-Bitter (C) Bunna (I) and Bunn (Howel Dha), all ſignify this remarkable bird, and anſwer to its Engliſh appellations with great exactneſs.

This account of the names ſhews us fully the Celtick original of them. But the inquiſitive mind is tempted to advance a ſtep further, and try if ſhe can unfold the primary and native meaning of them. The attempt is difficult. But the inquiry is pleaſing.

The original name ſeems to have been Buddai and Bitter, as it is the moſt ſimple of any, and makes up the principal part of every one of them. And at the ſame time, as the original, it will naturally be the moſt removed from our inſpection. But it is probably the ſame with Bôd in Welſh, which ſignifies a kite, and, ſometimes with and ſometimes without addition, a buzzard; with Badhb alſo in Iriſh, which means at once a Roiſton crow and any ravenous bird, as a vulture &c.; and with the Corniſh Biduen and Bydhiin a hawk, and Bid-ne-pein either a hawk or a crane. And it is therefore a general term for any ravenous ſort of bird.

Kla-Bitter is only a ſignature of that remarkable property of this bird, "with bill ingulpht to ſhake the ſound-"ing marſh." Clap (W) is a bounce or a crack, Clapier (C) is to ſpeak, and Clappian (W) to tattle. And Clap-Bitter or Clabitter very characteriſtically imports the ravenous bird that makes the ſtrange noiſe.

Such alſo is the meaning of Bump y Gors and Bitter-Bump. The ſound, which this bird makes, is peculiarly called Bumping to this day; a word, the appearance of which in the Britiſh name of the Bittern, and the popular application of which to the ſame bird at preſent, ſhew it to have been originally Britiſh, though it is otherwiſe loſt in all the dialects of the language. And both the names, when they are analyſed, ſignify the hollow ſound of the marſh and the ravenous bird that makes it.

But what are Aderyn y Bunn, Bunna, Bun, and Bitter-Bun? They are taken from the ſtriking appearance of the bird, ſtalk-

ing

ing upon its long legs. The name is sometimes as above in the British, and sometimes thus, Bunnan (I) Bunnan Leana (I) Buinean Leana (I) and Bonnan Liana (I). And from these combinations the word appears to signify thus; Leana being a meadow in Irish, and so (I suppose) a marsh, as in a country like Ireland these are constantly the same. Aderyn y Bunn is the bird with the foot or the walking bird; Bunna and Bunnan are the walker, and Bunnan, Buinean, or Bonnan, Liana, the walker of the marsh. Bôn in the Welsh, and Bon, Ban, and Bun in the Irish, signify the sole of the foot or the foot itself; Buinnean (I) and Bonyn (W) the stalk or stem of a plant; and Bonnaire, Buinire (I) a footman. And a buzzard in Welsh is called both Bod y gwerni and Bun-cath y werni; one species of buzzards having long legs as the bittern has, and wading equally with them in the waters. A puttock is also called Buinneach in Irish. And Bitter-Bun means the stalking bittern.

Such is the precise and full import of the names Bitter, Bittour, and Bittern, and of the peculiarly Lancashire appellations of Bitter-Bun and Bitter-Bump. And the whole serves strongly to shew us, how faithfully the nation in general, and the people of Lancashire in particular, through all the shocks of war and all the revolutions of government, have retained the traces and impressions of their original language.

BLOCK *n. s.* a heavy piece of timber, thick and short [*block*, Dutch; *bloc*, French]—

Log *n. s.* the same [the original of this word is not known. Skinner derives it from liggan, Saxon, to lie; Junius, from *logge*, Dutch, sluggish; perhaps the Latin *lignum* is the true original]—

Clog *n. s.* a wooden shoe [from the verb *clog*]—

Clog *n. s.* a kind of additional shoe worne by women, to keep them from the wet [from the verb *clog*]—

Clog *v. a.* to load with something that may hinder motion [it is imagined by Skinner to come from *log*; by Casau-

Sect. I. tion derived from κλοιος, a dog's collar, being thought to be first hung upon fierce dogs]—

Clog *n. s.* any incumbrance hung upon any thing to hinder motion [from the verb]—

Galage *n. s.* a shepherd's wooden shoe worne in Spenser's time.

> My heart-blood is well nigh frorne, I feel,
> And my *galage* grown fast to my heel:

no etymon—

Galoche *n. s.* a wooden shoe or slipper, used in the last century, as Spelman informs us, by peasants in the country, and by such scholars in the universities as were not enrolled in any particular college, but lived at large in the town: unnoticed—

Galoche } *n. s.* a wooden slipper worne sometimes by men
Galocio } in France and England: unnoticed—

These words are all one, and refer to the one common idea of a piece of wood. And Ploccyn (W) is a block of wood, Cloch (I) is a block or log of wood, and Galoig (I) a shoe. The first shoes of mankind, and of the Celtæ, would be wooden ones, and are retained to this day under the name of Clogs and Galoches in Lancashire and France. Those in France, however, are not made as in Lancashire, merely fitted with soles of wood, and having the other parts of leather; but are all composed of wood, and are therefore called Boutou Pren (A) or shoes of timber. Such they once were undoubtedly in both kingdoms. And the necessary heaviness of these shoes, when it came to be contrasted with the lightness of the leathern ones, very naturally gave birth to all the ideas of clogging, loading, and incumbering.

BOAT *n. s*, a rounded kind of vessel to pass the waters in [bat, Saxon]—

Butt *n. s.* a large rounded vessel for storing liquors [butt, Saxon]—

Butt *n. s.* a rounding mass of earth heaped up for archers to shoot at [*but*, French]—

Butt *n. s.* the rounding ridge into which land is thrown by the plough, Manchester—

Boot *n. s.* a round case of leather for the leg [*bottas*, Armorick; *botes*, a shoe, Welsh; *botte*, French]—

Bottle *n. s.* a small rounding vessel of glass [*bouteille*, French]—

Butler *n. s.* a servant employed in furnishing the table [*bouteiller*, French; *boteler*, *botiller*, old English, from *bottle*; he that is employed in the care of bottling liquors]—

Bottle of hay or grass *n. s.* a quantity bundled up: the same etymon as for bottle above—

Pottle *n. s.* a round vessel containing two quarts [from *pot*]—

Pot *n. s.* a round vessel of any size, from a pipkin to a caldron [*pot*, French, in all the senses, and Dutch; *potte*, Islandick]—

Pod *n. s.* a husk, a hull, of peas &c. [*bode*, *boede*, Dutch, a little house. Skinner]—

Ped *n. s.* a basket, a hamper: no etymon—

Ped *n. s.* a small packsaddle, much shorter than a pannel, raised up before and behind, and serving for small burdens: no etymon—

Pad *n. s.* a stuffed cloth, a slight bolster, to keep up a lady's hair before: unnoticed—

Pad *n. s.* a stuffed saddle for a horse, used chiefly by ladies in riding [a low soft saddle; properly a saddle or bolster stuffed with straw: *pajado*, Spanish, of *paja*, straw]—

Pad-nag *n. s.* such a horse as is generally ridden by ladies with a pad upon it: unnoticed—

Pad *n. s.* the same [1. the road, 2. an easy-paced horse: from paad, Saxon, whence likewise path, or paað]—

Pad-lock *n. s.* a lock upon a stuffed cloth or cloak-bag, and so a small lock to be hung upon any thing [a lock hung on a staple to hold on a link; *padde*, Dutch]—

Sect. I. PAD *v. a.* to ftuff or fwell out any thing with cotton, wool, ftraw, &c.: unnoticed—

BEAD *n. f.* a little ball [beabe, prayer, Saxon]—

BUTTON *n. f.* a little ball for faftening the drefs [*buttwn*, Welfh; *bouton*, French]—

POUD *n. f.* a boil or ulcer, Suffex—

PUDDING *n. f.* originally the rounding gut of an animal, then one ftuffed with various ingredients, and then the ingredients in a rounded form without the gut [*potten*, Welfh, an inteftine; *boudin*, French; *puding*, Swedifh]—

BUDGET *n. f.* a fmall bag [*bogette*, French]—

BUTCHER *n. f.* originally, as appears below, one who carried a *budge* or budget, the fignature of a man that killed animals and fold their flefh [*boucher*, French]—

BUTTOCK *n. f.* the rounding part of the body which is alfo called the rump [fuppofed by Skinner to come from *aboutir*, French; inferted by Junius without etymology]—

BOTCH *n. f.* a fwelling in the body [*bozza*, pronounced *botza*, Italian]—

BOTCH *n. f.* an adventitious part clumfily fet upon clothes: the fame etymon—

PATCH *n. f.* a piece fewed upon cloth, or a fmall piece of black filk placed as an ornament on the face [*pezzo*, Italian]—

All thefe words are related. They are derived from the fame parental idea. And they carry the family likenefs along with them. They are a collateral progeny with BELLY and BILGE, and their numerous relatives, before. And their meanings are nearly the fame, all equally refulting from the idea of roundnefs, and confidering it equally in a lax and popular kind of view.

Bôth (W) is the bofs of a fhield or the nave of a cart-wheel, Bothan (C) a bump or bunch, Bothell (C) a blifter, and Bothell, Pothell (W) a blifter or wheal; Bad (I) Bâd (W) and Bottas (I) a boat;

a boat; Botes (A) Bottasen (W) and Butais (I) a boot-shoe; Buta (I) a butt-vessel, and Buddai (W) a churn; Buta (I) an archer's butt; and Both (W) Boid (I) and Buideal (I) a bottle, Butel Foen (A) a bottle of hay, Buiteleoir, Butleir (I) a butler, and Botaler (C) a tankard-bearer. Pata (I) is any vessel, Pota (I) Pot (A) a pot, Potadoir (I) a potter, and Pottes (W) pottage; Ruitric (I) a bottle, and Boidel (I) and Potten (W) a bowl with a large belly; Potten (W) a belly or paunch; and Boideal, Putog (I) Potten (South W) and Pwding (W) a pudding. And Bottwn (W) Buttun (A) is a button; Buist and Bosan (I) a satchel or budget; Buisgin (I) a haunch or buttock; and Boser, Bocer (A) Buisteoir (I) a butcher.

This is a third and very remarkable series of words, all derived from the idea of roundness. Bôth (W) above signifies equally a bottle, the boss of a shield, and the nave of a wheel, and is the same word with BUTT a vessel, a BUTT of land, a BUTT for archers, a BOAT, and a BOOT; the British shoes, as I have formerly shewn, being half-boots. POT, BOTTLE, and POTTLE are the same word; and the variation is produced by the British mode of pronunciation. And they originally signified, not merely the smaller vessels which are now called bottles, but also the larger; as Both (W), which means equally a bottle and a borachio, is the same word with a Butt for liquors. The strange application of BOTTLE to a bundle of hay or grass now becomes easy and natural. BUTLER in strictness means the person who has the superintendency of the liquors. And the BUTCHER appears to have been so denominated, from carrying a bag or pouch at his side for the signature of his trade, as he now carries a steel.

BODKIN *n. s.* [1. an instrument with a small blade and sharp point, used to bore holes; 2. an instrument to draw a thread or ribbon through a loop; 3. an instrument to dress the hair: *boddiken*, or small body. Skinner]—

BODIKIN *n. s.* the same, Manchester—

Sect. I.

Dr. Johnson's and Skinner's etymology here is peculiarly trifling. The term, Bodkin, is well known to have been used antiently for a short stabbing instrument or little dagger. Gascoigne, speaking of Julius Cæsar, says he was

At last with *bodkins* dub'd and doust to death.

In the margin of Stowe's Chronicle, edit. 1614, Cæsar is equally said to have been slain with *bodkins*. In *the Muses Looking-Glass* by Randolph, 1638, is the following passage:

Aph. A rapier's but a *bodkin*.
Deil. And a *bodkin*
Is a most dangerous weapon: since I read
Of Julius Cæsar's death, I durst not venture
Into a taylor's shop for fear of *bodkins*.

And in *The Custom of the Country* by Beaumont and Fletcher is this explanation of the word,

—— out with your *bodkin*,
Your pocket-dagger, your stilletto. *

But indeed these instances are all superfluous. That of Shakespeare alone, who is the best preserver of our old terms, and has done more perhaps than all our writers together towards fixing the fluctuating state of our language, is amply sufficient of itself:

When a man might
With a bare *bodkin* his quietus make.

And Boidigin (I) signifies exactly the same, being the diminutive of Bidog, the Erse word for a Highland durk, and the Welsh one for a pocket-dagger, a rapier, or a poniard.

The word, therefore, signifies properly any sharp and piercing instrument. And in this sense it is used by the populace of Manchester to this day, in that petty but too frequent oath among them, which appears also in Shakespeare x. 227 and 1. 245, *God's Bodikin*, or *'Od's Bodikins*, referring equally to the spear and the nails, that pierced the Incarnate God on the cross.

* See Steevens on Shakespeare, x. 236.

BOG *n. ſ.* a marſh [*bog*, ſoft, Iriſh]—Bogach, Bogan (I), from Boucq (C) and Bog (I) ſoft.

BOG *n. ſ.* a privy: unnoticed—This ſenſe of the word is ſtrangely overlooked by Dr. Johnſon, when it is ſo much in uſe among the academicks of Oxford. And Beg (I) and Bychan (Howel Dha) ſignifies a privy. The name is properly Ty Bychan, and Teagh Beg, as it actually occurs in Howel Dha and the Iriſh; and is literally the ſame with our Little Houſe.

BONNET *n. ſ.* a cap [*bonet*, French]—This word, derived in the uſual ſtrain of Dr. Johnſon's etymologies from the French, is purely Celtick. I have previouſly ſhewn the Britons to have worn bonnets, and ſuch as are uſed by the Highlanders at preſent. And, as Boinead or Boined (I) ſignifies a cap, ſo is it derived from the Welſh Bann and the Iriſh Beann; the former of which meant antiently high or lofty, and both have been therefore applied to the talleſt mountains. There are ſome of this name in Caermarthenſhire and Glamorganſhire, and ſeveral in Brecknockſhire. And the higher hills of Scotland and Ireland have generally the ſame appellation. Hence it came to ſignify the loftieſt part of the body, the head; and is the ſame word with the Welſh Pen, either a head or a hill. And Boinead (I) is therefore the diminutive of Beann, a head; and ſignifies, like CAP, either the head or the dreſs of it. Thus Pen-bleth (W) is the plaiting of the hair. And Beannog (I) is a coif or linnen cap.

BOOTH *n. ſ.* a houſe built of boards or boughs [*boed*, Dutch; *bwth*, Welſh]—Bod (C) a dwelling, Bod (W) an abode, a dwelling, a manſion, or a habitation; Buyth (C) a houſe or a cottage, Buth (C) a cottage, Bwth (W) and Both (I) a cottage, a hut, ſhed, tent, or booth. This was evidently the word for the firſt kind of houſes that the Britons built. And the booth was their firſt bod or manſion.

BOROUGH *n. ſ.* antiently a market town, now a corporate one that ſends members to parliament [1. antiently a ſurety or

Sect. I. a man bound for others, 2. a town with a corporation: borhoe, Saxon]—

BURROW *n. f.* the fame—

BURGH *n. f.* the fame—

BRUGH *n. f.* the fame—

BURG } *n. f.* the fame—
BERG }

BURGHER *n. f.* an inhabitant of a borough [from *burgh*]—

BURGESS *n. f.* the fame [*bourgeois*, French]—

Thefe are, what one would not naturally expect to find them, all derivations from the Britifh language. Bourch (A) Brugh and Brogh (I) is a borough, and Burghaide, Burgaire (I) Bourchis, Bwrchis (A) Berges (C) and Burgais (W) a burgher or burgefs. And Dr. Johnfon has made the fame miftake here, that I have previoufly cenfured in Sir William Blackftone; and confounded the Saxon Borh a pledge with the Saxon-Britifh Borgh a town. The latter fignifies either a market-town or a great houfe, as Righ Brogh or Brugh, and Bruighean, mean equally the king's houfe in Irifh, Bwrdais and Bwrgais Trev is the town of the Burgefs in Welfh, and Bourch in Armorick is a borough or great town. The reafon of this is, That the word primarily fignified a fort or caftle, and thence came to import a town and a palace, becaufe the only towns of the Britons were originally forts, and our royal houfes were all caftellated even within thefe three or four centuries. And it actually ftands for a Britifh town, or a fort, in the 10th iter of Richard and the 15th of Antoninus, which give us equally Venta Belgarum—, BRIGE (now BROUGHTON in Hampfhire) xi, and Sorbioduno viii.

BOTHER *v. a.* to deafen, a word very common at Manchefter and in Ireland: unnoticed——Bouderez (A) a noife in the ears, Byddara (W) Bouthar (A) and Bothack, Bothar (C) deaf, and Byddaru (W) Bouthara (A) to deafen.

BOWELS *n. f.* the inteftines [*boyaux*, French]—This word occurs in the Latin laws of fome of the German nations, under the title of Botellos (fee Spelman). And Bouthel (A) is a bowel,

bowel, and Budhellu, Buthellou, Bouthellou (A) bowels. This is plainly the same word with BOTTLE and BOWL before, partaking equally of the nature of both, connecting the two families of BELLY and BOAT together, and meaning, as PUDDING means before, the rounding vessels within the body.

BOX *n. s.* a blow with the hand upon the side of the head [*boch*, a cheek, Welsh]—

Box *v. a.* to strike a man with the fist [from the noun]—

Box *v. n.* to fight with the fist—

Dr. Johnson's reference of the word here is very strange. For what possible transition of ideas can there be from a cheek to a box of the ear? The substantive appears plainly from the verbs to signify a blow with the fist. And accordingly Boc (I) is a stroke or blow.

BRACELET *n. s.* armour, or an ornament, worn upon the arms [*bracelet*, French]—

EM-BRACE *v. a.* to hold any one fondly in the arms [*embrasser*, French]—

EM-BRACE *v. n.* to join in an embrace—

EM-BRACE *n. s.* a holding fondly in the arms [from the verb]—

EM-BRACEMENT *n. s.* the same [from the verb]—

Braich (W) Brac (I) and Brech (A) an arm, Breichrwy, Braich-ledr (W) Braccaile, Bragislead (I) and Braselet (A) a bracelet, literally any thing for the arm; and Braicheidio, Bracheidio (W) and Um-Bracam (I) to embrace, literally to have in the arms.

BRAGET *n. s.* spiced ale, Manchester—Brakat, Bregawd (C) metheglin, Bragawd (W, Howel Dha) and Braket (C) spiced ale, from Brag (W and C) malt. This kind of ale, which is still introduced into our lower feasts at Manchester, and only made for the occasion, appears to have been once a principal object even of royal luxury, and as regularly reposited in the cellar as the other. And it retained among the earliest Saxons an appellation descriptive of its origin, and by its popular title of Welsh Ale referred to the Britons as the inventers, and to the Welsh as the continuers, of it. So early as the reign

 of

Sect. I. of Ina, and for every allotment of ten hides belonging to his crown, the tenants are ordered, among other things, to furnish his cellar annually with twelve ambers of Welsh and thirty of common ale, tpelf ambra pylysces ealoð, ðritig hlutres (LL. 70). The word, that signifies common ale, is hlutter pure or un-mingled, implying the other to be mixed or tempered with something else, and so denoting the BRAGET. And the Welsh ale appears to have retained its consequence among the Saxons, for more than a century afterwards; one of the estates of Peterborough Abbey being required, in 852, to send it annually two barrels of common ale and ten mittas of Welsh, tpa tunnan fulle hlutres aloð and ten mittan Wælsces aloð (Sax. Chron.).

BRAKE *n. s.* an instrument for working hemp or flax: no etymon—

BREAK *v. a.* to part any thing by violence [brecean, Saxon]—

BREAK *v. n.* to fall in two—

BRAKE *the præterite of* BREAK—

BRAY *v. a.* to pound any thing [bracan, Saxon, *braier*, French]—

BRUISE *v. a.* to break a thing into powder, or mangle a person by heavy blows [*briser*, French]—

BRACK *n. s.* a breach, a broken part [from *break*]—

BRACKET *n. s.* a piece of wood, fixed for the support of something: no etymon—

BREACH *n. s.* the act of breaking any thing, or the state of being broken [from *break*; *breche*, French]—

BREECH *n. s.* the posteriours [supposed from bræcan, Saxon]—

BREECHES *n. s.* the man's garment over the posteriours and thighs [bræc, Saxon, from *bracca*, an old Gaulish word; so

so that Skinner imagines the name of the part covered with *breeches* to be derived from that of the garment]—

BRICHOE *adj.* apt to break, Cheshire—
BRITCHEL *adj.* the same, Lancashire—
BRITTLE *adj.* the same [bpittan, Saxon]—

These are all very plainly the branches of one stem, and partake of its nature and quality. And Frika (A) Bracaim (I) is to break any thing in sunder, Bracadh (I) is that breaking instrument a harrow, and Brac (W) a brake for flax or hemp; Briwo, Breuany (W) and Brudham, Breogham (I) to bray any thing, Brêg (W and I) a rent, rupture, fracture, or breach, and Briseadh (I) a wound, Briseadh, Brisim, and Brise (I) to break, and Brisc, Breosg (I) Bresque (A) brittle. Brwyd (W) is torn or broken, Brioth (I) a fraction, and Brettol (A) brittle; Breuol (W) frangible, Briwsion (W) crumbs or fragments, Briwsioni (W) to crumble, and Brusuna (A) to crumble or bruise; Brisga (I) the breech, Briste, Bristighe (I) breeches, Brykan (W) breeches or a coverlet, and Bragu, Brages (A) breeches or trowsers.

The Celtick Braccæ and the English Breeches, as I have shewn before, and as the analogy here concurs also to shew, were so denominated from the colours upon them running in stripes or divisions. And the present trowsers are the original garment a little altered. In its first state it hung down to the ancles, entire and un-divided, as the petticoats of the women do at present; and is still worne in this form by our Bluecoat boys at Manchester. And the next improvement was to open it before, for the greater conveniency of walking; as has been practised with the gowns of scholars, academicks, and clergymen, and with the surplices of the last very lately: and it is used in this state by the Bridewell boys of London, and our sailors. In the original disposition of the dress, therefore, it could not be denominated, as might be imagined at first, from the division in its form, but was called from the breaks in its colours. And the posteriours were not named the Breech from the dress, which formerly covered, not only the buttocks,

but also the thighs and legs; but from that breach or division along them, which so frequently causes them to be spoken of in the plural number.

BRAN *n. s.* the husks of corn ground [*brenna*, Italian]—Bren (A) scurf, bran, &c., and Brann (W and I) bran.

BRIBE *n. s.* a present given for some bad purpose [*Bribe*, in French, originally signifies a piece of bread, and is applied to any piece taken from the rest; it is therefore likely, that a *bribe* originally signified, among us, a share of any thing unjustly got]—Breab, Brib (I) a present or a bribe, Do Bribead (I) to make a present or to bribe, Bribigte (I) bribed, Brioboir (I) a briber, and Bribiereas (I) bribery. Dr. Johnson's etymon, therefore, is as foreign in itself as it is forced in its meaning. The original idea is what would naturally be the original one, that of a gift or present. And the invidious acceptation of the word resulted from the abusive effect of presents on the mind.

BRICK *n. s.* a mass of burnt clay for the use of building [*brick*, Dutch; *brique*, French, according to Menage, from *imbrex*, Latin, whence *brica*]—Brice, Bric (I) is a brick, and Bricidhe (I) bricks; to make bricks is Bricidhe do deanad (I), a brick-bat is Brice (I), and a brick-layer is Bricar (I). Dr. Johnson's derivation is one of the strangest and most distorted, that appears in all etymology. But the word comes easily from the Celtick. And it probably signified originally, what a Brick would naturally be denominated at first, a stone of clay; the Cornish calling it Pob-faen, a baked stone, and the Welsh Pridd-faen or a stone of earth; and Kreag (I) and Pri (C) signifying clay, and Broc (A) a vessel of clay or earth.

BRISKET *n. s.* the breast of an animal [*brichet*, French]—Bryskod (W) the breast of a slain beast.

BRIZE *n. s.* a fly with a sharp sting, a gad-fly: no etymon—

BREESE the same [bpiosa, Saxon]—

BROACH *n. s.* a spit [*broche*, French]—

BROACHER *n. s.* the same [from *broach*]—

BROACH (A) s. a butcher's prick, Prov.—

BROACH v. a. to pierce as with a spit, to tap a vessel, &c. [from the noun broach]— Sect. I.

BROOCH n. s. a round kind of buckle, worn formerly on the breast in England and the Highlands, ornamented with stones and pearls, and furnished with a sharp tongue, from which it borrowed its name. It was used in Scotland during the 15th century (Murray's Laws of Scotland, p. 20). And from the manner in which it is mentioned by Shakespeare, who had no antiquarian knowledge to assist him, and therefore spoke from the fashions of his own times, the BROOCH appears to have been laid aside in England not very long before he wrote: "richly suited, but unseasonable; just like the brooch and the "tooth-pick, which we wear not now" [a jewel, an ornament of jewels: broke, Dutch]—

BROOCH v. a. to adorn, to decorate fully; taken from the high idea of the ornamental nature of a brooch [to adorn with jewels: from the noun]—

BROACH n. s. the first horns of a young stag, growing sharp like a spit [broche, French]—

PRICKET n. s. a buck in his second year, so called from his sharpening horns [from prick]—

PRICKLE n. s. a small sharp shoot, like that of a briar [from prick]—

PRICKER n. s. a sharp slender instrument for piercing [from prick]—

PRICK n. s. the same [pricca, Saxon]—

PRICK v. a. to pierce with such an instrument [priccian, Saxon]—

Prica (I) is a sharp point or a prick, Prioca, Prica (I) a sting fastened to the end of a goad in order to drive cattle along, Pricead (I) a pricking, and Pricam, Priocaim (I) to sting or prick; Proc (W) a penetrating or piercing through, Procciwr (W) a stirrer on, a stickler, and Brocha (A) to pierce or

Sect. I. or gore. Brochen (A) is a piercer or ſpit, and Broche (C) a buckle, claſp, or bracelet. And Bres (C) is a ſting or prickle, Bruachan (I) a fawn, and Bru (I) a hind or a deer.

BROCK *n. ſ.* a badger [bꞃoc, Saxon]—Broc (C and I) and Broch (A and W), from Brocc (W) a dark griſsly colour; all badgers being ſuch, and therefore called *Greys* frequently in Engliſh.

BROTH *n. ſ.* liquor in which fleſh has been boiled [bꞃoð, Saxon]—Brouet (A) and Bruthchan, Broth (I) broth; from Bruithe (I) boiled, which is anſwered by Brydio (W) to be hot, Brwd (W) hot, uſed particularly of hot liquor, and Brout (A) a burning coal.

BRUSH-WOOD *n. ſ.* the wood of ſhrubby thickets, ſuch as is fit for firing [from *bruſh* and *wood.* I know not whether it may not be corrupted from *browſe-wood*]—

BROWSE *n. ſ.* branches or ſhrubs fit for the food of goats or other animals [from the verb *brouſe*]—

BROUSE } *v. a.* to eat branches or ſhrubs [*brouſer*,
BROWSE } French]—

BRUSH *n. ſ.* an inſtrument for cleaning any thing by ſweeping, &c. ſo called from its being originally made of *bruſh-wood* and *browſe* [*broſſe*, French, from *bruſcus*, Latin *]—

BRUSH *v. a.* to ſweep with a bruſh, to ſweep in general [from the noun]—

Brouſta (C) and Brouſt, Brouſa (A) is to bud, Brouſquezen (A) is a ſhrub, and Brouſtail (A) little buſhes of thorns; Bruſ-coat (A) a grove or thicket, Broiſhin (I) a ſmall gathering of bruſhwood to make fire with, Broſna (I) a faggot or bundle of ſuch wood, and Bruiſhim (I) to ſweep or bruſh.

BUG *n. ſ.* a ſpectre, an imaginary object of terrour [it is derived by ſome from *big*, by others from *pug*; *bug*, in Welſh, has the ſame meaning]—

BUGART *n. ſ.* the ſame, Mancheſter—

BUG-BEAR *n. ſ.* the ſame—

* There is no ſuch word in the Latin. There is *Bruſcum.* But it ſignifies the knots of a maple-tree.

PUCK

PUCK *n. s.* a fairy [perhaps the same as *pug*]—

Buguel (C) a child, Buguel Nôs (A) literally a child of the night, a phantom, Bughel Nôs (C) a hob-goblin, a bug-bear, and Bwgan, Bwg (W) a ghost, a hob-goblin, a spectre, or a scare-crow; Bocain (I) hob-goblins or sprites, and Puig-spiradh, Puka (I) an elf, a hob-goblin, or a spirit that walks by night.

BULL *n. s.* the male of the cow [*bulle*, Dutch]—Bol (I) a cow, Bolg (I) a heifer, Bolan (I) a bullock, Bolann (I) a cow-house or ox-stall, Bual (W) a wild ox, and Bula (W) a bull. The word therefore signifies only one of the cow kind.

BULLACE *n. s.* a winter-sloe: no etymon—Bulos (I) Bulas (W).

BUNN *n. s.* a sweet cake [*bünelo*, Spanish]—

BANNOCK *n. s.* a cake of oat or pease meal: no etymon—

JANNOCK *n. s.* an oaten loaf, flat and broad, Manchester—

These are plainly all three the same word, with a little variation. And Bunna (I) is a cake, Boineog (I) a cake or bannock, and Bonnach (Erse) a bannock or jannock.

BURDEN } *n. s.* a load [byrðen, Saxon; and therefore
BURTHEN } properly written *Burthen*. It is supposed to come from *burdo*, Latin, a mule, as *onus* from *ονος*, an ass]—

BURN *n. s.* a load, Manchester. It is Burthen contracted in provincial and British pronunciation into Burn—

BURTHEN *v. a.* to load a person [from the noun]—

Beirt, Beirthan (I) a burthen, Bwrn (Howel Dha) a load, and Byrnio (W) to load or burthen any one.

BUTTERY *n. s.* the room or place where provisions are laid up [from *butter*; or, according to Skinner, from *bouter*, French, to lay up]—Buytti (Howel Dha) and Butrai (I). These are very plainly the origin of our Buttery. This repository not being used merely for butter, but all sorts of provisions, it was aptly denominated Buyd-ty or Buyd-tre, the house or room for victuals.

C.

CABBAGE *n. s.* a plant [*cabus*, French; *brassica*, Latin]— Cabetshen (W) Gabaiste (I) and Kavatsh (C). This plant is a native of the island, in the sea-cabbage that is found upon our coasts and still eaten by our people.

CABIN *n. s.* a hut, tent, or small room [*cabane*, French; *chabin*, Welsh, a cottage]—

CABINET *n. s.* a hut or bower in Spenser,

Hearken awhile in thy green *cabinet*
The lawrel song of careful Colinet [*cabinet*, French]—

CABINET *n. s.* any private room where consultations are held [*cabinet*, French]—

CABINET *n. s.* any small room or box in which things of value are reposited [*cabinet*, French]—

CHOPIN *n. s.* a term used in Scotland for a quart of wine-measure [*chopin*, French, a liquid measure containing nearly a pint of Winchester]—

CUP *n. s.* a small vessel to drink in [cup, Saxon.; *kop*, Dutch; *coupe*, French]—

CUP *n. s.* any thing hollow like a cup, as the husk of an acorn or the bell of a flower: the same etymon—

CUP-BOARD *n. s.* a case with shelves in which victuals or earthen ware are reposited [cup and boɲb, a case or receptacle, Saxon]—

CUB-BOARD *n. s.* the same, Manchester—

COBBLE *n. s.* a boat: unnoticed—

GOBLET *n. s.* a large drinking-bowl [*gobelet*, French]—

Cib (W) is a vessel, pot, or shell, a box, or a cupboard, Cib (C) a shell or a cabinet, Cab (W) a cot or booth, and Cibyn (W) a corn-measure in Anglescy, and in other parts of Wales the husk, pod, or peel of grain or fruit. Cibyn Wy (W) is an

an egg-ſhell, and Cibyn cneüen (W) a nut-ſhell; Caban (A and C) a ſmall houſe, Kabain, Caban (I) a tent, booth, or cottage, and Caban, Chabin (W) a cottage, booth, or cabin. Cuib (I) Cop, Gob (A) Cupa, Cupan, and Copan (I) and Cwppan (W) is a drinking-bowl or cup, Cibball (C) and Quibel (A) a bucket or little tub, Ceybal, Coubal, and Coubol (Howel Dha) a boat, Ceibal (I) a barge, Cabaile, Coblach (I) a navy or fleet, and Gubelet (A) a goblet. All these words, therefore, in ſtrict propriety ſignify any thing that contains another.

CABLE *n. ſ.* the great rope of a ſhip [*cabl*, Welſh; *cabel*, Dutch]—

CABURNS *n. ſ.* ſmall ropes uſed in ſhips: no etymon—Shabl (A) Gabla, Cabla (I) and Cabl (W) a rope, from Gaivean (I) a ſkin or hide; the firſt ropes of the Britons, as I have ſhewed before, being merely thongs of leather.

CAKE *n. ſ.* a maſs of dough, ſmaller and flatter than a loaf [*cuik*, Teutonick]—Kaken, *plural* Kakez (C) and Cacen (W) a cake.

CALF *n. ſ.* the young of the cow [cealf, Saxon; *kalf*, Dutch]—

CALF of a leg *n. ſ.* the thick part of it [*kalf*, Dutch]—These two words, ſo differently applied, reſult from the ſame principle, and carry with them the ſame alluſion. Colpa (I) is a young cow, horſe, &c., Colpach (I) a young cow, bullock, or heifer, a ſteer, or a colt, and Colbh-tach (I) a cow-calf or heifer. It properly ſignifies, therefore, the young of any animal. And the CALF OF THE LEG is of the ſame root with it. Colbhaim (I) means to ſprout or ſhoot forth ſprigs, Colbh (I) is the ſtalk of a plant, and Colp (W) a ſharp-pointed ſtake uſed in thatching; Coilbhin (I) a ſtalk of a plant or a ſmall ſhaft, Colbh (I) a poſt or a pillar, and Colbhta, Colpa (I) at once the calf and ſhank of the leg, and the whole leg from the knee to the ancle. And CALF, as applied to animals, ſignified their young by a figurative alluſion to the ſhoots of trees; and, as referred to the leg, meant not only the bul-

 bous

Sect. I. bous part of it originally; but the whole, and signified the whole by an assimilation of it to the straightness of a shoot or sprig.

CAM *adj.* crooked, awry, Manchester—

KAM *adj.* the same [*Kam* in Erse is squint-eyed, and applied to any thing awry: *clean kam* signifies crooked, athwart, awry, cross from the purpose; *a-schembo*, Italian, hence our English *a-kimbo*. Clean *kam* is, by vulgar pronunciation, brought to *kim-kam*]—

CAM, } CAMMY, } *v. a.* to cross, to contradict, Manchester—

CAMMED *adj.* gone awry, and also argued crossly or ill-naturedly, Manchester—

CLEAN-KAM *adj.* not merely a little awry, but perfectly crooked.

KIM-KAM *adv.* To go *kim-kam* is to walk with a throw of the legs athwart one another, Manchester; not formed from *clean-kam*, as Dr. Johnson supposes above, but by a reduplication, of which there are frequent instances in our language, from Kam: omitted by the Dr. in its place, though noticed so particularly under KAM—

GAM *adj.* applied at Manchester to a lame leg or a lame arm, as hanging down generally in a crooked position—

HAME } HAWM } *n. s.* one of the two pieces of crooked wood, that are placed in the collar of a horse when he draws [hama, Saxon]—

HAWM-BARK *n. s.* the collar of a horse, Lancashire—

KIMBO *adj.* crooked [*a-schembo*, Italian]—

A-KIMBO *adv.* in a crooked posture: unnoticed—

CAMBER *n. s.* a piece of timber cut arching [from *chambre*, French]—

CAMBERING *adj.* a term among ship-builders for arched [from *chambre*, French]—

CAMBREL *n. s.* a crooked stick used by butchers in Lincolnshire: unnoticed—

CAMBREL } CHAMBREL } *n. s.* the bending of the upper part of the hinder leg in a horse: no etymon—

GAMBREL

GAMBREL *n. f.* the hinder leg of a horfe, fo called from the remarkable curve of it [from *gamba*, *gamarella*, Italian]—

JAMB *n. f.* properly a leg; but ufually any fupporter, as the pofts of a door, the fides of a window, or the checks of a chimney [*jambe*, French]—

JAUM *n. f.* the fame, Manchefter—

JAMBEUX *n. f.* leg-harnefs: unnoticed—

GAMBADE }
GAMBADO } *n. f.* a fpatterdafh [*gamba*, Italian, a leg]—

GAMMON *n. f.* the thigh of a hog falted [*gambone*, Italian]—

HAM *n. f.* the fame [ham, Saxon, *hamme*, Dutch]—

HAM *n. f.* the hinder part of the thigh, where it articulates with the leg: the fame etymon—

HAMBLE *v. a.* to ham-ftring [from *ham*]—

HAMPER *v. a.* [to fhackle, enfnare, tangle, or perplex; the original of this word, in its prefent meaning, is uncertain: Junius obferves, that HAMPLYNS in Teutonick is a quarrel: others imagine, that *hamper* or *hanaper*, being the treafury to which fines are paid, to *hamper*, which is commonly applied to the law, means originally to fine]. This word, which has fo effectually puzzled all our etymologifts, and produced fuch violent derivations, appears from the analogy of our language, as exemplified in the prefent arrangement of its terms, to be the fame with HAMBLE before and HAMPLE afterwards, fignifying properly to ham-ftring or to make a perfon halt, and fo to fhackle, enfnare, or entangle—

HAMBLE }
HAMPLE } *v. n.* to halt or walk lame, Manchefter—

AMBLE *v. n.* to remove both the legs of one fide at the fame time, as a young colt does in going, before it has ftrength to trot; and alfo to move either eafily or affectedly [*ambler*, French; *ambulo*, Latin]—

SHAMBLE *v. n.* to walk awkwardly and heavily: unnoticed—

Sect. I.

Shambling n. s. such a walk: unnoticed—

Shambling adj. moving awkwardly and heavily [see Scambling]—

Scamble v. n. to run about, to scuffle about, to be in a hurry: unnoticed—

Scample v. n. the same, Manchester—

Scamper v. n. to fly with speed and trepidation [*schampen*, Dutch; *scampare*, Italian]—

Skimble-skamble adj. wandering, wild, in Shakespeare,

> A couching lion, and a ramping cat,
> And such a deal of *skimble-skamble* stuff,
> As puts me from my faith.

[a cant word formed by reduplication from *scamble*]—

Scamble v. n. to run about in quest of provisions, or to contend with others for them; there being formerly in our great families appropriated days, in which no regular meals were provided, but every one scambled for himself (App. 1. to Shakespeare vi. 7): unnoticed—

Scambling-days n. s. the days in Lent, on which the members of our great families scambled. In the old houshold-book of the fifth Earl of Northumberland, there is a particular section appointing the order of service for these days (App. 1.), and so regulating the licentious contentions of them—

Scampler n. s. a bold intruder upon another man's generosity or table, in Scotland; taken from the preceding idea: no etymon—

Scamble v. n. to shift awkwardly, or to dodge about, for a dinner, as the antient scamblers did and the Scotch intruders still do; and so to shift awkwardly for any thing [to shift awkwardly; see next word but two]—

Scamper v. n. to shift about for a dinner, colloquially: unnoticed—

Scamble v. a. to mangle, to maul, as people scuffling for provisions do: no etymon—

Scamble

SCAMBLE *v. n.* to contend, to be turbulent, like the antient ſcamblers [This word, which is ſcarcely in uſe, has much exerciſed the etymological ſagacity of Meric Caſaubon; but, as is uſual, to no purpoſe]—

SCAMBLING *n. ſ.* contention, in Shakeſpeare (vi. 141), "If ever thou beeſt mine, Kate," ſays Henry the fifth to Catharine of France, "I get thee with *ſcambling*, and thou muſt "therefore needs prove a good ſoldier-breeder:" unnoticed—

Theſe words are evidently all connected. And the connection is almoſt as apparent in the Britiſh as the Engliſh. Thus Camm (W) is crooked, Cammu (W and A) to crooken, and Cammu (W) to contradict; Cammog (W) a kind of ſalmon with a crooked noſe, Cammin (W) a kind of hawk with a crooked bill, and Cammhuin (I) the bird called Wry-peck; Camchoſach (I) Cam-goes (W) bow-legged, Cam-mhugarlack (I) club-footed, Camog (I) a turn, winding, or bay, and Camogach (I) crooked, crooked-footed, curled, winding, or quibbling. Ama (I) is the hame of a horſe-collar, Gambun (I) a leg, and Gambun Muich (I) a gammon of bacon, ſo called, as HAM alſo, from the bending of the knee. Hence HAM in one ſenſe of it ſignifies that part of the thigh eſpecially, which forms a bend in conjunction with the knee, and both it and GAMMON ſignify the whole thigh; anſwering to Cammedh Garr (W) either the ham or the knee. And Cam-boſt (W), literally a leg-pillar, is a buttreſs, a prop, or a ſhore to a building; Camfa (W), a ſtile, is literally the place of a leg, a turn-ſtile moving on a poſt; and Cammen (W) is a pillar. Ar y Cam (W), literally on the foot, ſignifies a foot-pace, and Cam, Camra (W) Ceim (I) and Camet (A) a pace or ſtep; Cam (A) lame or limping, Kam (I) the ſame, Cama (A) to limp or halt, and Gil-Gam (A) lame of a leg or a cripple; Sgimhleaghad (I) an excurſion, Sgimhiolach (I) a ſcout, and Sgeimhiolta (I) the ſame.

CAMUS *n. ſ.* a thin dreſs, in Spenſer,

> In ſilken *camus* lilly-white,
> Purfled upon with many a folded plight.

Sect. I. [probably from *camisa*, Latin]—Camps (A) a priest's alb, Cams (C) a surplice, Caimis (I) a shirt, Caimse (I) a shirt, shift, or smock, and Camse (W) a gown, from the Latin—

CAN *n. s.* a cup, generally of some other matter than earth [canne, Saxon]—Cynnach (W) a water-budget or a bottle, Cunnach (W) a jack, a flaggon, or a bottle, Cynnog (W) a small pail, a bottle, or a pitcher, Cuineog (I) a churn or can, and Kanna (C) a flaggon. This shews CAN to signify any vessel in general.

CANE *n. s.* a kind of strong reed of which sticks and arrows are made, also an arrow or a walking-stick [*canna*, Latin]—

CANAL *n. s.* a pipe for the conveyance of water: unnoticed—

CANAL *n. s.* a bason of water in a garden [*canalis*]—

CANAL *n. s.* any long and artificial course of water, as the canals in Holland and the Duke of Bridgewater's at Manchester [*canalis*, Latin]—

CHANNEL *n. s.* the hollow bed of a stream [*canal*, French; *canalis*, Latin]—

KENNEL *n. s.* the gutter of a street [*kennel*, Dutch; *chenal*, French; *canalis*, Latin]—

GINNEL *n. s.* a narrow space left formerly between every range of building at Manchester, for the conveyance of the water from it—

CANNON *n. s.* a great gun [*cannon*, French, from *canna*, Latin, a pipe, meaning a large tub]—

These words all refer to the original idea of a hollow reed, which was used as a trough for the conveyance of water, and so gave rise to all the others. And Cawn, *sing.* Cawnen (W) is reed-grass, Cawnen (W) is also a large straw-vessel for corn, and Gairsne (I) a reed, cane, or arrow; Canel, Gannel (C) a pipe of wood to draw off liquor with, Canel (W) a faucet, and Can (A) a gutter, Shanol (C), Canol (A) and Caineal (I) a channel, Cannal, Ganhel (C) a creek, Gannel (C) a channel, and Canol (A) a channel or a gun: all from the Latin Canna and Canalis.

CANT *n. f.* a whining tone or speech, said to have derived its name from one Andrew Cant, a presbyterian preacher of Scotland in the last century [probably from *cantus*, Latin, implying the odd tone of voice used by vagrants; but imagined by some to be corrupted from *quaint*]—

Cant *n. f.* an auction: the same etymon—

The idea of canting arose not, I apprehend, either from the usage of the Presbyterian ministry, those noted examples of canting oratory formerly, or from the Latin Cantus. The word appears before the days of its supposed original, Andrew Cant (See Harrison's D. of England prefixed to Holingshead, and written in the reign of Elizabeth, p. 183). And referring not merely to the tone, but the words, of a speaker, it cannot arise from Cantus a singing. It is derived from the manner of an auctioneer, I think. The language and tone of such a person would naturally give origin to it. And as Cant signifies both an auction, and a speech with a whining tone, so Cantail (I) is an auction and E-Cant (I) a port-sale. This shews the English words to have descended from the Britons. And they are derived from the Irish Caint, a speech, which makes Cainteach (I) talkative or prattling, and Cainteoir (I) a babler, and so answers to the full idea.

CAP *n. f.* a covering for the head [*cap*, Welsh; cappe, Saxon; *cappe*, German; *cappe*, French; *cappa*, Italian; *capa*, Spanish; *kappe*, Danish and Dutch; *caput*, a head, Latin]—

Cop *n. f.* [the head, the top of any thing arising to a head, as a *cop*, vulgarly *cock*, of hay, a *cob*-castle, properly *cop*-castle, a small castle or house on a hill; a *cob* of cherry-stones for *cop*, a pile of stones one laid upon another; or the tuft on the head of birds: *kop*, Dutch; cop, Saxon]—

Cape *n. f.* a head-land, and the top or neck-piece of a coat; originally, no doubt, the hood or cap, which was fastened to the coat at the neck, and hung down on the shoulders when it was not in actual use [*cape*, French]—

Sect. I.

Cope *n. s.* a cloak worne in sacred ministrations by a clergyman; so called (I suppose) from its covering the head formerly, and falling from the head downwards [See Cop]—

Cope *n. s.* any thing spread over the head, as the vault of the skies or the archwork of a door [See Cop]—

Coping *n. s.* the upper tier of masonry which covers a wall [from *cope*]—

Cop } *n. s.* the bank of a hedge, Manchester—
Copping }

Ceap (I) is a head, Coppa (W) the top or crown of the head, and Coppa (W and C) the top or summit of any thing; Cappan, Cap (W) a cap, Cappan Drws (W) the lintel of a door, and Côb (W) a cloak, a mantle, or a cope.

CAR *n. s.* a small carriage of burden or a chariot of war [*car*, Welsh; *karre*, Dutch; cpæt, Saxon; *carrus*, Latin]—

Car-man *n. s.* one whose employment it is to drive cars [from *car* and *man*]—

Cart *n. s.* a carriage in general, a wheel-carriage drawn generally by two horses [cpat, cpæt, Saxon]—

Carter *n. s.* one who drives a cart [from *cart*]—

Chariot *n. s.* pronounced *Charot*, a carriage of pleasure or state, or a lighter kind of coach with only a back-seat [*carrhod*, Welsh, a wheeled car; for it is known the Britons fought in such; *chariot*, French; *carretta*, Italian]—

Carr (W) is a dray, sledge, waggon, chariot, or car; Carr, Carra (I) a cart or dray, Câr (C) a chariot, and Carr (A) a chariot or waggon. Carb (I) is also a chariot or litter, Carbad (I) a coach, waggon, chariot, or bier, and Cerbyd (W) a chariot or coach. And Cairte, Cairt (I) is a cart or chariot, Cart (W) a wain or cart, Carrer (A) a waggoner, and Cairteoir (A) a waggoner or carter. This shews Car, Cart, and Chariot to have meant equally the same object at first, and to have signified any carriage whatsoever, from the sledge to the waggon and from the chariot to the bier. And Chariot and Cart appear to have been formed from Car, not by the addition of *rhod*, a wheel, to the former of them,

them, but by that of the final *T* to both. Car-rhod is a word that appears in no dialect of the British, and was first the formation of that very indifferent, though ingenious, Lexicographer, Mr. Baxter. The addition of Rhod to Car is unnecessary and impertinent, as the latter signifies any wheeled carriage without it. And Car is actually lengthened into Cart and Chariot, by that suffix which is so common in the British, and still remains popular among us in the vulgar Sermont for Sermon, Gownd for Gown, &c.

CARROT *n. s.* a plant [*carote*, French; *daucus*, Latin]— Karetys (C) a parsnip or carrot, and Caretshen (South W) and Carrotes (A) a carrot.

CASE *n. s.* something that contains another, as a box, a sheath, &c. [*caisse*, French, a box]—

CASEMENT *n. s.* the frame in which a window moving on hinges is contained, or the window itself [*casamento*, Italian]—

Cas (I) a case, and Caismeint (I) a casement, from the Latin Capsa, and what it was lengthened into, Capsamentum; pronounced by the Romans, as the Italian shews, Casa and Casamentum.

CAT *n. s.* a domestick animal [*katz*, Teutonick; *chat*, French]—

KITLING *n. s.* a young cat, Manchester—

KITTEN *n. s.* the same [*katteken*, Dutch]—

CATTER-WAUL *v. n.* to make a noise as cats do when they seek their mates [from *cat*]—

Caz (A) Cath (W and C) and Cat (I) a cat. This name respects the cat in its wild state only, and signifies merely a wild animal, as Cadhan (I), evidently the same word with the above, is a wild-goose. And Caterig, Catherig (W) is to catter-waul.

CAT *n. s.* a ship of a peculiar kind, such as is employed in the coal-trade from Newcastle: no etymon—

CAT-HEAD *n. s.* a particular piece of timber in a ship: no etymon—

Sect. I.

Cat-harpings *n. s.* some small ropes in a ship's rigging: no etymon—

Ketch *n. s.* a small ship [a heavy ship: from *caicchio*, Italian, a barrel]—

Kedge *v. a.* to bring a vessel up a narrow river, which, as such, can admit only ketches up it [*kaghe*, a small vessel, Dutch]—

Cot *n. s.* an officer's bed on board our ships of war, distinguished from the hammock by several circumstances of superiority: omitted—

Kit *n. s.* properly any vessel, as signifying a large bottle, a small fiddle, or a small wooden vessel for keeping pickled salmon in [*kitte*, Dutch]. See also Crowd.

Kit *n. s.* a milking-pail like a churn, with two ears and a cover to it, Prov.—

Kadger *n. s.* a huckster, one who brings butter, eggs, and poultry to market from the country; so called from the vessel in which he used to bring them: no etymon—

Kite *n. s.* a belly, Cumberland—

Kettle *n. s.* a vessel for boiling water in [cetl, Saxon; *ketel*, Dutch]—

Kettle-dock *n. s.* the water-dock with a large leafy head, that sinks in the middle and forms a shallow kind of cup or concavity, Manchester—

Kettle-pin *n. s.* a nine-pin, so called from its bellying: omitted—

Skittles } *n. s.* nine-pins: omitted in their place,
Skittle-pins } though under Kayles it is observed, that it signifies *kettle-pins*, of which *skittles* seems a corruption—

Scittle *n. s.* a dish or platter: unnoticed—

Scuttle *n. s.* the same, originally, as the sense of the next word plainly requires: unnoticed in this acceptation—

Scuttle *n. s.* a wide shallow basket [so named from a dish or platter, which it resembles in form; *scutella*, Latin; *scutell*, Celtic, Ainsworth]—

I Scuttle

SCUTTLE *n. s.* a coal-basket, a coal-pan, a vessel of metal in which coals are brought to the fire: unnoticed—

SCUTTLE *n. s.* a twiggen basket put so loosely together, as to serve for a riddle;

A skuttle or skrein to rid soil fro' the corn; Tusser: unnoticed in this sense by the Dr. though he quotes this very passage from Tusser—

SCUTTLE *n. s.* any thing made with cross bars, like the bottom of a riddling basket; a grate or grating;

"To the hole in the door have a small *scuttle*, to keep in "what mice are there;" Mortimer.

Dr. Johnson interprets it a *small* grate, and yet quotes this passage only—

SCUTTLES *n. s.* the grated doorways of a ship, the hatches: unnoticed—

SCUTTLE *v. a.* to *scuttle* a ship, I think, is to open all the hatches, in order that the sea may enter into the hold, and sink it: unnoticed—

COT } COTTAGE } *n. s.* a small low house [cot, Saxon, *cwt*, Welsh]—

COD *n. s.* the husk of pease &c. and in some of our northern counties a pillow [codde, Saxon]—

HOD *n. s.* a kind of rounding instrument in which the labourer carries morter to the mason [corrupted perhaps in contempt from *hood*, a hod being carried on the head]—

CUD *n. s.* [the food which is reposited in the first stomach, in order to be chewed again: cuð, Saxon]. It is the first stomach itself, and so signifies the contents of it—

CUD-WEED *n. s.* a plant [from *cud* and *weed*]. From the Doctor's explanation of CUD before, this word should mean something I know not what,—the weed that is reposited in the first stomach, in order to be chewed again—

CUD-WORT *n. s.* the same: unnoticed—

GOUT *n. s.* a disease attended with swelling [*goutte*, French]—

Sect. I. These words are all from the same stem and root. And it is curious to observe the various ramifications of the general idea.

Our ships were formerly called Cats, as some are to the present moment, from the earliest and first mode of constructing them among us, hollowing a whole vessel out of a single tree. And Coiti, Coit (I) is a boat so hollowed, and the same word with Coed (W) and Koat, Coit (C) timber. Such boats were used in Ireland as low as the middle of the last century; and then called Coitis by the Irish, and Cots by the English from them, (Harris's Ware). Some few are still to be seen on the coast of the Western Highlands, under another name (Crit. Diss.). And about Kyme and Billingay, in the levels of Lincolnshire, and under the artificial soil of the country, the people have dug up several canoes of this kind; and I have shewn eight such to have been found all together, in draining the great mere of Lancashire (See B. II. c. 11. s. 2. and Itin. Curios. p. 14). Coit is also Irish at present for a coracle; the leathern vessel, which was a vast improvement upon the hollowed tree, taking the name of the original boat; and both being transmitted to the present day. And the popular tale of Whittington and his Cat has been referred by an ingenious and thinking friend of mine * with great propriety, to this acceptation of the word as its original ground-work.

This word is still retained in the CATS and KETCHES of the present period, and in the CAT-HEAD, CAT-HARPINGS, and COTS of our ships; as the name of the Galley is preserved in the appellation of the kitchen within our ships of war. KIT, KOT, COD, HOD, CUD, and GOUT, KETTLE, SKITTLE, and SCUTTLE are all of the same kindred with CAT, and signify any swelling or roundly protuberant object. The cots of the Britons, as I have shewed before, were formed in a conical figure. And the Gout, a disease that we should not have expected to meet with among the Britons, was denominated from its most natural, because most obvious, charac-

* Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Bart.

teristick.

teristick. Thus Cuydho (W) Huedhi (C) and Cuedha (A) is to swell, Huedh (C) and Cuedh (W) a swelling, Codennu (W) to blister, and Guta (I) Gout (W) the gout. Kuth (C) is a cod or husk, Coden, Cod (W) a bag, poke, or budget, and Codan, *plural*, husks. And Cod-groen (C) is a budget, literally a bag of leather. Cud (W) a bag, the name for the CUD or first stomach, and Cad-luibhe (I) cudwort, literally the herb Cad, so called (I suppose) from some remarkable swelling about it. Côd eurych, Coden hyred (W) is a toad-stool, Codog (W) saint-foin, Cyt, Cwtt (W) a cottage, and Coddyn, Gaudy (W) a privy; Coite, Coit (I) a boat, and Cydan (W) a wallet; and Sciath (I) a basket made up of interwoven twigs, Skaidh, Sgudh, Skydel, Scudell (C) a dish or a broad dish, Skidal (C) a little dish, Skudel (C) a dish or plate, Scudel (C) a porringer, Scudel (A) a porringer or a dish, Scudellat (A) a dishful, and Skedl (I) a kettle.

CATER *v. n.* to provide food [from *cates*]—

CATER }
CATERER } *n. s.* a provider of food [from the verb]—

CATES *n. s.* food, generally nice and luxurious food [of uncertain etymology; Skinner imagines it may be corrupted from *delicate*; which is not likely, because Junius observes, that the Dutch have *kater* in the same sense with our *cater*. It has no singular]—

This word is thus difficult to Dr. Johnson and his associates, for want of a small degree of acquaintance with the British. There the word occurs in its natural and genuine sense, Coth (I) meat or victuals. Cothugadh (I) is also food or sustenance, and Cothugadh and Cothaighim (I) signifies to feed or to sustain. And, what is still more, Catur (I) is a cater or caterer.

CATTLE *n. s.* beasts of pasture [a word of very common use, but of doubtful or unknown etymology. It is derived by Skinner, Menage, and Spelman, from *capitalia, quæ ad caput pertinent*; personal goods; in which sense *chattels* is yet used in our law. Mandeville uses *cattele* for price]—

CHATTEL

Sect. I.

CHATTEL *n. ſ.* any moveable poſſeſſion, a term now ſcarce uſed but in forms of law [ſee CATTLE]—

Tſhattal (C) all manner of cattle, and Shatal or Chatal (A) either cattle or chattels. This ſhews CATTLE to be a Britiſh word, ſignifying exactly as it ſignifies at preſent. And, as cattle were peculiarly among the Britons the great article of perſonal or moveable wealth, the word was naturally applied to ſuch wealth, and became Catalla in law-latin and Chattels in Engliſh.

CAUF *n. ſ.* a cheſt with holes in it, to keep fiſh alive in the waters: no etymon—

KEEVE *n. ſ.* a large tub: unnoticed—

KEEVE *n. ſ.* a vat in which they work their beer up before they tun it, Devonſhire—

KIVE *n. ſ.* a brewing-tub: unnoticed—

COFFER *n. ſ.* a cheſt, generally for keeping money [coffe, Saxon]—

COFFIN *n. ſ.* the box or cheſt in which dead bodies are put for burial, alſo a mold of paſte for a pie, a conical paper-caſe among grocers, and the hoof of a horſe in farriery [*coſin*, French]—

SCAFFOLD *n. ſ.* a temporary gallery or ſtage [*eſchafaut*, French; *ſchavot*, Dutch, from *ſchawen*, to ſhew]—

SCABBARD *n. ſ.* the ſheath of a ſword [*ſchap*, German. Junius]—

SKIFF *n. ſ.* a ſmall light boat [*eſquife*, French; *ſcapha*, Latin]—

SHIP *n. ſ.* a large veſſel for croſſing the waters [ſcip, Saxon; *ſchippen*, Dutch]—

SCHIP *n. ſ.* the ſame in Scotch—

SKIPPER *n. ſ.* a ſhip-maſter or ſhip-boy [*ſchippen*, Dutch]—

SKIPPET *n. ſ.* a ſmall boat [probably from *ſkip*]. It is the diminutive of SHIP—

SCUPPER-HOLES *n. ſ.* the openings in a ſhip for letting out water [*ſchoepen*, Dutch, to draw off]. It means no more, I believe, than *ſhip-holes*—

SHOP

Shop *n. s.* a room in which any thing is sold or manufactures carried on [sceop, Saxon, a magazine; *eschoppe*, French; *shopa*, low Latin *]—

Some of these words do not seem at first sight to be related. But they are. And the British language shews it. They all signify merely any thing that covers or incloses another; and are therefore a shoot from the same stem with CABIN and its relatives before. Thus Coff (C and A) is a belly, Cavel (A) a cradle, Kaval (C) a basket, a hamper, or a cradle, Coffat (A) a belly-full, and Kavat (C) any kind of vessel; Kufr (A) Cofra (I) Kopher, Kophor (C) and Coffr (Howel Dha) a chest or coffer; Covin (old British) a chariot, and Cafn (W) the same word, but signifying a trough, a tray, or any hollow vessel of wood or stone, and also a boat, a wherry, or a sculler. Scafa, Sgaffa (I) is also a skiff, Skaph (C) a boat, Scib (I) a skiff or ship, and Sciobadh (I) a ship's crew; Sciobol (I) a barn or granary, Y-Sgubor (W) a barn, and Skibor (C) the same; and Sheapa (I) a shop, Sheapoir (I) a shopper. And Skival (C) is a porringer, Sceabhal (I) a kettle, Scabhal (I) a kettle or caldron, Scabal (I) a helmet, a hood, or the shoulder-blade, which covers the articulation of the arm and body, Sgabard (I) a scabbard, Scabhal (W) a booth, hut, shop, or scaffold, or a screen sheltering the door of a house from the wind, and Scafal (I) a scaffold.

CAUL *n. s.* the net in which women inclose their hair, or the hinder part of a woman's cap; any kind of small net; or the integument in which the bowels are inclosed. [of uncertain etymology]—

Kell *n. s.* the net in which the bowels are inclosed: no etymon—

Keel *n. s.* a lighter, by which coals are carried from the wharf at Newcastle to the ship at Shields—

* No such word in the language.

Keet

Sect. I.

KEEL *n. s.* the bottom of a ship [ceole, Saxon; *kiel*, Dutch; *quille*, French]—

COLLOCK *n. s.* a large pail, Lancashire—

GALLON *n. s.* a liquid measure of four quarts [*gelo*, low Latin*]—

COWL *n. s.* a tub, Essex—

SKEEL *n. s.* a collock, Provincially—

SCULL *n. s.* a small boat: see next word—

SCULLER *n. s.* the same [of this word I know not the etymology. *Skiola* is in Islandick a vessel, and *escueille* in French a dish]—

HULL *n. s.* the body of a ship [1. the husk of any thing, 2. the body of a ship: *hulgan*, Gothick, to cover]—

HULK *n. s.* a heavy ship of burden, or the body of any ship [*hulcke*, Dutch; hulc, Saxon]—

HULL *n. s.* the husk or integument of any thing, as the rind of a kernel or the pod of a plant [*hulgan*, Gothick, to cover]—

SHULL *n. s.* the same, Manchester—

SHALE *n. s.* the same in Shakespeare,

Leaving them but the *shales* and husks of men. vi. 100.

SHELL *n. s.* the same, only applied also to the coats of testaceous and crustaceous animals, to the hard covering of an egg, or the mere outside of a house [scyll, sceall, Saxon; *schale*, *schelle*, Dutch]—

SCALLOP } *n. s.* a fish with a hollow shell [*escallop*,
SCOLLOP } French]—

SHALLOP *n. s.* a small boat [*chaloupe*, French]—

SCALE *n. s.* a shallow dish used in taking cream off the milk, Prov.—

SCALE *n. s.* the bason of a balance, or a balance itself [sceale, Saxon; *schael*, Dutch; *skal*, Islandick]—

SCULL *n. s.* the bony cavity of the head [It is derived by Skinner from *shell*, in some provinces called *shull*; as *testa* and

* *Gelo* is only *Gallon* latinized by the jargon of the law.

and *teste*, or *tête*, signify the head. Mr. Lye observes more satisfactorily, that *skola* is in Islandick the *scull* of an animal]. It signifies only, like SCULL before, a vessel. And the Islandick has the same meaning—

SKILLET *n. s.* a small boiler [*escuellette*, French]—

SCULLERY *n. s.* the place where kettles and dishes are commonly kept [from *skiola*, a vessel, Islandick; or *escüeille*, French, a dish]—

SCULLION *n. s.* the lowest domestick servant, that washes the kettles and dishes in the kitchen [from *escueille*, French, a dish]—

GULLION *n. s.* a word preserved only in SLUBBERDE-GULLION, but signifying the same as a greasy scullion—

CULLION *n. s.* the same word, signifying a mean wretch, and properly a scullion [*coglione*, a fool, Ital. perhaps from *scullion*]—

CALDRON *n. s.* a pot, a boiler, a kettle [*chauldron*, French; from *calidus*, Latin]—

ÇAWDRON *n. s.* the same, Manchester—

CHALDER, CHALDRON, CHAUDRON } *n. s.* a measure of coals: no etymon—

CHALDRON, CHAWDRON } *n. s.* the bag containing the entrails, as in these well-known lines of Shakespeare,

> Add thereto a tyger's *chawdron*
> For the ingredients of our cauldron;

and in an old book of cookery, 1597, is a receit to make a *pudding* of a calf's *chaldron* (Steevens on Shakespeare iv. 488): no etymon—

This series of words is derived, like the preceding, from the idea merely of one thing containing another. And Cawell (W and A) is a basket, a hamper, or a cradle, Cawal (C) a bee-hive, Cawell Pisgotta (W and A) a fishing-net or fishing-basket, and Cawell Saethu (W) a quiver. Cawl (W) is a maw or stomach, Callor, Callawr, and Cellawr (W) Kaltor,

Sect. I. Cauter, and Caudarn (A) a caldron, Cellwrn (W) a pail or bucket, and Celorn (A) a pitcher or a pot; Ciolarn (I) any vessel, and Chalder (Erse) a particular measure, the lords of the Highlands letting their lands for rents in kind, and computing this by chalders, one of which, with some little variation in different parts of the country, is ninety-six bushels (Birt's Letters v. ii. p. 155). And Galwyn (W) is a gallon, Galun (I) a goblet, Caolain (I) the small guts, considered as vessels, Coludd, Coluddion (W) the bowels, and Coluddyn (W) a bowel or a gut, Coll (I) a head, considered also as a vessel, and Siol, Shol (W) the crown of the head or the scull; Scala (C) a dish or a goblet, Scala (I) a great bowl, *plural* Scalaidhe, great bowls, and Scaluidhe (I) balances; Y-Sgâl (W) any hollow vessel of wood or earth, but in Glamorganshire a shallow dish for skimming cream, Sgailin, Sgaileog (I) a small dish or plate, and also the cup in flowers or plants, Sguille (I) a scullion, and Sgalain (I) huts or cottages.

CAUSEY *n. s.* a way raised and paved [This word, by a false notion of its etymology, has been lately written CAUSEWAY: *chaussée*, French]—Casan (I) a path, Chauser (A) a bank or causey, and Causey (W) as in Pen-Causey or the head of the road, a place in Wales so called. And the word, like the French Chaussée, comes from the Celtick Chos or Cos, the foot or the leg in Irish at this day; and signifies merely a footing-way. So the Irish Casan is also Cosan a path, and CAUSEY is pronounced Cosey at Manchester. So also Coisidheacd in Irish, is a foot-journey. And the first roads of the Britons, before commerce had begun the great ones that I have previously mentioned, would be merely path-ways, such as the Indians of America have in their woods, and the Highlanders retained to our own days over all their country.

CHALK *n. s.* a fossil [cealc; cealc-stan, Saxon; *calck*, Welsh]—Cailk (I) and Calck (W) either lime or chalk, from the Latin Calx, lime. In several parts of the south of England, and particularly in and about London, Lime is generally made of chalk. And, from the British and Saxon use of the

word

word above, it appears to have been almost universally made so among the Saxons and Britons.

CHAMPION *n. s.* a man who undertakes a cause in single combat [*champion*, French; *campio*, low Latin]—

GAME *n. s.* a solemn contest exhibited as a spectacle to the people, or a sport of any kind [*gaman*, a jest, Islandick]—

GAME *v. n.* to play at any sport, to play wantonly and extravagantly for money [ʒaman, Saxon]—

GAMBLE *v. n.* to play extravagantly for money: unnoticed—

GAMBOL *v. n.* to dance, to skip, to play merry frolicks [*gambiller*, French]—

These words are nearly allied. And Gam (C) is a sport, Camp, Gamp (W) a game, Campau, Gampau (W) games, such as the Olympick, and Y Pedair Camp Hugain (W) games consisting of twenty-four kinds of exercises, used among the antient Welsh; Campus (W) is active; and Campiur (W) Cimper (A) and Caimpear (I) a champion. Our GAMES therefore derive their appellation from the Campus of the Romans, which, as it was the appropriated name of the field of games and exercises at Rome, came latterly to signify the exercises themselves. And our CHAMPION comes from their colloquial Campio, and means properly a prize-fighter, or one who contended at the games.

CHANGE *v. a.* to put one thing in place of another [*changer*, French; *cambio*, Latin]—

CHANGE, EX-CHANGE, } *n. s.* a publick place of meeting for merchants and traders [from the verb]—

CHANGER *n. s.* one whose employment it is to change or discount money [from *change*]—

Cench (A) to change, and Cencherez (A) the place of a changer, a bank where money is exchanged or put out to use. And from the present meaning of the word Changer, reflected back as it is and strengthened by the British signification of Cencherez, it is plain, I think, that the first idea of an Exchange, or stated place of meeting for negotiating mercantile affairs, was a banker's shop; where money was so professedly

 changed,

Sect. I. changed, that the banker was denominated a changer. In the north of Scotland, where their mercantile transactions are either petty in themselves, or so lately introduced as not to have affected their language yet; an inn or a coffee-house is denominated a change, as the natural place of recourse for the changing of money. And, in a more improved state of commerce, the first scenes of mercantile resort would as naturally be the shops of the money-changers; and appear to have actually been so, as they have devolved their own names upon the much greater, that have been purposedly constructed since:

CLACK *n. s.* any thing that makes a chinking noise [*klatschen*, German, to rattle, to make a noise]—

CLACK of a mill *n. s.* a bell that rings when more corn is required to be put into the hopper: the same etymon—

CLACK *n. s.* the human tongue: the same etymon—

CLACK *v. n.* to make a clack, by loud talk or any other noise [from the noun]—

CLICK *v. a.* to make a small, sharp, and successive noise [*clicken*, Dutch; *cliqueter*, French]—

CLICKER *n. s.* a salesman's servant, who stands at the door continually inviting customers in by his address to them [from *click*]

CLICKET *n. s.* the knocker of a door [from *click*]—

CLUCK *v. a.* to call chickens as a hen does [*cloccian*, Welsh; *clochat*, Armorick; *cloccan*, Saxon; *klocken*, Dutch]—

CLOCK *v. a.* the same, Manchester—

CLOCK *n. s.* a machine that tells the hour by striking on a bell [*clôcc*, Welsh, from clôch, a bell, Welsh and Armorick; *cloche*, French]—

Clecc (W) is a noise, Cleccian (W) to make a noise, and Cleccan (W) to tattle; Glegyr, Cluccian, and Cloccian (W) and Clochat (A) to cluck; Clog (I) a clock or a bell, Cloch (W) a bell, Clôcc (W) a clock, and Cloch (A and C) a bell, as the original clocks were only the church-bells, that sounded out

out the hours by ringing. And Clechr (C) is a little bell, a clock, or any bell, Clecha (C) a bell-place, and Clicket (C) the clapper of a bell or the latch of a door.

CLAN *n. f.* a tribe or race of men under the government of a leader [probably of Scottish original: *klaan* in the Highlands signifies children]—Klaan (E) children, Cland antiently but now Clan (I) children, a progeny, a family, or a tribe. These words serve to shew us, how the tribes that still exist in Ireland and Scotland, and were formerly common in every part of the British isles, had their first commencement. They were mere families originally, dilated by successive propagation into tribes. And this accounts for that strong attachment which I have formerly noticed, in the British follower to his chief. He was, what the Highlander of every clan also claims to be at present, the actual relation of his lord. The ties of blood naturally formed a connection, which was superiour in its strength and duration to all the political bonds in the world. And the remarkable emancipation of the Highlanders, in our own days, has decisively shewn it; their fidelity to their lords being very little affected by it; because their minds are almost as much possessed as ever with their old notions of consanguinity, and, consequently, as much prejudiced in favour of the attachments founded upon it.

CLEAN *adj.* free from dirt [*glan,* Welsh; clæne, Saxon]—

Clean *v. a.* to free any thing from dirt [from the adjective]—

Gleen *v. n.* to shine with heat or polish [I know not the original notion of this word. It may be of the same race with *glow* or *gleam*]—

Glân (W) Glan (A) and Glane (C) clean, and Glanhau (W) to clean; Glan (I) clean, clear, or transparent, Glinn (I) clear, Glinn (I) light in the sky, Gloine, Glain (I) brightness or glass; and Goleuni (W) light. And in the same manner Gloyn (W) is a coal, denominated from its luminous quality in burning; and a butterfly is very prettily called in

 Welsh,

Sect. I. Welsh, Armorick, and Cornish, Gloen or Gloyn Diw, the coal of God.

CLEAR, *adj.* without muddiness, cloudiness, &c. [*clair*, French; *klaer*, Dutch; *clarus*, Latin]—

GLAIRE *n. s.* the white of an egg [glæp, Saxon, amber; *glar*, Danish, glass; *glaire*, French; *glarea*, Latin]—

GLARE *v. n.* to shine dazzlingly [*glaeren*, Dutch]—

GLARE *v. a.* to emit a dazzling lustre—

GLARE *n. s.* such a lustre [from the verb]—

FLARE *v. n.* to glisten [from *fledderen*, to flutter, Dutch, Skinner; perhaps accidentally changed from *glare*]—

These words are all the same. And the referring them to one common origin is at once doing justice to the language, and freeing it from some very aukward etymons. Thus Dr. Johnson's derivations of GLAIRE above, are all (except the French) greatly beside the purpose. Amber, Glass, or Gravel cannot suggest to us the idea of the white of an egg. And the French wants an etymology equally with our own. The latter is too much a provincial word, too much the technical term of housewifery, to be derived to us from the French language.

CLEAR, GLAIRE, FLARE, and GLARE are all formed by the British mode of sounding the initial letter here, sometimes as a *C* or *G*, and other times as an *F*. And Gluair, Gleair (I) is pure, clean, neat, bright, or clear, S-Cler (A) clear, Glor (I) neat, clean, or clear, E-Glur (W) clear or bright, and Clar (W) bright or clear. We have actually, also, Dis-Glair (W) clear, lightsome, bright, or glittering, and Dis-Gleirio (W) to shine, to glitter, or to look bright and gay; from Dys and Claer. And Fflur (C) is brightness.

So evidently are these words all formed from the same principle. And they only mark the different stages of the same idea. Thus CLEAR expresses the lowest degree of brightness, an exemption merely from cloudiness or muddiness. The GLAIRE of an egg is a degree still higher, that of a lively clearness. To FLARE implies a liveliness that is strong and lightsome.

lightsome: And to GLARE means the strongest degree of all, a lightsomeness that is dazzling.

CLOAK n. s. a loose sort of garment worn over the rest [lach, Saxon]—Cloka (I) and Clôg (I and W).

CLOTH n. s. any thing woven for dress or covering &c. [clað, Saxon]—

CLOTHES n. s. the dress of a person or the covering of a bed [the same word, only in the plural]—

CLOTHE v. a. to dress or cover [from the noun]—

CLAD part. preter. clothed [This participle, which is now referred to *clothe*, seems originally to have belonged to *claden*, or some such word, like *kleeden*, Dutch]. It is justly referred to *clothe*, as cloth is clað, Saxon, and as we have also

CLOUT n. s. a cloth for any mean use, a patch for a coat or shoe, &c. [clut, Saxon]—

CLOUT v. a. to cover with a cloth, to patch, &c. [from the noun]—

These words speak their own relation to each other. And Ceallt (I) is apparel, raiment, or clothes, and the very word that is used in the Highlands at present for the full dress of the country, and which has been unjustly, though naturally, supposed to signify the Celtick habit. Cealtaire, Culaighe, and Culaidhe (I) all signify the same; and Lathaire, Lothar (I) is apparel, dress, or cloth, the very word probably with LEATHER, as the first clothes of the Britons were skins. And Klutt (G) and Clutt (W) is a clout or piece of cloth, Gloth (I) a veil or covering, and Clyttio (W) to patch or clout.

CLUB n. s. a heavy stick [*clwppa*, Welsh; *kluppel*, Dutch]—Clwppa (W) Club (I).

COAL n. s. a fossil dug for fewel [col, Saxon; *kol*, German; *kole*, Dutch; *kul*, Danish]—

GLOW v. a. to be so heated as to shine without flame, to burn with vehement heat, or to exhibit a strong bright colour [glopan, Saxon; *gloeyen*, Dutch]—

GLOW v. a. to make to glow, as in these curious lines of Shakespeare,

Sect. I.

On each side her
Stood pretty dimpled boys, like smiling Cupids,
With divers-coloured fans, whose wind did seem
To *glow* the delicate cheeks which they did cool—

Glow-worm *n. s.* an insect whose tail shines in the night [from *glow* and *worm*]—

These words are thus formed from the British. Goleu (W) is clear, lightsome, or bright, Goleu (A and W) light itself, Goleuad (W) a luminary, Goleuo (W) to give light, shine, or illuminate, and Goleuo (A) to dart lightning. Gloyw (W) is clear or bright, and Gloywi (W) to brighten, to make or become bright. And Glau (A) Glo (W) and Glow (C) is a coal, Gual (I) coal or a fire, and Colan (C) a coal.

The original idea of Glow, therefore, is to shine. This is obviously retained in the word Glow-worm. And it is equally so in coal, which here appears, as it did before under clean, to have been denominated from its inflamed and burning state, as a luminous fossil. The other ideas annexed to glow are only the derivatives of this; the transition being from shining to a strong bright colour, that of a red-hot fire particularly, as the strongest of all; and then to the natural idea accompanying such a fire, that of burning with vehement heat. And these are the same words with clean and gleen before, only a little differenced in the termination.

I have already shewn the fossil fewel to have been actually used by the Britons and Romans in the island. And to the evidence then given we may add a still more remarkable proof, which has occurred to me since the last publication. In digging up some of the Roman foundations at Caer Voran in Northumberland, 1762, a quantity of coal-cinders was found below; and some of them were very large*. And the name, as we have seen before and now see here again, is derived from the British in actual reference to its burning or glowing quality.

COAL *n. s.* a cant word for money: omitted—

* Wallis's Northumberland p. 119. vol. I.

Gold

Gold *n. s.* the heaviest of all metals, also money made of it, and any thing pleasing or valuable [gold, Saxon; *golud*, riches, Welsh. It is called *gold* in our English tongue, either of *geel*, as Scaliger says, which is in Dutch to shine; or of another Dutch word, which is *gelten*, and signifies in Latin *valere*, in English to be of price or value: hence cometh their ordinary word *gelt* for money. Peacham on Drawing]—

Gwolo, Golo (W) interpreted by Davies to signify profitable, also profit, advantage, or benefit, and likewise to be profitable, to profit, or to avail; but explained by Dr. David Powel, about 1580, to mean wealth or riches; and in fact signifying both, I apprehend, that being only the primary idea, and this the secondary. And we have also Golud (W) riches or wealth, the derivative of the preceding word, Goludog (W) wealthy, and Gold-Mair (W) a plant called the Virgin Mary's Gold, or a Marygold, from its colour. The first idea of gold would be, as it is here, any thing profitable. And the Britons having riches before they had money, and their principal monies being of gold afterwards, they would naturally distinguish the latter by a title expressive of their value, and referring to their own previous ideas concerning the former. The coin and the metal would be denominated COAL and GOLD, and considered, as their flocks and their herds (of which these were now the representatives and substitutes) had been considered before, in the light of riches and wealth.

COB *v. a.* a blow, Manchester—

Cope *v. n.* to contend with any one in fighting [It is a word of doubtful etymology. The conjecture of Junius derives it from *koopen*, to buy, or some other word of the same import; so that to *cope with* signifies to *interchange blows*, or any thing else, with another]—

Cuff *n. s.* a blow with the fist or talon of a bird [*zuffa*, a battle, *zuffare*, to fight, Italian]—

Cuff *v. a.* to strike any one with the fist, with talons, or with wings [this last sense seems improper: from the noun]. It appears from this arrangement to be very proper—

CUFF *v. n.* to ſtrike [to fight, to ſcuffle]—

SCUFFLE *n. ſ.* a confuſed quarrel, a tumultuous broil, properly one in which blows are dealt [derived by Skinner from *ſhuffle*]—

SCUFFLE *v. n.* to fight confuſedly and tumultuouſly [from the noun]—

Cobio (W) to knock, to ſmite, or to thump, and alſo to peck at as hens do, Cob (W) a knock, Dho Cob (C) to break or bruiſe, and Cobber (C) a bruiſer of any thing; Coup (A) a blow, Gabham (I) to beat, Gubha, Gumha, pronounced Guva, (I) a battle or a conflict, Sgeimhle (I) pron. Sgeivle, a ſkirmiſh, and Sgeimhlighim or Sgeivlighim (I) to ſkirmiſh or bicker.

COIN *n. ſ.* money [by ſome ſuppoſed to come from *cuneus*, a wedge, becauſe metal is cut in wedges to be coined]—Ceiniog (W) a penny. This word is the general appellation for money, as the correſpondent Penny is at preſent. It ſtands as the term for money in theſe words of Howel Dha, Tair *Ceinœawg* ddirwy y ſydd, There are three monies, or ſums of money, to be paid as publick fines. And it is derived, like Penny, from a verb denoting payment; Ceanach (I) being a payment, and Ceanaighim (I) ſignifying to pay.

COIT *n. ſ.* ſomething thrown with the hand at a mark, in a particular diverſion [*kote*, a die, Dutch]—

QUOIT *n. ſ.* the ſame [*coete*, Dutch]—

QUOIT *v. n.* to play at quoits [from the noun]—

QUOIT *v. a.* to throw any thing—

Coeten (W) and Koeten (C) a coit, Quoit (W and C) a broad thin ſtone, ſuch as is uſed in quoiting, and, as the origin of all, Cathaim (I) to throw or quoit.

COLE *n. ſ.* a general name for all ſorts of cabbage [capl, Saxon]—

COLE-WORT } *n. ſ.* a ſpecies of cabbage [caplpyꞃt, Saxon]—
CALE-WORT }

COLLI-FLOWER *n. ſ.* another ſpecies of cabbage [from capl, Saxon, cabbage, and *flower*]—

CAULI-FLOWER *n. ſ.* the ſame [from *caulis*, Latin, the ſtalk of a plant]—.

Kaul

Kaul (C) herbs or pottage, the latter being antiently made of the former, Kaol (C) cabbage, Caulen (A) cabbage, Câl (I) colewort or cabbage, and Colis (I) cabbage; from the Latin Caulis, the Romans being the introducers of all but the sea-cabbage into the island, and Caulis signifying, secondarily, all sorts of coleworts.

COLLOP *n. s.* a small slice of meat [derived by Minshew from *coal* and *op*, a rasher broiled upon the coals]—Golwyth (W) a chop of flesh, a piece, a joint, or a rasher, and Colog (I) a steak or collop.

COMB } *n. s.* a measure for corn, half a quarter [*comble*,
COOMB } French; *cumulus*, Latin, a heap. Skinner]—

COMB *n. s.* a valley [*kûm*, British, a low situation, Gibson's Camden; and *comb*, Cornish, is a valley, and had the same signification formerly in the French tongue]—

COMB *n. s.* the cell in which bees deposite their honey [perhaps from the word above]—

KIMNEL *n. s.* any hollow vessel: omitted—

KIMMEL } *n. s.* a powdering tub, prov.—
KEMLIN }

This series of words is of the same house with CAUF and CABIN and their relatives. Like those, it signifies something that is capable of holding another. And Cwmman (W) is a brewing-tub or a churn, Coimde (I) a large tub, and Cwmm (W) and Cwmm, Coom (C) a valley.

COMPASS *v. a.* to encircle or surround [*compasser*, French; *compassare*, Italian; *passibus metiri*, Latin]—

COMPASS *n. s.* a circle or round [from the verb]—

COMPASS *n. s.* the instrument with which circles are made [from the verb]—

COMPASS *n. s.* the circular instrument by which mariners steer [from the verb]—

Compas (I) to encircle, Kompas (C) Kemp (W) and Compas (I) a circle, Cwmpas (W) a circle or pair of compasses, and Compod (W) the mariner's compass; from the colloquial Latin word, still retained in the Italian *compassare*, to pace round any thing.

Sect. I.

CORACLE *n. s.* a boat used in Wales, Gloucestershire, &c. by fishers, and made by drawing leather, or oil-cloth upon a frame of wicker-work [*corwgle*, Welsh; probably from *corium*, leather]—

CUIRASS *n. s.* a breast-plate or coat of armour [a breast-plate; *cuirasse*, French, from *cuir*, leather; *coraccia*, Italian]—

HARNESS *n. s.* armour, or the traces of horses in greater carriages [*harnois*, French, supposed from *iern* or *hiern*, Runick, *haiarn*, Welsh and Erse, iron]—

CORD *n. s.* a slenderer rope [*cort*, Welsh; *chorda*, Latin; *corde*, French]—

CORDWAIN *n. s.* leather [Spanish leather; *cordovan*, leather, from Cordova in Spain]—

CURTAIN *n. s.* originally (as the analogy shews) a leather, but now a cloth, contracted or expanded at pleasure, to admit or exclude the light [*cortina*, Latin *]

CORDWAINER *n. s.* a shoemaker [uncertain whether from *cordovan*, Spanish leather, or from *cord*, of which shoes were formerly made, and are now used in the Spanish West-Indies. Trevoux]—

CURRY *v. a.* to dress leather by beating and rubbing of it [*corium*, Latin]—

CURRIER *n. s.* a dresser of leather [*coriarius*, Latin]—

I have brought all these words together, because they will reciprocally illustrate each other, and prove their common descent more satisfactorily than if they had been separately placed.

The derivation of HARNESS here is supported with great plausibility by Mr. Pelletier in his Dictionaire de la langue Bretonne; Haiarn forming Haiarnaidd, and this being pronounced Haiarnaiz. Body-armour he shews from Varro to have been formerly made of leather among the Romans, and to have been therefore denominated Lorica, from Lora leathern thongs. And armour of iron he shews, from the same autho-

* This word, though used as Dr. Johnson uses it in the wretched Latinity of modern writers, signifies something very different from a curtain, and merely a caldron or kettle.

rity

rity to have been afterwards introduced by the Gauls, who equally distinguished it, as he supposes, by the Gallick name of Harnes or iron. But, when we consider the subject a little more closely, this etymology necessarily falls to the ground. HARNESS signifies, not merely the iron armour of men, but also the leathern traces of horses. And the etymon should be adapted to both.

The first natural armour of all nations, as well as of the Romans, was leather. And in this state it was denominated a coat of MAIL by the Britons, Mala (I) being either armour or a bag, a budget, and a POST-MAIL, Mealbh, Mealbhog (I) a satchel, a budget, or a knapsack, Mal (A) a budget, Maleten (A) a pouch or WALLET, and Malisen (A) a great budget. So also the CUIRASS, Cyras and Cwras (W) a breast-plate or a coat of mail, borrows its appellation from the same cause. Carrai (W and A) is a thong of leather or the latchet of a shoe, the latchet being also of leather; Correen (A) is also a thong of leather; Cwran (W) is a boot or buskin, Cuaraneu (Howel Dha) the shoes of the master of the king's hounds, Cuaran (I) a sock, Cuaroga (I) brogues made of untanned leather, and Quarrant (E) a kind of pump made of a raw cowhide turned outwards. And HARNESS is derived from the same principle, Harnes (A) signifying armour, and Harnais (Howel Dha) the traces of horses. It meant originally any thing of leather, the initial *C* of the preceding words being softened, as it very commonly is, into *H*; and so became applied equally to armour and traces of leather. And Cornel Botes (A) is the sole of a shoe, Cernial (W) is the same, and Cernialwch (W) is a sandal or slipper.

The first cordage among the Britons, as I have formerly shewn, was thongs of leather. And the tackling of their boats was equally leathern with the vessels. Hence Curach, Curachan (I) and Corwg, Corwgl, Cweragl, and Cwrwgl (W) mean a boat, literally a leathern thing; the Britons having such vessels before the Romans came into the island. And Cart (I) is leather, Corden (A) Corden, Cordyn, Cort (W) and Corda (I) a rope or cord, Kerdy (C) cords, and Cortyn, *plural* Cortyn-

Sect. I. nau (W) a hanging or a curtain, the hangings of superiour rooms, even within these three or four centuries, having been made of gilt leather. So Corwal and Cordwal (W) is dress or fine leather; Gurhal (C), the same word with Corwal (W), is a ship; Curstaba, Currghalan (I) is a bucket; Kereor (C) Quarer, Kereour, Kere (A) and Cryad for Cyrydd (W) is a shoemaker, literally a leather-dealer, and the same word with our CURRIER; and Coureza (A) is to curry or dress leather.

CORAL *n. s.* a particular sea-plant [*corallium*, Latin]—Curel (W) and Kurel (C) from the Latin, which was equally Curalium and Corallum.

CORNEOUS *adj.* horny [*corneus*, Latin]—

CORN *n. s.* a hard and painful excrescence on the feet [probably so called from its form, though by some supposed to be denominated from its corneous or horny substance]. It is plainly derived from the latter—

CORNET *n. s.* that part of the pastern in a horse's hoof, which runs round the coffin; so called also from its corneous or horny nature: see CORNET a musical instrument, below, for the Doctor's etymon—

CORN *n. s.* the seeds of grain, so named from their hard and horny nature [copn, Saxon; *korn*, German. It is found in all the Teutonick dialects; as, in an old Runic rhyme,

Hagul ar kaldestur *corna*,
Hail is the coldest grain]—

KERN *v. n.* to harden as ripened corn [probably from *kernel*, or, by change of a vowel, corrupted from *corn*]—

KERNEL *n. s.* the stone of grapes &c., the seed of oats &c., the eatable substance contained in the shell of nuts, or any knobby concretions in childrens flesh [cypnel, Saxon, a gland; *karne*, Dutch; *cerneau*, French]. All these objects are plainly denominated from their hard and horny nature—

KERNEL *v. n.* to harden into kernels [from the noun]—

CORNET

CORNET n. ſ. a military inſtrument of wind-muſick, made no doubt of horn originally [*cornette*, French]—

CORNET n. ſ. formerly, as analogy ſhews, that officer in a troop of horſe who blew the cornet or horn, but now the bearer of the ſtandard, the colours probably being at firſt affixed to the inſtrument, as we ſee them frequently to trumpets at preſent: ditto—

CORNET n. ſ. a troop of horſe formerly, the men belonging to ſuch a ſtandard: ditto—

CORNET n. ſ. a ſcarf antiently worn by Doctors, ſo called probably in alluſion to the ſcarf-like colours of the cornet: ditto—

CORNET n. ſ. a cap of paper formed by ſhopkeepers with the point downwards, to put in ſugar &c.; ſo named from its reſemblance to a horn: ditto—

CORNET n. ſ. an antient head-dreſs: ditto—

CORNER n. ſ. an angle or a private place [*cornel*, Welſh; *cornier*, French]. It comes plainly from the idea of an angle, which the Latins equally expreſſed by Cornu, a horn—

HORN n. ſ. a hard pointed ſubſtance that grows on the heads of ſome animals [*haurn*, Gothick; hoꝛn, Saxon; *horn*, Dutch]—

HORN n. ſ. an inſtrument of wind-muſick made of horn: the ſame etymon—

HORN n. ſ. a drinking-cup made of horn: the ſame etymon—

HORNET n. ſ. a large fly with a ſting [hyꝛnette, Saxon, from its horns]—

The word CORN for grain being here diſcovered by Dr. Johnſon or his author in the Iſlandick language, it will be proper, in vindication of my referring it to the Britiſh, juſt to mention a principle of lingual criticiſm which has not been ſufficiently attended to. The Britons had corn before the Romans came among them, and had therefore a Celtick appella-

 tion

Sect. I. tion for it. And one accordingly appears to this day in the Irish, Geirn signifying corn in Geirn-eal or Gearn-ean (I) a granary or corn-house. The word is thus found equally in the Irish and the Islandick, and carries equal evidence for its Celtick and its Gothick origin. And it was therefore common to both languages from the beginning, and has been derived to us from the one fountain of both, the general language of mankind before the Confusion.

All these words are plainly descended from the same parent, by being all expressive of the horn, and either alluding to its hardness or referring to its pointedness. And that parent is British. Corn (W, C, A, and I) signifies a horn, and is not taken, as one would naturally imagine at first, from the Latin Cornu, but is an original member of the British Vocabulary; as is evident from the appearance of the word in the appellatives of some of the British nations, the Corn-avii or Carn-abii of Cheshire, of Cornwall, and of Cathness. Quern (A) is also a horn, *plural* Querniel horns, and Corniog (W) horny; Carn (W) the hoof of a horse or other beast, Carn (A) a hoof, andCarnec (A) having hoofs; Cornwyd (C and W) a boil, a blain, or a sore, and Guirin (I) a blain, wheal, or pimple. Corn (I) is a drinking-cup, because such cups were generally made of horn, Ceirn (I) a dish or platter, and Corn-chlar (I) a cupboard; Corn-brican and Tol-Corn (C) a pipe, Corn (W) a trumpet, and Ceirniad, Cyrniad (W) he who blows a horn or cornet. And Corn (A) Cearn, Coirneul (I) Kernal (C) and Cornel (W) is a corner, and Corn (A) a bye-place; Cearnabhan (I) a hornet; Corn o wlanen neu frethyn (W) a piece of flannel or cloth rolled upon a stick, Cornadh (I) a folding or rolling up, Cornaim (I) to fold or plait, and Cornta (I) folded or wrapt up.

COSTREL *n. s.* [a bottle: supposed to be derived from *coster*, a head]—

Costrel *n. s.* a little barrel, Lancashire—

Kestrel *n. s.* a flawed and inferiour sort of earthen vessel, Manchester—.

Custrel

Sect. I.

COSTREL n. s. a vessel for holding wine: no etymon—

Kostrel (C) a pot, bottle, or flaggon, and Costrel (W) a bottle, a great flaggon, or a jug. The produce of the British potteries naturally sunk in its estimation, when the Roman was introduced. And the British appellation for an earthen vessel became the signature only of the flawed and the bad, of such as were still made probably in the British potteries, or the mere refuse and rubbish of the Roman.

COURT n. s. a palace [*cour*, French; *koert*, Dutch; *curtis*, low Latin*]—

COURT n. s. a house, or a room in it, where justice is administered: the same etymon—

COURT n. s. an open space surrounded by the buildings of a house, or lying in the front of it: the same etymon—

CART n. s. the same, Manchester—

YARD n. s. an inclosed ground adjoining to a house [ʒeaꞃꝺ, Saxon]—

GARTH n. s. any inclosure, like the internal area of a great house, provincially, as an *applegarth* is an orchard in Yorkshire—

GARTH n. s. originally the containing line of an inclosure, as analogy shews; and so the hoop that incloses a tub or barrel; Manchester—

GARTH n. s. the measure of a man or tree in the bulkiest part [the bulk of the body measured by the girdle, as if *girth*, from *gird*]—

GIRTH n. s. the same [from *gird*]—

GARTH n. s. the belt that goes round the belly of a horse, Manchester—

GIRTH n. s. the same [from *gird*]—

GIRT n. s. the same [from *gird*]—

GIRT n. s. any circular bandage [from *gird*]—

GIRT } GIRD } v. a. to encircle with any bandage [ʒẏꞃꝺan, Saxon]—

GIRTH v. a. to bind with a girth—

* There is no such word.

Sect. I.

GIRDLE *n. s.* any thing that girds the waste [Gyrdel, Saxon]—

GIRDLE *v. a.* to gird [from the noun]—

GIRD *n. s.* a twitch, a pang [from the sensation caused by a bandage or girdle drawn hard suddenly; from the verb]—

GIRD *v. a.* to give a twitch or pang by reproaching or gibing, to reproach or gibe—

GIRD *v. n.* the same—

GARDEN *n. s.* a piece of ground inclosed, and planted with herbs or fruits, or laid out for pleasure [*gardd*, Welsh; *jardin*, French; *giardino*, Italian]—

This is a singular specimen of that self-multiplying power of words, which has contributed to enrich all languages, but has been little attended to in any. It has been almost wholly unnoticed in our own. And yet it is perhaps peculiarly prevalent in it. Cûird, Cuirt (I) is a palace, and also a place of judicature, our palaces being always such originally, and the supreme judicatures of the kingdom being therefore assembled in the remains of the palace at Westminster to this day. Gort (I), the same word, is also an inclosure, as our palaces had always open spaces within inclosed by the buildings; and signifies likewise a garden or a field, as those spaces were generally laid out in grass, or planted with fruit-trees and shrubs. Garth, Guarth, Gardd (W) is an inclosure in general, and a garden or orchard in particular, Zhardin (A) and Gardha, Gairdin (I) a garden; Garz, Gars, and Gardh (A) a hedge or a fence, Guridha, Guriza (A) to encompass or gird, and Gurys (A) a girdle. Thus has the single appellation of a palace, from the accidental application and the customary properties of it, given rise to a variety of words; till at length, in the successive propagation of ideas and sounds, the last is scarcely a faint echo of the first, and the king's house, which was first presented to the mind, is sunk at the close into the hoop of a barrel, a belt, and a gibe.

COWL

Sect. I.

COWL n. ſ. a monk's hood [cugle, Saxon; *cucullus*, Latin]— Cwcwll (W) Kugol (C) Cwll, Cuwl, Cûl (W) a monk's hood, and Cwlen (W) a hat, from the Latin—

CRAB n. ſ. a ſhell-fiſh: the ſame etymon in Dr. Johnſon as for Crab, a wild-apple [crabba, Saxon; *krabbe*, Dutch]—

Crevice n. ſ. a ſmaller kind of ſhell-fiſh, found in rivers: ſee the next word—

Craw-fish } n. ſ. the ſame [properly *crevice*, in French
Cray-fish } *ecreviſſe*]—

Crab n. ſ. a wooden engine with three claws for launching ſhips or heaving them into the dock: the ſame etymon as for Crab before—

Grabble v. a. to grope with the hands or claws [probably corrupted from *grapple*]—

Grabble v. n. to lie proſtrate on the ground, to lie groping in the dirt—

Scrabble v. n. to paw with the hands [*krabbelen*, *ſchraffelen*, to ſcrape or ſcratch. Dutch]—

Grapple v. n. to ſeize with the hands, as wreſtlers do [*grabbelen*, Dutch, *krappeln*, German]—

Grapple v. a. to ſeize or faſten upon any thing, as one ſhip does another by means of an iron hook—

Grapnel n. ſ. ſuch a hook, or a ſmall anchor for a little veſſel, ſo called from its hooked nature [*grapin*, French]—

Grubble v. n. to feel in the dark [*grubbelen*, German; from *grub*]—

Grub v. a. to dig up [*graban*, præter. *grôb*, to dig, Gothick]—

Grub n. ſ. a ſmall worm [from grubbing or mining]—

Grub n. ſ. a ſhort thick man, in contemptuous alluſion to the ſize of a worm: the ſame etymon—

Grub n. ſ. a man of mean notions, in the ſame kind of alluſion to the groveling of a worm: omitted—

Sect. I. SCRUB v. a. to rub hard with something coarse and rough, as a brush, a broom, &c. [*schrobben*, Dutch]—

SCRUB n. *s.* a worn-out broom, one that is reduced to the stumps, and scratches rather than sweeps ; Manchester—

SCRUB n. *s.* any thing mean or despicable [from the verb]—

SCRUB n. *s.* a mean and despicable man [from the verb]—

SCRUBBED } adj. mean, despicable [*scrubet*, Danish]—
SCRUBBY }

SCRUB n. *s.* the itch, Manchester, denominated from the scrubbing to which the disease so naturally impels—

SCRABBLE v. n. to write ill-formed characters, Manchester—

SCRIBBLE v. n. the same—

SCRIBBLE v. a. the same [*scribo*, *scribillo*,* Latin]—

SCRIBBLE-SCRABBLE n. *s.* such characters, Manchester—

SCRIBE n. *s.* a writer [*scribe*, French ; *scriba*, Latin]—

SCRIVENER n. *s.* a writer of contracts [*scrivano*, Latin*]—

SCRAPE v. a. lightly to raze the surface of any thing with a sharp instrument, to take away by scraping, to act upon any surface with a sharp noise, to gather any thing with a hooked hand, and so to be mean and penurious [screopan, Saxon ; *schrapen*, Dutch ; *sascró-pitigh*, Erse ; *cravn*, Welsh]—

SCRAPE n. *s.* a scratch &c. : unnoticed—

SCRAP n. *s.* a small piece of any thing [from *scrape*, a thing scraped or rubbed off]—

SCRAP n. *s.* a small piece of paper [this is properly *scrip*]. It is the same word with the preceding—

SCRIP n. *s.* a small writing, a schedule [from *scriptio*, Latin, as it seems]—

GROPE v. n. like GRUBBLE before, to feel in the dark [grapian, Saxon]—

GROPE v. a. to search for any thing in the dark—

* There is no such word.

GRIPE

Sect. I.

Grippen v. a. to seize any thing with the hands or paws [*grippen*, French]—

Gripe v. a. to hold any thing with the fingers closed [*greipan*, Gothick; gripan, Saxon; *grijpen*, Dutch; *gripp*, Scottish]—

Gripe v. a. to close the fingers; the same etymon—

Gripe v. a. to pinch with the fingers closed; the same etymon—

Gripe *n. s.* a seizure by the hand or paw, a squeeze or pinch by either, any pinching distress, any affliction [from the verb]—

Gripe *v. n.* to pinch the belly by giving the cholick—

Gripes *n. s.* the cholick—

Griper *n. s.* an oppressor, usurer, or extortioner [from *gripe*]—

Griple *n. s.* a griping miser [Spenser]—

Grave *v. a.* to clean a ship on the outside by scraping off the filth, &c.: see next word—

Grave *v. a.* to carve a figure on any hard substance [*graver*, French; γραφω]—

En-grave *v. a.* the same [*engraver*, French]—

Graver *n. s.* a carver or carving-tool—

Grave *v. a* to entomb in Shakespeare,

> And ditches *grave* you all;

And again,

> And lie full low, *grav'd* in the hollow'd ground:

the same etymon as for Grave to carve—

En-grave *v. a.* the same, as in Spenser,

> Their curses to *engrave*;

And in that traditional epitaph of Shakespeare's on the usurer,

> Ten in the hundred lies here *engraved*,
> 'Tis a hundred to ten his soul is not saved. [From

grave]—

Grave *n. s.* the hollow that is formed by digging up the ground to bury a dead person in it [græf, Saxon]—

Graff

GRAFF *n. s.* a ditch, a moat [see GRAVE]—

GRAFT *n. s.* a digging, as a *spade-graft* at Manchester is the depth of soil to which a spade descends at every digging—

GRAFF *v. a.* to make an incision in the stock of one tree, and insert a branch of another in it [*greffer*, French]—
GRAFT *v. a.* the same: the same etymon—
GRAFF *n. s.* a branch so inserted [*greff*, French]—
GRAFT *n. s.* the same: the same etymon—

CRAFT *n. s.* small sailing vessels: the same etymon in Dr. Johnson as for CRAFT cunning or a trade.—It is only the same word with GRAFT or GRAVED, I believe, and means a tree hollowed out into a boat, such vessels being the first craft of the Britons, and the CATS that we have noticed before—

GROVEL *v. n.* to lie prostrate on the ground, the same word with GRABBLE before [*grufde*, Islandick, flat on the face. It may perhaps come by gradual corruption from *ground feel*]—

These words are all derived from the idea of a hand, a claw, or a paw, and from the additional idea of that being exerted in griping or scratching. Thus the Crab-fish and Craw-fish naturally assumed their name from their claws, Crag, Griov, Cruv, or Crub (I) signifying a hand or hoof, Crafange (W) the talon of a bird, the claw of a crab, and the like, Crabanou (C and A) claws, Crabanech (C and A) any thing having claws, and Crwban (W) Cruban (I) a crab-fish. And Sgraibseaidh (I) is a hand-saw, Crâff (W) properly a hand griping something, but customarily a brace to fasten beams with, a hook, a cramp-iron, a clasp, a hasp, or a pair of pinchers, and Crifio (W) to catch hold of any thing; Crafangog (W) having large claws, great paws, or broad hands, Crafangaid (W) a gripe or handful, Dian-Craff (A) to weigh anchor, the anchor being so called from its hooked nature and its fastening upon the ground, Cripio (W) to scratch, Crapaff (A) to cast anchor, and Crapat (C and A) to anchor. So also Crib (W) is a comb for the head or a card for wool, Scrioban (I) Scrivel

(A) and Y-Sgrafell (W) a curry-comb, Kriba (C) to comb the head or card wool, Scriobaim (I) to ſcrape, ſcratch, or curry, and Scrivella (A) to curry; Y-Sgraffinio (W) to ſcratch, or to lance a ſore, Graf-chuirim (I) to graff or graft, Graf-chur (I) grafted, Grufaim (I) to graff, and Y-Sgraff (W) a boat; Krobman (C) a hook, Gribach (W) a hay-hook, Crybach (W) a crook, Crwbach (W) a crook or hooked ſtick, Cribyn (W) a rake, Sgrabach (I) rough or rugged, and Scrabach (I) notched or indented. Crafat, Crauet (A) is to ſcratch, Crafadur, Crafinen, and Crifinaden (A) a ſcratching or ſcraping, and Craf Nados (A) the point of a needle; Grafadh, Grabhadh (I) to grub up, to ſcrape up, or to write, Sgriobadh (I) both to write and ſcrape up, Sgrabam (I) to ſcrape, ſcratch, write, or engrave, and Scriva (A) to write; Gravia (C) to engrave, Gravior (C) an engraver, Graveoir (C) a graving-tool or a writing-pen, Sgriobaire (I) a graving-tool, Grabhaladh (I) ſculpture or engraving, and Grabhalaidhe (I) an engraver. And Scriob (I) is a ſcratch, a ſcrape, a furrow, or a ſcrap, Scriobham, Sgriobhuim (I) to write or make an inſcription, Scriobhuin (I) a bill or an evidence, Screphys (C) written, Screpha (C) to write, Scriviniat (C) Scriobhneoir (I) and Scrivagner (A) a ſcribe, writer, or ſcrivener, and Skrivinias (C) to ſcratch, claw, or rub; Crafu (W) to ſcrape or ſcratch, Crafell (W) an inſtrument of ſcraping, a grater, a curry-comb, or a wooden kind of ſpoon for taking butter out of a pot, Grafol (W) a graving-tool, Craf-lech (W) a ſhard of ſtone for ſcraping the face, and Scrapat (A) to ſcrape.

Thus are all theſe words derived from one common and general idea, that of crookedneſs as applied to the hand, the hoof, or the claw, and as exerciſed in their two great operations of griping and ſcraping. Even Scribe and Scrivener, which would otherwiſe be referred immediately to the Latin, appear from this arrangement to unite ſo happily with the Britiſh, and are ſo viſibly formed from the radical principles of the language, that we cannot but conſider them as equally Britiſh with the reſt. Such a coincidence of the Latin and Celtick, however,

is

Sect. I. is very remarkable; and would be more so, if we had not seen several instances of it before, under CAR, CAP, CAUF (SKIFF), CLEAR, CORACLE, and CORNEOUS. And I have pursued this long chain of ideas carefully link by link, and traced it through all the dialects of the British, to give one grand argument more of that which has been so little observed in our language, the regular and analogical deduction of our words, and the intimate affinity that subsists between them.

CRADLE *n. s.* a moveable bed in which children are rocked to sleep [cradel, Saxon]—

CROWD *n. s.* a fiddle [*crwth*, Welsh]—

CROWDER *n. s.* a fidler [from *crowd*]—

ROTE *n. s.* a harp, a lyre [*rote*, old French; rot, Saxon, merry]—

Cryd, Crûd (W) a cradle, Cruit (I) a harp or fiddle, Cruth (Howel Dha) a fiddle, Crotal, Crotha (I) a cymbal, and Kroude (C) a fiddle; Cruiteog (I) a woman-fidler, Crutaire (I) a harper, a musician, Cruith (I) ingenious, lively, and Rhyedd (W) mirth or sport. And CRADLE and CROWD have both of them derived their names from the idea of rounding projection, as Cruit (I) is a bunch on the back, Cruth Halen (W) a salt-box, Crôth (W) a belly, and Crôth Esgair, Crôth Coes (W) the calf of the leg.

CRANE *n. s.* a bird, that I have previously shewn to have once bred in the island [cran, Saxon; *kraen*, Dutch]—Aderyn Garhir (W) a crane, literally the long-legged bird; Korr (I) a crane, literally the leg, Kara (I) being a leg; Guruy (A) Garan (Howel Dha) Garan, Krâna (C) a crane, from Garr (C and A) the leg, and Gar-an legs.

CREAK *v. n.* to make a harsh low noise [corrupted from *crack*]—

CREEK *v. n.* the same: unnoticed—

CREEK *v. a.* to make something give such a sound [see CREAK before]—

CREAK *v. a.* the same, Manchester—

Crack *v. n.* to utter a quick and sudden found: see next word—

Crack *v. a.* to speak any thing with such a sound, as men do when they *crack* their jokes: the same etymon as for Crack to break into chinks—

Crack *n. s.* such a sound: the same etymon as for Crack a chink—

Crake *n. s.* a bird called a water-crake or water-ouzel, so named from its noise; see the other names of birds in this arrangement: unnoticed—

Crackle *v. n.* to make slight cracks [from *crack*]—

Crackling *n. s.* a thin cake of wheat, Lancashire, so called from its crackling when it is broke—

Cracknel *n. s.* the same [from *crack*]—

Crick *n. s.* the noise of a door [from *cricco*, Italian]—

Cricket *n. s.* an insect that squeaks or chirps about ovens and fire-places [*krekel*, from *krekan*, to make a noise, Dutch]—

Cry *v. n.* to speak with vehemence and loudness, to squall as an infant, to utter an inarticulate voice as an animal, or to yelp as a hound upon the scent [*crier*, French]—

Cry *v. a.* to proclaim something publickly—

Crier *n. s.* one who makes such proclamations [from *cry*]—

Criel *n. s.* a dwarf heron, so called from its cry: unnoticed—

Cryer *n. s.* a kind of hawk, called also the falcon gentle: no etymon—

Croak *v. n.* to make a harsh low noise as a frog does, or a hoarse loud one as a raven, or to make any disagreeable noise at all [cracettan, Saxon; crocare, Italian; *crocitare*, Latin]—

Croak *n. s.* such a noise [from the verb]—

REAK *v. n.* to squall, Manchester—

RICK *v. n.* to gingle or to scold, Manchester—

RICKLE *v. n.* to gingle, Manchester—

RICK-RACK *n. s.* a school-boy's rattle at Manchester, being two flat bones placed between the fingers, struck against each other, and so forming a clattering sort of musick; also a child's rattle at Manchester—

RACKET *n. s.* an irregular clattering noise [of uncertain derivation: M. Casaubon derives it, after his custom, from ραχια the dash of fluctuation against the shore]—

SCREAK *v. n.* to make a shrill or hoarse noise [properly *creak*, or *shriek*; from *skrige*, Danish]—

SCRAY *n. s.* a sea-swallow: no etymon in Dr. Johnson. It is so called from its noise—.

SCREECH *v. n.* to cry out as in terrour or anguish [*skrækia*, to cry, Islandick]—

SCREECH *v. n.* to cry as a night-owl does: the same etymon—

SCREECH-OWL *n. s.* an owl that hoots in the night [*screech* and *owl*]—

SCREECH *n. s.* a cry of terrour or anguish, and any harsh horrid cry [from the verb]—

SCRIEK *n. s.* the same, Manchester—

SHRIEK *v. n.* the same [*skrieg*, Danish; *scriccio*, Italian]—

SCRIEK *v. n.* to utter such a cry, Manchester—

SHRIEK *v. n.* the same [*skrieger*, Danish; *scricciolare*, Italian]—

SCRIKE *v. n.* the same, Manchester—

These words bespeak their own relation to each other, and are answered by the following ones in the British. Creccian (W) signifies to cackle as a hen does when she has laid an egg, Grag (I) a shout, or the croaking of crows, Gragaoill, Gragallach (I) the clucking or hoarse crying of a hen, duck, or crow, and Crecer (W) a misse thrush, the same (I suppose) with

with the CRAKE or ouzel before, especially as the CRAKE is very common in Wales; Crechwen (W) loud laughter, Gragam (I) to cry out, to bawl, to squeal, or to shriek, Criccied (W) a cricket, so called from its noise, Crug (W) hoarse, Creg-lais (W) a hoarse voice or a hoarse screaming noise, Crygi, Crygni (W) hoarseness, Crygu (W) to be or to make hoarse, and Creg (C) a stammerer; Kriha (C) to call, name, or cry, Kryhias (C) to neigh as a horse, Creu (W) to croak like a raven, and to beg or desire earnestly, Crio (W and C) to cry, to call, and to cry or call upon, and Criall (A) to cry; Krio (C) to weep, Cri (W) a noise or an out-cry, Cry (C) a noise, Cri, Criaden (A) a cry; Criwr (W and A) a crier, and Crychydd (Caermarthenshire) Cryhyr (Howel Dha) Crehyr, Cryr (W) Cerheis (A) and Curhidh (C) a heron, like the cricket, denominated from its noise. Rhiccian (W) is also to crash, to creak, aud to gnash or grind the teeth, Rhech (W) a fart, a noise, or a bustle, Rhecaim (W) to fart or to make a noise, Rochat (A) to snort, Roichtadh (I) a great cry, and Rucht (I) a clamour; Rhôch (W) a groaning, grunting, or roaring, Rhochan (W) to grunt as a hog, Rhochan (W) a grunting, Rhegain (W) to whisper, to mutter, or to murmur, and Rhugl groen (W) a child's rattle, a rickling sort of instrument made by putting stones into a dried and undressed skin; Rhegen yr yd or Rhegen (W) a quail, so called from its small low noise, Racaire (I) a talkative lying person, Racam (I) to rehearse or repeat, and Racca (C) a comedy; Rahaya (C) to sneeze, and Rhuo (W) to roar. And Screacham (I) is to make a noise, to screech, or to whoop, Skriga (C) to screech, Screach (I) a screeching or a moan, and Y-Sgrêch y coed (W), literally the screech of the wood, but specifically a jay, so called from its chattering; Screachtadh (I) a jocose bantering or a cracking of jokes, Screachadh (I) a squealing, and Screachaim (I) to squall or cry out. So exactly does the British language give us back the image of the English. And so regularly is the one idea of sound carried on in both, through all its varieties and changes.

Sect. I.

CROCK *n. s.* a cup, any vessel made of earth [*krukke* Dutch]—

Crockery *n. s.* earthen ware—

Crock *n. s.* a pot of metal for boiling meat in, Lancashire—

Crock *n. s.* the soot adhering to such a vessel, Prov.—

Crock *v. a.* to blacken any one with the soot of a crock or a chimney, Prov.—

The primary idea of these words is merely that of a skin. And the process in the change from a skin to a boiler is this. Curuca, Curragh, or Crock signified a leathern boat in the British; and Curach, Curachan (as I have shewed before) signifies the same in Irish at present. Croechean (E) Crochen (A) Krohan (C) Croen (W) and Croician (I) are all of them a skin. And Crock originally meant a vessel of skin. The first vessels of mankind would naturally be made of hides. And the ruder descendants of the Britons appear to have retained them, and to have retained them even as their kettles, to these later ages. In the famous irruption of the Scotch during the reign of Edward the third, they were obliged to decamp privately by night, and leave all their baggage behind them. And this appears from a curious detail that is preserved of it by some of the Scotch historians, to have consisted, among other things, of a thousand spits with meat upon them ready for roasting, and three hundred caldrons of skins over the fire, having the hair upon them, and filled with water and flesh for boiling (Buchanani Opera, Ruddiman, vol. i. p. 152, and Abercromby's Martial Atchievements vol. i. p. 622). The Highlanders continued the same practice, even below the middle of the sixteenth century, in the days of bishop Lesley still boiling their meat occasionally in skins (p. 56, 1675); as the northern Irish equally did in the time of Spenser (View of Ireland written 1596, p. 221 of his works, 1679). And, in some of the Western Islands, the lower rank of people is said to preserve the custom at present. In this use of skins among the earlier Celtae, the arts of the pottery began to be practised, and

and the new vessels assumed the appellation of the old. Thus Cregen (W) is an earthen vessel, and Cregenyd and Crochenyd (W) a potter; Crochon, Crochan (W) is a pot, Crocan (I) the same, Crochan (C) a pot or kettle, and Crwc (W) a bucket or a milking-pail. And as the earthen boilers, that superseded the leathern ones, borrowed their own appellation from them, so have they transferred it in the same manner to the boilers of metal that succeeded them.

CROW *n. s.* a large piece of iron used as a lever [as the Latins called a hook *corvus*; crape, the bird, Saxon]—

To pluck a Crow } *proverb* [to be industrious or conten-
To pull a Crow } tious about that which is of no value]—

The Romans called a grappling-hook, and one of their chirurgical instruments, by the name of a crow, from some resemblance assuredly in the point of the one to the beak of the other. But what similarity is there, or can there be, betwixt such an object and a lever of iron? And, in truth, the latter is not denominated from the former at all. It derives its appellation from the British, as Grodh Iarainn (I) signifies an iron crow, being pronounced with the British elision, and actually appearing with it in Cro (I) an iron bar. And the proverb here subjoined to the word is not used, as Dr. Johnson interprets it, for being industrious or contentious about that which is of no value, but, in a half-ludicrous and half-serious acceptation, for having a difference or contention together; the user of the phrase calling the person addressed by it to an account for something said or done by the latter, and challenging him to enter into the subject with him. It originally meant, therefore, to contend with another in wresting an iron bar out of the hands. And there is a proverb in Wales, which casts a light back upon this, and serves to confirm our interpretation of it. When a person there means to tell his adversary, that he will strive hard rather than yield to him, it is very common for him in several parts of the country to say, That he will pluck or pull the chain with him; Mi a dynnar

Sect. I. dorch a chwi (Lhuyd in Gibson's Camden c. 788). The chain was in Wales what the lever was in England, the great implement of contention among the people; and wresting it out of the hands what breaking a head is in cudgelling at present, the principal object of ambition in the contest. And, from the familiarity of these athletick trials of skill and strength, TO PLUCK A CROW naturally became a proverbial mode of expression for any contention whatever.

CRUMP *adj.* crooked [crooked in the back; cpump, Saxon; *krom*, Dutch; *krumm*, German]—

CRUMPLE *v. a.* to crooken, as in the provincial proverb, The curst cow has a *crumpled* horn; to draw into unevennesses, considered as crookednesses; or to wrinkle [from *crump*, or corrupted from *rumple*; *rompelen*, Dutch]—

RUMPLE *v. a.* the same: the same etymon—

SCRUMPLE *v. a.* the same, Manchester—

RUMPLE *n. s.* a pucker, a rude plait [hpympelle, Saxon]—

SCRUMPLE *n. s.* the same, Manchester—

RIMPLE *v. a.* to contract into puckers [see CRUMPLE and RUMPLE]—

CRIMPLE *v. a.* the same [from *rumple*, *crumple*, *crimple*]—

CRINKLE *v. n.* the same, and also to bend under a burden, Lancashire—

WRINKLE *n. s.* any roughness in the skin, the sky, or cloth, &c. [*wrinkel*, Dutch]—

CRUMP *n. s.* a contraction of the limbs, Manchester—

CRAMP *n. s.* the same [*krampe*, Dutch; *crampe*, French]—

CRAMP *adj.* knotty, difficult; an idea taken from the knotting of the muscles in the cramp, and the pain and trouble in removing it: no etymon—

CRAMBO *n. s.* a play at which one gives a word and the other finds a rhyme for it [a cant word, probably without etymology]. It derives its name from the preceding word, and the idea of difficulty annexed to the play—

CRAMP n. ſ. a piece of iron bent at each end, by which two bodies are held together: the ſame etymon as for CRAMP a ſpaſm—

CRAMP n. ſ. a ſhackle, a confinement: the ſame etymon—

CRAMP v. a. to bind with cramp-irons [from the noun]—

CRAMP v. a. to confine, to reſtrain: the ſame—

CRUMPET } n. ſ. a tea-cake much thinner and lighter than
CRAMPET } a muffin, and ſo called probably from its being formerly crumpled at the edges: omitted by Dr. Johnſon, though the cake is ſo common in London—

CRANKLES n. ſ. inequalities or angular prominences [from the verb]—

CRANKLE v. n. to run in turns and windings like a river [from *crank*]—

CRANKLE v. a. to break any thing into angles, as a river does its banks—

CRANK n. ſ. the end of an iron axis turned ſquare down, and again turned ſquare to that turning; ſo called obviouſly, like CRAMP before, from the two curves in it [This word is perhaps a contraction of *crane-neck*, to which it may bear ſome reſemblance, and is part of the inſtrument called *a crane*]—

CRANK n. ſ. any bending or winding paſſage: the ſame etymon—

CRANK n. ſ. any conceit formed by twiſting or changing, in any manner, the form or meaning of a word; derived from the ſame principle as CRAMBO before: the ſame etymon—

Theſe are all derived from the idea of crookedneſs. And the Britiſh language had applied the idea before in the ſame manner. Croum (A) Crum (W) Crum, Cromb (C) crooked, Crouma (A) to bend oneſelf, Crom, Crum (I) bowed or crooked, Crŏmadh, Cromaim, and Crumaim (I) to bow or to bend, Cruman (I) a ſort of hooked inſtrument uſed by ſurgeons, and Croman, Cruman (I) the hip-bone; Crampa (I) a knot and a cramp-iron

Sect. I. iron, Cramp (I) a ſpaſm in the limbs, and Craimp-iaſg (W) the torpedo or cramp-fiſh; Cramwyth, *ſing*. Craſnwythen (W) Crampoes, *ſing*. Crampoezen (A) and Crempog, Crempogen (W) a pancake or a fritter, Crympog (W) a pancake, Crampedh, *ſing*. Crampethan (C) a pancake, fritter, or ſimnel, and Crampez (C) a pie; and Rang, Rangan (I) a wrinkle, Rangach (I) full of wrinkles, crumples, or plaits, and Rangthe (I) wrinkled, plaited, or crumpled.

CRUTCH *n. ſ.* a ſupport uſed by cripples [*croccia*, Italian; *croce*, French; *crucke*, German]—

This word will be beſt explained by the following arrangement. And at the ſame time it gives us one opportunity more, before we conclude the ſubject, of diſplaying the curious texture and marking the artificial conſtruction of our language.

Rough *adj.* not ſmooth [hruh, hruhge, Saxon; *rouw*, Dutch]—

Row *v. a.* to roughen; in our old Statutes, particularly 4 Edward IV. c. 1. ſ. 6, to *row* cloth is to raiſe the nap of it with a ſharp inſtrument: unnoticed—

Rowen *n. ſ.* a rough ſtubble-field, kept up till after Michaelmas for the ſake of grazing: no etymon—

Rowing *n. ſ.* the ſame: unnoticed—

Rug *n. ſ.* a coarſe, nappy, woollen cloth [*rugget*, rough, Swediſh]—

Rug *n. ſ.* a coarſe nappy coverlet for mean beds: the ſame etymon—

Rug *n. ſ.* a rough woolly dog: the ſame etymon—

Rugin *n. ſ.* a nappy cloth: no etymon—

Rugged *adj.* rough [*rugget*, Swediſh]—

Rochet *n. ſ.* the linen ſurplice of a biſhop, originally (as appears here) ſomething made of rougher materials, and probably (as all our garments were at firſt) of leather or a hide [*rochet*, French; *rochetum*, from *roccus*, low latin*]—

* There are no ſuch words in the language.

Rotchet

ROTCHET *n. s.* the same: unnoticed—
ROCKET *n. s.* a kind of child's frock, Manchester—
FROCK *n. s.* a close coat for men or a kind of gown for children [*froc*, French]—

RUFF *n. s.* a state of roughness—
RUFF *n. s.* a small river-fish [from *rough* scales]—
RUFF *n. s.* a puckered linen ornament, so called from the puckers or roughness in it [see RUFFLE]—
RUFFLE *n. s.* plaited linen used as an ornament, from the plaits or roughness in it [from the verb]—
RUFFLE *v. a.* to contract into plaits, to make less smooth, to discompose [*ruyffelen*, Dutch, to wrinkle]—
RUFFLE *v. n.* to grow rough or turbulent: the same etymon—
RUFFLE *v. n.* to be rough, to jar, to contend: the same—
RUFFLE *n. s.* contention, disturbance, or tumult [from the verb]—
RIVEL *v. n.* to contract into wrinkles [ᵹeriᵹleð, Saxon, corrugated]—
SHRIVEL *v. n.* the same [*schrompelen*, Dutch]—
SHRIVEL *v. a.* to contract any thing into wrinkles—

REIGLE *n. s.* a channel or groove in a post, so called from its furrow-like form [a hollow cut to guide any thing; *regle*, French]—
RIGGOT *n. s.* a channel or gutter, Lancashire—

ROCHE-ALLUM *n. s.* rock-allum [*roche*, French, a rock]—
RATCHER *n. s.* a rock, Lancashire—
ROCK *n. s.* a vast mass of stone, so called from the idea of its roughness [*roc*, *roche*, French; *rocca*, Ital.]—
CRAG *n. s.* a rough steep rock in the north [*crag*, British, the same. Gibson]—
CRAG *n. s.* the rugged protuberances of rocks: no etymon—
CRAGGED *adj.* full of inequalities [from *crag*]—

Sect. I. SCRAGGED *adj.* the same [this seems corrupted from *cragged*]—

CRAGGY *adj.* rugged [from *crag*]—

SCRAGGY *adj.* the same [corrupted from *craggy*]—

CRAG *n. s.* a neck: no etymon. The idea is oddly taken from the protuberance of a rock—

SCRAG *n. s.* the same, Prov.—

RACK *n. s.* a neck of mutton, Lancashire—

RACK *n. s.* the same, cut for the table [hracca, the occiput, Saxon; *racca*, Islandick, hinges or joints]—

CRAG *n. s.* the small end of a neck of mutton, Prov.—

SCRAG *n. s.* the same, Manchester—

SCRAG *n. s.* any thing lean or thin, like the small end of a neck of mutton [*scraghe*, Dutch]—

SCRAGGY *adj.* lean or thin [from *scrag*]—

SCRAGGEDNESS *n. s.* leanness—

SCRAGNEL *adj.* a word now lost, but the original of the next—

SCRANNEL *adj.* lean or narrow, as in Milton,

Their flashy songs
Grate on their *scrannel* pipes of wretched straw.

[vile, worthless; perhaps grating in the sound: of this word I know not the etymology, nor any other example]—

SCRANNEL } *n. s.* a thin meagre person, Manchester—
SCRANNY }

RACKING *n. s.* a certain pace in a horse, very nearly the same as an amble, and so called from the unevenness of the motion, its not being in a line with the ground: no etymon—

RACK *v. n.* to fly as the clouds before the wind [from the noun]—

RACK *n. s.* the clouds driving before the wind [*racke*, Dutch, a track]—

RACK *n. s.* a distaff, so named from its motion: the same etymon as for RACK an engine of torture—

Rock *n. ſ.* the ſame [*rock*, Daniſh; *rocca*, Italian; *rucca*, Spaniſh; *ſpil-rock*, Dutch]—

Rock *v. n.* to reel to and fro—

Rock *v. a.* to move any thing to and fro [*rocquer*, French]—

Wrack *v. a.* [to rock, it ſeems, in Milton,

> Each on his rock transfixed, the ſport and prey
> Of *wracking* whirlwinds]—

Rack *n. ſ.* the iron on which a ſpit turns at one end, called from its indented edge: unnoticed—

Rack *n. ſ.* a large fire-grate for a kitchen, named from the ſame principle, the intervals between the bars: the ſame etymon in Dr. Johnſon as for Rack an engine of torture—

Rack *n. ſ.* a wooden grate for hay: the ſame etymon—

Cratch *n. ſ.* the ſame [*creche*, French; *crates*, Latin]—

Rack *n. ſ.* a wooden grate for cheeſes, bottles, or bacon: unnoticed—

Rag *n. ſ.* a tatter, ſo called from the idea of its uneven edges [hꞃacode, torn, Saxon; ῥακος]—

Rack *n. ſ.* a remnant of any thing, from the generally uneven edges of a fragment: unnoticed by Dr. Johnſon, though uſed in thoſe well-known lines of Shakeſpeare,

> Like the baſeleſs fabrick of this viſion,
> The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The ſolemn temples, the great globe itſelf,
> Yea, all which it inherit, ſhall diſſolve,
> And, like this inſubſtantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a *rack* behind.

And it is the more neceſſary to note the paſſage, as in the late edition of Shakeſpeare, where ſuch uſeful attention has been paid to the elucidation of the author's language, this word has by miſtake been referred to the Rack or driving clouds of the ſky—

Sect. I.

RACK *n. s.* the remnant or lees of any liquor; so, I apprehend, it was once used, because of the preceding word and the next—

RACK *v. a.* to draw liquor from the lees [I know not whence this word is derived in this sense; *rein*, German, is clear, pure, whence our word *rinse*; this is perhaps of the same race]—

RACK *n. s.* the act of being broken into fragments, ruin, destruction, Manchester—

WRACK *n. s.* the same, or the destruction of a ship by winds or rocks [the former is the true Saxon meaning: *wrack*, Dutch; ƿpæcce, Saxon, a wretch]—

WRECK *n. s.* the same: the same etymon—

RAKE *n. s.* a toothed instrument for scraping the ground and collecting hay, dirt, &c.; so called from its teeth [*rastrum*, Latin; ꞃace, Saxon; *racche*, Dutch]—

RAKE *v. a.* to scrape the ground with a rake [from the noun]—

RAKE *n. s.* a loose, disorderly, vicious man [*racaille*, French, the low rabble; or *rekel*, Dutch, a worthless cur-dog]. This is merely a colloquial abbreviation of

RAKE-HELL *n. s.* the same [of this word the etymology is doubtful: as it is now written, it is apparently derived from *rake* and *hell*, and may aptly represent a wretch whose life is passed in places of lewdness and wickedness: Skinner derives it from *racaille*, French, the rabble; Junius, from *rekel*, Dutch, a mongrel dog]. It is only a strong and emphatical term for a wicked man in general—

ROACH *n. s.* a small river-fish, so called from its hairiness [from *rutilus*, Latin, red-haired]—

ROCHET *n. s.* the same [*rubellio*, Latin]—

CROOK

CROOK *n. s.* any bent instrument, as a sheep-hook &c.; so called from its curve, as deviating from the smoothness of a right line [*croc*, French]—

CROOK *n. s.* a winding in a river: the same etymon—

CROOK *v. a.* to bend into a hook [*crocher*, French]—

CROOKEN *v. a.* the same: unnoticed—

CROOKED *adj.* bent [*crocher*, French]—

CROOK-BACKED *adj.* having bent shoulders—

CROUCH *v. n.* to bend down, to stoop low, or to lie prostrate on the ground [*crochu*, crooked, French]—

CROTCH *n. s.* a hook [*croc*, French]—

CROTCHET *n. s.* a small hook in printing [*crochet*, Fr.]—

CROTCHET *n. s.* a crooked character in musick: the same etymon—

CROTCHET *n. s.* a crooked piece of wood fitted into another to support a building: the same—

CRUTCH-STICK } *n. s.* a stick bent at the head originally
CRUTCH } for the hand to lean on, now a staff with a cross part on the top for the arm-pit to rest upon, in use among cripples [*croccia*, Italian, *croce*, French; *crucke*, German]—

This is as remarkable a proof as any that we have seen before, of the regularity of our language, and the descriptiveness of its terms. And the British is very nearly like it. Thus Rhuwch (W) is rough, Gogr Rhuwch (W), literally a rough sieve, being a ranging sieve, Row (C) is rough, Row-tin (C) the large-grained rough tin, and Row-tor (C) the rough hill; Rhwg (W) a rough friezed mantle or garment, or a rug, Rhuwch (Howel Dha) the same, and Rhuchen (W) a coat or a leathern jerkin, Rac (I) a bag or pouch, as made of leather, Rocan (I) a hood, mantle, or surtout, Racholl (I) a winding-sheet, Rochet (A and C) a shirt, and Rochueden (A) a little shirt, a little smock, or a waistcoat, the original smocks and shirts of the Britons being only waistcoats, as I

have shewed before; Rag (I) a wrinkle, Crych (W) curled, crisped, crumpled, or wrinkled, Rhyk, Crychiad, Crychni, and Rhygol (W) a wrinkle or crumple, Grug (I) a wrinkle, Grugach, Rugach (I) full of wrinkles, Rhycog (W) plaited, and Rhygnog (W) full of plaits, Rouffen (A) wrinkles or furrows in the face of an old or angry person, also plaits or folds, Rouffen (C) wrinkles, folds, or plaits, and Rufennec (A) full of wrinkles, crumples, or folds. Rhych (W) is a furrow, Rhigol (W) a furrow, a little ditch, or a little trench, and Rhigoli (W) to hollow into trenches or furrows; Roch (C) Roch, Rochel (A) a rock, Carraig (I) a great stone pitched upon an end, and Carreg (W) a stone, Carreg (C) Carrec (A) a rock, Craig (I) a rock, and Sgreig, Sgreagan (I) rocky ground; Rhygyng (W) the pacing or ambling of a horse, or an ambling pace, Rhygyngog (W) that ambleth or paceth, and Rhygyngu (W) to go with an ambling pace. And Rhygn (W) is a notch or a jag, like those of a spit-rack, Rhygn-bren (W) a stick to score on, a score, or a tally, Rhygnu (W) to saw, Rhesel (W) a crib, a manger, or a rack, and Craiste (I) a manger or a cratch; Regui (A) Rhuygo (C) to tear or rend, Rhwygo (W) the same, Rhwyg (W) a rent, and Raig (I) a rag; Rackan (C) Rhaka, Rhacca (South W) and Raka (I) an instrument for raking, and Rakam (I) to rake with it; Rhwchws (W) a ray or skate, so called from its roughness; Crych (W and A) curled or crisped, Crognec (A) crooked, Crwcca (W) bowed, bent, crooked, or crook-backed, Croks (A) and Cruca (I) a hook or crook; and Crotach (I) crooked or hunch-backed, Crotach (I) a curlew, so called (I suppose) both in English and British from its bill, which is a little curled or hooked, Cruitin (I) crook-backed, and Crukineach (I) crump-shouldered.

Here we see all the principal features of the English reflected back from the British. The same general lineaments appear in both. And the same spirit animates them. Only the English language has been much more cultivated than the British, and therefore takes in a larger range of ideas, and has a greater diversification of terms for them.

Thus

Thus have I endeavoured, in opposition equally to the highest authority and the universal belief, to prove the great fabrick of our language to be formed in a mixed stile of architecture, and to bear evident signatures of a British as well as Saxon construction. And the proofs, that I have adduced for the purpose, appear to me upon a review of them to be more numerous in themselves, and more decisive in their evidence, than I even expected to find them. At the distance of twelve or thirteen hundred years since the incorporation of the Britons with the Saxons, I did not apprehend that the traces of our descent would lie so plain and obvious in our language.

In noting these traces, I have endeavoured to prove a point that has been frequently canvassed and yet never discussed, and to shew the close affinity that subsists to this day among all the remaining dialects of the British. And the Welsh, the Armorican, the Cornish, and the Irish appear from this little collection of British terms, to be one and the same original language, diversified only by the incidents that always affect the dialect of separated tribes, and still acknowledging their near relation to the English. But I have been more solicitous to do what must be more agreeable to an English critick, to dig down to the root of our words, to catch (as it were) the seminal idea that secretly germinates in them, and to follow it up equally along the stem and the branches. This is, in truth, the great business of all etymological criticism. It is to desert the petty employ that almost entirely engages her attention, to take off that crust of earth on which she delights to play, and to lay open the sources of our language that lie below. This indeed will necessarily be impracticable in many words, and troublesome in all; and has therefore been scarcely attempted in any. And, where it has, the effort has been generally made with so little knowledge, and executed with so much extravagance, that it has thrown a discredit upon the attempt itself. But I have shewn it to be practicable, I think, without great difficulty and with no extravagance. And I hope

that

Sect. I. that I have executed the whole, with such a respectfulness to the gentleman whom I meant particularly to encounter, as is peculiarly due to one, whom every friend of virtue must esteem and every lover of letters admire; whose negligences are merely the disgrace of the reign, that left such a writer to struggle with distresses and depend upon booksellers, and whose mistakes are the incident failings of humanity; one, of whom I am happy to acknowledge, because it is doing justice to Genius and to Worth, that for energy of language, vigour of understanding, and rectitude of mind, he ranks equally as the first scholar and the first man in the kingdom.

[a] Dr. Johnson, in his history of the English language prefixed to his Dictionary.—[b] See B. II. ch. iv. s. 2.—[c] That the German religion was different from the Celtick, Cæsar's assertion p. 122 concerning the non-existence of Druids in Germany is a full proof; and the assertion, however attacked by a multiplicity of modern authors, still stands un-shaken. That the language was also different, Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 43, Gothinos Gallica lingua coarguit non esse Germanos, and Cæsar p. 28 concerning Ariovistus, concur to shew us. And some Celtick states of Germany were not yet subdued by the Germans in the days of Cæsar, as the Volcæ Tectosages (p. 124) and the Helvetii (p. 1 and Tacitus c. 28). And Tacitus (c. 2) says, Germaniæ vocabulum recens et nuper additum.—See also B. II. ch. ix. s. 1.—[d] See the genealogies of the Anglo-Saxon kings in Sax. Chron. &c. Hengist and Horsa were the great-great-grandsons of Woden. And see B. II. c. i. s. 3.—[e] Richard p. 52.—[f] In the will of Wulfric, who was slain in 1010, this river is called simply Mærsc (Monasticon v. i. p. 267).—Among the many etymologies of the name Germans that have been already given, all un-satisfactory and forced, let us risk another, and deduce it from the Celtick Cear Mann or the offspring of Mannus. Called Teutones from Tuisto, one of the two founders of the

the nation, they would naturally be also denominated from Mannus, the other founder (Tacitus c. 2). In Bede, the Saxons of England appear to have been denominated Garmans by the Britons in the eighth century (l. v. c. 9). And Gar-Walas was a Saxon-British name for the Welsh.—' Thus the German language in Tacitus's time had *Barditus* or playing the bard (c. 3), *Glessum* or glass (c. 45), the same as the Glessen of the Armoricans, and *Framea* for a spear (c. 6), as the Scots lately called a spear Trini-Framma (Crit. Diss. p. 144).—

And, having seen this specimen of the many British words in the English at present, the reader will be greatly surprised at the bold assertion of Mr. Hume, that " the language was pure Saxon" (p. 213).

II.

WHEN the Saxons were settled in the wilds of Germany, they were as much un-acquainted as the Britons had been before with the mystery of letters[a]. They could not therefore introduce an alphabet with them into Britain. And the opinion of Mr. Wanley, that they did, is historically false[a]. The letters that they afterwards used, and which now constitute the table of their alphabet, were adopted by them in the island. Their intermixture with the Provincials would instantly make them acquainted with the British characters. And the notion entertained by Mr. Wanley and Dr. Hickes, that the Saxons borrowed not their letters from the Britons, but even communicated their own to them and the Irish[a], is as unreasonable in the hypothesis as I have shewn it to be impossible in the fact.

This is the Saxon alphabet, compared with the Gothick on one side and the Roman on the other[a].

Gothic	Saxon		Roman	
λ	A	a	A	a
Ƃ	B	b	B	b
Γ	Ɛ	c	C	c
ꝺ	D	ꝺ	D	d
Є	Є	e	E	e
F	F	ꝼ	F	f
G	Ᵹ	ᵹ	G	g
h	Ƕ	h	H	h
ï & I	I	i	I	i
K	K	k	K	k
λ	L	l	L	l
M	ꟽ	m	M	m
N	N	n	N	n
Ω	O	o	O	o
Π	P	ƿ	P	p
R	R	ꞃ	R	r
S	S	ꞅ	S	s
T	T	ꞇ	T	t
n	U	u	U	u
V	Ƿ	ƿ	W	w
X	X	x	X	x
	Y	ẏ	Y	y
Z	Z	z	Z	z

Sect. II.

Theſe characters in general are apparently Roman. And the ſeemingly foreign ones are probably Roman-Britiſh. Such are the ʒ, the ƿ, the ꞇ, the ꞃ, and the ƿ or p. And ſuch are alſo the abbreviations for And, Or, Th, and That.

Notes of abbreviation can never be eſteemed as the original members of an alphabet. They muſt in their own nature be poſteriour to the formation of it, the reſult of later reflections, and the coinage of expeditious art. The ſimple characters alone form the real file of it. And all the Saxon ones, except the W, are actually inſcribed in Latin words upon the tomb-ſtone of Cadvan, a Welſh prince in the iſle of Angleſey, who was buried there as early as the ſixth century. This is the inſcription. And it is venerable for the teſtimony that it bears to the truth [5].

Catamanus rex ſapientiſsimus opinatiſsimus omnium regum

All the Saxon letters then, except the W, are evidently Roman-Britiſh. And this and the abbreviations are peculiarly ſuppoſed by Mr. Wanley to be a part of thoſe original characters, which he imagines the Saxons to have brought into England with them, and to have retained to the days of Auguſtine [6]. But I have already ſhewn the Saxons to have had no alphabet in Germany, and to have been therefore incapable of introducing one into Britain. And theſe characters are all to be referred with the others to the Roman-Britiſh modes of writing at the Saxon conqueſt. Four fifths of the

Sect. II. alphabet being demonstrably Roman-British, the rest must necessarily be ascribed to the same origin. The abbreviations are some of those many complications, with which the Roman inscriptions, in the later ages particularly, are so much perplexed and darkened. The ⁊ is only what our & is at present, a ligature for Et and a substitute for And; being made, as the centurial mark of the Romans also is, to face to the left instead of the right; and retained with the Roman characters by the Britons and Saxons. The ɫ for Or seems also to be only the Latin Vel contracted into VL. And the Thetas, Đ, ð, þ, Þ, are nothing but a D marked with the cross stroke as a T, and actually pronounced as TH, or a real TH compounded into one character; as ꝥ is only THT, and stands for That. One of these accordingly appears in the composition of a Latin word, upon some of the earliest coins of the Saxons [r]. And the W, though it is generally considered as a letter, is equally a ligature with all, and composed of a couple of characters, the V or U doubled; is unknown both to the Latin and its daughter languages, the French, the Spanish, and the Italian; and was probably invented by the provincials of Britain, in the very form of the Saxon Ƿ or ƿ, to express a peculiar tone of the Roman V [s].

The comparative view, which I have just given of the Gothick, Saxon, and Roman characters, serves strikingly to point out to us, how this last letter came to assume the form that it wears at present. And it serves equally to shew us what has been but little noticed by any of our writers, the reason of that remarkable variation which so frequently appears betwixt the common and the capital letters of the Roman alphabet. We see there the several gradations of change, by which one form of a Roman character has melted imperceptibly into another, or been designedly varied from it. And the W in particular appears demonstrably to have been only the Roman V at first, still to remain in its original form upon the Gothick alphabet, and to have been lengthened into the Saxon character and enlarged into the present Roman, merely by bringing the

principal

principal stroke a little lower, and closing the top, in the one, and by redoubling the whole in the other.

So plainly is the alphabet of the Saxons derived from the Britons. And the letters of it have descended to our own times, distinguished by the appellation of Gothick characters, but really Roman in their origin, and Italian in their structure at first; only barbarized in their aspect by their commerce with the British Romans and Roman Britons, and wisely laid aside at present for the genuine and original Roman.

When the natives of Italy and the arts of civility were transported together into Britain, the Roman measures of weight would naturally be brought over with both. And they actually appear to have been so, from an evidence that is fully competent to the purpose, when it coincides with such a probability. The principal standard of weight among the Britons was at once borrowed and denominated from the Roman Pondo, being Punt in the Welsh, Pynth in the Cornish, and Pynta or Ponta in the Irish, and signifying, like that, a pound either in weight or in money. The Roman pound therefore was introduced by the conquerours, and used by the Provincials. And the Saxons, on their settlement in the country, would naturally adopt it from them. That these invaders had no such measure before, however learning and criticism have been recently employed to prove that they had*, is plain from a single circumstance, which speaks directly to the point, and is of more consequence in determining it than all the nummulary erudition of antiquarianism. The Saxons have no word of their own for a pound. And they were obliged to borrow a term for the object, from the nation that gave them the idea. They established themselves in the provinces of Britain. They embraced the provincial improvements. And they incorporated into their language, and transmitted to their children, the provincial appellation of a pound, the Welsh Punt being preserved in the Saxon punt.

Nor

Sect. II. Nor had they coins any more than weights among them originally. These indeed will always go together, as the former must bear certain proportions of weight to the latter, to have their appropriated quantity of metal from the mint and their ascertained rank in the intercourse of traffick. And, though the same luxuriance of erudition and the same plausibility of argumentation have been employed upon this as the preceding subject, they have been employed equally in opposition to the principles of reason and in contradiction to the authority of history. By a chain of notices, remarks, and conclusions, in which most of the links seem to carry great probability with them, though from the whole of it, when the parts are brought together and the full extent is seen at once, the mind starts back with a strong conviction of its falsity; the Saxons are supposed to have derived their weights and their coins from the Greeks of the Euxine [10], with whom they could not possibly have had any connexion, as they were separated from them by a thousand barriers of nature and a thousand interposing nations. The same Greeks also are supposed to have furnished the Saxon language with many terms of their own [11], and even to have given a Græcian cast to the rest [12]; though the first improvement, that a polished nation communicates to a barbarous one, is always the knowledge of letters, and the whole body of the Germans, as I have shewn before, was even in the first century, long after the Græcian power on the Euxine had been reduced to nothing, and ages before the Saxons came into Britain, absolutely un-acquainted with the use of them. In the progression of credulity, we have even had a coin presented to us as stamped by the Germans in the days of Augustus, and inscribed by them with Græcian characters [13]; though Tacitus near a century afterwards assures us, that they had no letters among them, that their only memorials and annals were the antient verses which they recited, and that they had not a coin in the country, but what they received from the Romans and circulated on the confines [14]. And the language of the Saxons, that sure and infallible test of

their

their cuſtoms, remarkably agrees with the hiſtory; the denominations for what are ſuppoſed to be their oldeſt monies in this iſland being none of them Saxon, none of them Teutonick, and all confeſſedly Roman or Roman-Britiſh.

The great meaſure of weight among the Saxons, as among the Romans and Provincials before them, was emphatically denominated Pondo, pound, or weight; and, like theirs, was divided into integral parts, called Unciæ by the Romans, Uinge, Unſa, and Wns by the Iriſh and Welſh from them, and Ounces by ourſelves from the Saxons. And the Saxon pound, like the Roman, was of two ſorts, the commercial and the pecuniary[15]. The latter conſiſted, as the Roman did, of twelve ounces[16]. But the former, by a variation for which it is juſt as eaſy to account, as for the tranſmutation that I have noticed before of the Italian characters into Saxon, and by a coincidence with the Græcian, that appears from what has been previouſly ſaid to be purely accidental in itſelf, differed a little from the Roman, and conſiſted of fifteen ounces inſtead of ſixteen[17]. And the difference was ſo inconſiderable in itſelf, not above half an ounce in the pound at the utmoſt, and ſtill leſs in all probability, that the Saxon pound might paſs in trade for the Roman with great eaſe and without any inconvenience; as the Roman and Græcian money actually did, where the diſproportion was pretty nearly the ſame[18]. This pound was calculated for the purchaſe of heavy goods, and continued the univerſal ſtandard of our harbours and markets to, or nearly to, the reign of Edward the third; when, as has been equally practiſed with the Gothick characters of our alphabet, the adulterated Roman was exchanged for the genuine, and the larger pound of Italy, which conſiſted of eighteen ounces and is the preſent Avoirdupois weight, was ſilently introduced among us[19]. And the pecuniary pound remained undiſturbed in the country, from the ſettlement of the Romans to the year 1496, the twelfth of our Henry the ſeventh; when the intercourſe betwixt the natives and Flemings being very conſiderable, and the variation in their eſtimates of money in-

Sect. II. convenient to both, the government by a positive law superseded the use of our antient pound, left it to stand for the future the mere denominator of our accounts, and introduced the Flemish pound or Troy weight, three quarters of an ounce heavier than that, in the room of it[80].

When the Romans relinquished the island, and left the legionary citizens settled hereditarily in their colonies, the latter were possessed of all the Roman mints in the country, and would naturally continue the coinage at them. And some pieces may hereafter be discovered among us, which shall at once carry the mark of their mintage in Britain, and exhibit the name of an emperor posteriour to the Roman departure. When the Saxons succeeded them in the Provinces, and made themselves masters nearly of all their colonies, they took possession of the Roman mints, and would proceed in the work of coinage. This appears to have been actually the case among their kindred ravagers on the continent; the kings there being strangely invested on their monies with the Roman symbols of dignity, and the Roman inscriptions and devices upon them sometimes so awkwardly borrowed, as to be utterly incongruous with history[81]. And it also appears more faintly in the island; one of the oldest coins of the Saxons carrying plain signatures of its Roman relation, and all the later ones both in France and England receding gradually, according to their lateness, from the graceful mintage of the Romans[82].

The Scill, Scylling, or shilling was certainly a Roman piece, the Sicilicus or Siclus of the later Romans, and the Sgillin of the Britons; the name importing it to be the forty-eighth part of the Roman pecuniary pound, as it actually was of the Saxon at first[83]. The existence indeed of such a piece among the Saxons has been denied by almost all our writers, and the coin resolved into a mere denomination of money, upon one of those negative principles of argumentation, which are always reducing science to vision, and circumscribing the horizon of knowledge within the limits of accident. But the coin has been recently vindicated with such a fullness of reasoning as

 suffers

suffers little to be added, and such a force of evidence as leaves nothing to be replied [24]. And the Saxon shilling was equally a real coin with the present. It was struck in silver, and passed originally for five pence [25]. In the reign of Athelstan, however, the value of it was reduced to four pence [26]. And it returned to its original importance in a few years afterward, being five pence again in the time of Aelfric, the great grammarian of the Saxons, who lived near the close of the tenth century, and remaining at five pence in the reign of Canute [27]. But it once more sunk to four pence, and continued so below the Conquest, even till the French solidus of twelve pence was introduced, and took the English appellation of shilling; the old coin retaining only its other denomination of Groat or great money, a title which could have been given it only from the great use that was made of it by the Saxons, and was therefore given from the beginning. The Saxon shilling was latterly the sixtieth part of the Saxon pound. And the French or present shilling, three times greater than the other, is exactly the twentieth of the present [28].

The Manks or mancus appears from its Latin denomination, which was equally current on the continent, mancus or manucusus; and from its just correspondency in value with the milliarensis of the lower empire, and with several cotemporary coins of the rest of Europe; to have been a Roman piece before it was a Saxon one [29]. And the existence of it has been lately proved with the same happiness of argumentation, as had previously been brought for the shilling [30]. It was minted of gold, and originally circulated for thirty pence, equivalent to the half-crown of the present days [31]. But in the reign of Athelstan, when the shilling was reduced to four, this was lowered to twelve pence [32]. Like the shilling, however, it speedily recovered its importance, being thirty pence in the days of Aelfric; and, like that, lost it again before the Conquest; about which period, from the universal silence of our histories and our records, the gold coinage seems to have been strangely discontinued among us, and in a rude strain

Sect. II. of barbarism to have been even discontinued for a century and a half[33].

The Penny also bears an equally Roman appellation, and therefore seems to have been equally derived from the Romans; being written Pending or Penning, a word plainly deduced from the Latin Pendo, and merely signifying payment[34]. In France certainly, and probably therefore in England, it was just the same in value at first as the Roman ceratium or half-milliarensis[35]. And, at this estimate, it formed a much better fraction for the use of exchange, the only reason for which it could have been originally minted, than it ever formed afterwards. It was then half of the shilling, and two pence halfpenny in value. But it was reduced to what was a fifth, while the shilling was coined upon the original standard, and a fourth, when that was lowered in the reign of Athelstan. And thus it remained through the whole period of the Saxon government, as it had equally been before among the Britons and continued even now with the Welsh, the two hundred and fortieth part of the pecuniary pound[36]; and has descended the same to this moment, an equal one of the present.

The Saxons had also two other kinds of money, equally Roman in their original, I apprehend, and equally British at the Saxon conquest. These were the Thrimsa and the Ora. And the latter was the same with the aureus of the Romans and the solidus of the French, both being denominated ora in the middle ages[37]. It was a gold piece, and equivalent to twelve pence[38]. And the thrimsa seems to have been equally the tremissis of the Romans. This was originally minted of gold, but as early as the middle of the seventh century was stamped in silver on the continent, and circulated for four pence[39]. The thrimsa was also of silver[40]. And the appellation of the one is plainly echoed in the name of the other. But the value of the tremissis in the reign of Athelstan interfering with the reduced rate of the shilling, and the coin forming as convenient a fraction for the ora at a quarter as a third, it appears to have been minted only for three-pence[41]. It was still, however, too near a

neighbour

neighbour to the ſhilling in the ſcale of exchange, to be of conſiderable ſervice. And it ſeems therefore to have been but little uſed from the beginning to the concluſion of the Saxon empire[42].

Additional to theſe, the Saxons had neceſſarily ſome ſmaller monies current among them, which were the Halfpenny, the Farthing, and Half-farthing. The farthing and halfpenny were both probably of ſilver, as ſuch pieces were minted in ſilver even for many reigns after the Conqueſt[43]. But the half-farthing was certainly of braſs[43]. And the Saxons had all three aſſuredly from the the period of their earlieſt coinage among us, anſwering exactly to the oboli, the quadrantes, and the minuta of the Romans and Roman Britons. The halfpenny was denominated a healfne or hælf-ling, and is expreſsly mentioned in the verſion of the Saxon Goſpels[44]. The farthing was entitled a feorð-ling, and is equally noticed in the ſame verſion[45]. And the latter was alſo called a Sceatta or Shot[46]; at a time when one farthing was equal in real value to three, and in comparative to ſixty, of the preſent money[46], being neceſſarily, in all the little commerce of a retailing traffick, the ordinary payment of the nation. But at the two revolutions in the Saxon coinage, when money was multiplied perhaps in the kingdom, by the ſuſpenſion of the Daniſh war at one time and the concluſion of it at another; the name aſcended, and took poſſeſſion of the penny[47], which appears from various modes of expreſſion in our language to have been, from that period to this, the one cuſtomary coin in all the petty reciprocations of pecuniary intercourſe. And the half-farthings were called Stycas or parts, are mentioned in the Saxon Goſpels equally with the farthing and halfpenny, have even had their memory preſerved in the MITES of our preſent tranſlation, and have actually enjoyed the good fortune which neither the halfpenny nor farthing are known to have had, of being many of them tranſmitted to the preſent times[48].

The pecuniary pound of the Saxons, therefore, contained twelve ounces, forty-eight ſhillings at five pence each, and ſixty at four; and two hundred and forty pence.

SAXON GOLD COINS.

	Troy Grains.		Saxon Money.
The Mancus in its original value weighed about	54	and went for[c]	30 pence
The Mancus in its later value	22½	——	12 pence
The Ora or Aureus	22½	——	12 pence
The Solidus, or the Shilling introduced at the Conquest	22½	——	12 pence

SAXON SILVER COINS.

	Troy Grains.		Saxon Money.
The Genuine Shilling in its original value about	112	——	5 pence
The Genuine Shilling in its later value	90	——	4 pence
The Tremissis or Thrimsa at first	90	——	4 pence
The Tremissis or Thrimsa afterwards	67	——	3 pence
The Penny or later Shot	22½	——	1 penny

SAXON COINS probably SILVER.

	Troy Grains.		Saxon Money.
The Hælfling or Half-penny	11¼	——	——
The Feorthling, Farthing, or original Shot	5½	——	——

SAXON BRASS COIN.

Styca —— —— —— two to a farthing[d].

[d] Tacitus

1. Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 19, Literarum ſecreta viri pariter ac feminæ ignorant, and c. 2, Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriæ et annalium genus eſt.—[2] Wanley's preface to his catalogue of antient northern books, in Vol. II. of Hickes's Theſaurus.—[3] See Lhuyd's Letter At a Kymri in his Etymologicon, tranſlated in Guthrie's Hiſtory of Scotland.—[4] From Hickes's Grammar.—[5] Lhuyd's Letter, and Mona p. 157.—[6] Wanley in Pref.—[7] Cuthred's and Offa's in Fountaine's tables.—[8] Thus the Britiſh Gwent and Wint, in Caer-gwent and Wint-cheſter, the Romans expreſſed by Venta. And the Roman Vinum was pronounced Guin or Wine.—I have not mentioned the Q. It is properly no letter, but only a complication for Cu or Ku. It does not appear in any of the Welſh and Iriſh manuſcripts (Lhuyd p. 24). And accordingly it is not found in the Saxon alphabet, though it is under a diſtorted form in the Gothick.—[9] See Mr. Clarke on the Saxon coins p. 25—80.—[10] P. 26—65.—[11] We need only to produce a few of theſe imaginary Greek words, to expoſe the ridiculouſneſs of the evidence collected from them. And let theſe ſtand for the reſt; Χιων Snow, Θαλασσα Sea, Αχλυς Cloud, and Χαλαζα Hail, θυγατηρ Daughter, θροος Sermo, hence Throat, Χονδυλος Hand, Βȣς Cow, οϊς Sheep, Αλωπηξ Fox, and Βατραχος Frog, Σιδηριον Iron, Μολιβδον Lead, Αργυρος Silver, and Δοκωσις Houſe.—[12] P. 35—38 and 39—44.—[13] P. 7.—[14] De Mor. Germ. c. 2, Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriæ et annalium genus eſt, &c.; c. 5, Proximi, ob uſum commerciorum, aurum et argentum in pretio habent, formaſque quaſdam noſtræ pecuniæ agnoſcunt atque eligunt, interiores ſimpliciùs et antiquiùs permutatione mercium utuntur; and c. 15, Jam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.—[15] Clarke p. 84—96.—[16] P. 14 &c.—[17] P. 84 and 96.—[18] See p. 96.—[19] P. 98, 89, and 85—95.—[20] P. 99 and 151.—The law is the 12th of Henry VII, and ſaid by miſtake to be alſo 1498.—[21] P. 401—407, and p. 414. See one coin among the Franks particularly, p. 405.—[22] P. 416, 422—424, and 369.—[23] P. 120, and 196—200.—[24] P. 200—229.—[25] P. 152.—[26] P.

 153—

Sect. II. 153—154, 156, 232—233, and Henry's History of Britain v. 2. p. 502.—[27] P. 52 of Aelfric's Grammar, at the end of Somner's Dictionary, and Henry's History v. 2. p. 493 from a law of Canute. Mr. Clarke, in writing concerning the shilling and the mancus, always speaks as if Aelfric lived early in the reign of Athelstan. He actually lived as late as Edgar's (p. 2). And the authority of Aelfric, therefore, is really in opposition to Mr. Clarke on this point, though he is not aware of it, and though he considers his declaration as the ground-work of all his building (p. vii).—[28] P. 154 and 155.

Mr. Clarke p. 155 refers the name of *groat* to the Norman Conquest, and gives this reason for it "because it was the greatest "coin then known among the Saxons". But the piece actually ceased to be the greatest at that very time, and the appellation is bestowed just as it became improper. Nor was it even the greatest, according to Mr. Clarke's own hypothesis, for half a century before; the Ora being introduced by him at the Danish invasions. And in truth its name arose, as Penny came to signify money and Shot a payment, from the greatness of its use only. And *groot* is Dutch for *great* at this day.

Dr. Henry also, whom I have quoted before, supposes the shilling to have retained its original value of five pence from the reign of Canute to the Conquest (p. 493). But this is not true; as, even in the work which the Dr. had before him when he wrote this part of his history, we find the coin in its reduced state at the Conquest. In a law of the Norman, the shilling is expressly declared to be only four pence in value at that time, de solt Englois, co est *quer* deners (see Clarke p. 154).

[29] P. 280—282 and 292—297.—[30] P. 273—278.—[31] P. 282—283.—[32] P. 348—372.—[33] P. 52 Append. to Somner, pyf peningas ȝemaciȝað anne ſcilling, ⁊ xxx penega ane mancs, and Clarke p. 364—367; and p. 372—373.—[34] P. 390.—[35] P. 398.—[36] P. 425, and Howel Dha L. 2. c. 29. a. 3.—[37] P. 307—319.—[38] P.

—[38] P. 310—313.—[39] P. 331—332.—[40] P. 229.—[41] P. 231—235.—[42] P. 235.—

Mr. Clarke makes the thrimsa a coin purely Saxon in its origin and name, when analogy leads us to rank it with the rest and ascribe it to the Romans, and the name itself is so truly Roman. He also attributes the introduction of the ora to what one would not naturally expect to be the cause of circulating money among us, the Danish invasions, while every principle of reason concurs to refer it to the same origin with the others. And the non-appearance of both in the monuments of the Saxons, before the reigns of Edward and Athelstan, can never be urged as a proof of their recent introduction into the island. If it could, the equal non-appearance of the mancus till the close of the eighth century (Clarke p. 285) would be equally an argument of its recentness. Mr. Clarke has also, with some inconsistency, fixed the first coming of the thrimsa to have been "certainly in the reigns before Athelstan". (p. 235); forgetting that it first appears in the laws of this monarch, and that on his own hypothesis it could not have existed in the days of Aelfric, because it is not mentioned by him.

Dr. Henry has likewise made a mistake somewhat similar to this, but entirely his own. The thrimsa, he says, was not mentioned by Aelfric, because "it had fallen into disuse before "his time" (p. 503); when Aelfric appears from the Dr. himself to have lived even some time before that event. In p. 499 of the Doctor's history, Aelfric expressly declares the shilling to be rated at five pence in his time. And in p. 502 the Dr. quotes a law of the Saxons, to prove the shilling of four pence and the thrimsa to be mentioned together.

The truth is this. The authority of Aelfric, upon which Mr. Clarke, and Dr. Henry from him, lay so great a stress with regard to the original coins of the Saxons, is of no weight at all upon the subject. Aelfric having seen, as he expressly declares that he had (p. 2. of Somner's App.), the good effects which archbishop Dunstan's patronage of letters had pro-

duced

Sect. II. duced in the island; he lived considerably later than the reign of Athelstan. And the mention of the thrimsa in the laws of that monarch, and of the ora in those of the earlier Edward, proves the grammarian's account of the Saxon monies, which specifies only the penny, the shilling, and the mancus, to be very imperfect. His notice indeed concerning the Saxon coinage is merely incidental, and never intended to be a compleat enumeration of the pieces in it.—

[43] Mr. Clarke p. 425 and 432—434. Mr. Clarke here forgets to account for the contradiction, that his mention of these pieces makes to Aelfric's description and his own hypothesis. The farthing is noticed in the laws of Ethelbert. And Mr. Clarke actually quotes the laws to shew it, p. 428.—[44] Jud. Civ. Lund. p. 67. Wilkins, and Clarke p. 426.—[45] Clarke p. 427.—[46] P. 432.—[47] P. 430—432.—[48] P. 432—434.—[49] P. 434.

In this account of the Saxon coins, the reader will see that I am greatly indebted to Mr. Clarke. And I have honestly acknowledged my obligations by my references. But I have directly opposed him in the great article of the origin of the Saxon coins and weights, and differed from him in many subordinate points besides.

And I say not this with any view of depretiating the labours of Mr. Clarke. Every Saxon antiquary must respect them, and every critical scholar admire them. The Saxon coinage had been latterly considered as a province of our antiquities, that was involved in impenetrable darkness. But Mr. Clarke, taking a large compass of observations, and displaying an amazing extent of learning, has happily broke through the gloom, and let in such a light upon it, as shews at once the mistakes of others and his own accuracy.

And, before I conclude this subject of the Saxon coins, it may be proper to make one remark more concerning it. The word *Sterling*, which as early at least as the reign of Edward III is applied to the money of this kingdom (le marc de Troyes poise xiv sols, xi den. Esterlins de poix, a record Clarke p. 16), and is still applied by us in the same manner, by a critical kind of

of dexterity is transferred to the pound-weight by Mr. Clarke, and accounted for in a way that I have already ſhewn to be contradictory to reaſon and records, as ſignifying eaſterly, and betokening the derivation of the pound from the eaſtern parts of Europe, the ſhores of the Euxine (p. 80—82). The word indeed has ſtrangely puzzled almoſt all our writers. And yet it is plainly the ſame as *ſtandard-money* in import, and in origin deſcends from Steope a rule or a law. It is the diminutive of that, and refers to the private rule by which the money of this kingdom was minted and aſſayed. Such a law is eſſential to every mint. And the STERLING of the English anſwers exactly to the OBRYZUM of the Romans (ſee Clarke p. 411).

III.

THIS account of the ſecular condition of Lancaſhire and Mancheſter, under the government of the Saxons, I ſhall cloſe with a curious table of rates, collected from the remaining monuments of their hiſtory, and illuſtrated by a correſpondent one for the continent. I have accommodated the prices in both to the ſtandard of our own money; not eſtimating each ſum, with Mr. Hume, to be equal in value to a hundred of the ſame denomination at preſent; but fixing it more moderately, with Mr. Clarke, as equivalent only to ſixty *. And even this view of antient and modern rates ſhews the falſity of the notions, that are generally circulated on the ſubject, and proves every ordinary article of life to have been conſiderably dearer than it is at preſent.

* See Mr. Clarke p. 432 and 157.

A TABLE of RATES for FRANCE.

Every Solidus or Shilling contained Twelve Pence.
Lex Rip. art. 36th, 12th. Baluz. capit. tom. I. c. 57.

	About the middle of the seventh century.					Equal in comparative value to		
	LARGE CATTLE	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Baluzii Cap. c. 37 Lex Ripuar.	An Oxe full-grown and healthy	0	2	0	—	6	0	0
	A Cow full-grown and healthy	0	1	0	—	3	0	0
	A Horse full-grown and healthy	0	6	0	—	18	0	0
	A Mare full-grown and healthy	0	3	0	—	9	0	0
78 Lex Alaman.	A Bull ——— ———	0	3	0	—	9	0	0
	A Cow in the best condition	0	1	4	—	4	0	0
	A middling one ———	0	1	0	—	3	0	0
	An Oxe in the best condition	0	1	8	—	5	0	0
	A middling one ———	0	1	4	—	4	0	0
	SMALL CATTLE.							
c. 63 Lex Alaman.	A Hog — — —	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
	WILD CATTLE.							
	For stealing or killing							
c. 84 Lex Alaman.	A Hind — — —	0	12	0	—	36	0	0
	A Buffalo ——— —	0	12	0	—	36	0	0
	A Stag ——— ———	0	12	0	—	36	0	0
	An untamed Doe ———	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
	A Boar — — —	0	6	0	—	18	0	0
	A Bear * — — —	0	6	0	—	18	0	0

* This shews Bears, which I have proved before to have been common in the island, to have been equally so on the continent at this period.

BIRDS.

Sect. III

	BIRDS.	£.	s.	d.	Equal in comparative value to	£.	s.	d.
C. 37 Lex Rip.	An UNTAMED HAWK —	0	3	0	—	9	0	0
	A HAWK a YEAR old — —	0	12	0	—	36	0	0
C. 84 Lex Alaman.	A HAWK that flies at CRANES *	0	6	0	—	18	0	0
	A GOSHAWK — — —	0	3	0	—	9	0	0
	A CRANE * — — —	0	3	0	—	9	0	0

DOGS.

		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
C. 80 Lex Alaman.	A good DROVER'S DOG —	0	3	0	—	9	0	0
	A good HARRIER — —	0	3	0	—	9	0	0
	A good SHEEP-DOG — —	0	3	0	—	9	0	0
	A good HOUSE-DOG — —	0	1	0	—	3	0	0

ARMOUR.

		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
C. 3- Lex Rip.	A SWORD with a SHEATH —	0	7	0	—	21	0	0
	——— without a SHEATH	0	3	0	—	9	0	0
	A good COAT of MAIL ——	0	12	0	—	36	0	0
	A HELMET with a BEAVER (Directum)—	0	6	0	—	18	0	0
	A good PAIR of IRON GREAVES	0	6	0	—	18	0	0
	A SHIELD with a LANCE —	0	2	0	—	6	0	0

SMALL BELLS.

		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
C. 118. Lex Baiw.	A BELL for a HORSE — —	0	1	0	—	3	0	0
	A BELL for an OXE — —	0	1	0	—	3	0	0
	A BELL for a COW — —	0	0	8	—	2	0	0
	A BELL for SMALL CATTLE	0	0	4	—	1	0	0

* Hence Cranes also appear to have been common in France at this time.

Sect. III.

ABOUT THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

CORN.

C. 263. cap. Car. Magni.

	£.	s.	d.	Equal in comparative value to	£.	s.	d.
A Bushel of Oats —	0	0	1	—	0	5	0
A Bushel of Barley — —	0	0	2	—	0	10	0
A Bushel of Rye — —	0	0	3	—	0	15	0
A Bushel of Wheat —	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
Twelve Loaves of Wheat, each two pounds a piece	0	0	1	—	0	5	0
Fifteen of Rye, each as heavy	0	0	1	—	0	5	0
Twenty of Barley, each as heavy	0	0	1	—	0	5	0
And twenty-five of Oats, each as heavy * —	0	0	1	—	0	5	0

* This shews the comparative value of the four sorts of grain. Wheat was one fifth dearer than Rye, two fifths than Barley, and above one half more than Oats, when they were all made into bread. But in the grain Wheat was one fourth dearer than Rye, one half than Barley, and three fourths than Oats.

A TABLE

A TABLE of RATES for THIS ISLAND.

For the SAXON PART of it.

IN THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTH AND BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

		£.	s.	d.	Equal in comparative value to	£.	s.	d.
Ina LL. 26.	The first year's BOARD for a Foundling	0	2	6	—	7	10	0
	The second year's — —	0	5	0	—	15	0	0
	The third year's — —	0	12	2	—	37	10	0
LL. 55.	An EWE with her LAMB till the 14th day after Easter	0	0	5	—	1	5	0
LL. 69.	A SHEEP'S FLEECE — —	0	0	2	—	0	10	0

ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE TENTH CENTURY.

		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Athelstan's Pref. to LL.	A RAM — — —	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
Jud. Civ. Lund.	A middling HORSE* — —	0	10	0	—	30	0	0
	An OXE — — —	0	2	6	—	7	10	0
	A COW — — —	0	1	8	—	5	0	0
	A SOW — — —	0	0	10	—	2	10	0
	A SHEEP† — — —	0	0	5	—	1	5	0

For the WELSH PART of the ISLAND.

The Welsh like the Saxon POUND was 240 pence.

MIDDLE OF THE TENTH CENTURY.

HORSES.

		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Howel L. iii. c. 5.	A COLT not 14 days old —	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
	A FILLY not 14 days old —	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
	A COLT not a year old —	0	2	0	—	6	0	0

* This shews horses to have been very dear at that period. And the Welsh notices confirm it. They were three fourths dearer than oxen.

† I reckon the shilling at five pence, as the mancus was certainly at thirty pence yet.

A FILLY

Sect. III.

		£.	s.	d.	to	£.	s.	d.
					Equal in comparative value to			
	A FILLY not a year old	0	1	4	—	4	0	0
	A COLT not two years old	0	4	0	—	12	0	0
	A FILLY not two years old	0	2	8	—	8	0	0
	A COLT in his third year	0	5	0	—	15	0	0
	A STALLION	1	0	0	—	60	0	0
	A PALFREY	0	10	0	—	30	0	0
	A SUMPTER-HORSE	0	10	0	—	30	0	0
	A CART-HORSE	0	5	0	—	15	0	0
	A WILD HORSE	0	5	0	—	15	0	0
L. iii. c. 3.	The LOWEST rate of a HORSE	0	5	0	—	15	0	0
L. ii. c. 2.	The HIGHEST rate *	10	0	0	—	600	0	0
L. iii. c. 5.	Four iron HORSE-SHOES and NAILS	0	0	2	—	0	0	0

KINE.

		£.	s.	d.	to	£.	s.	d.
L. ii. c. 10.	A COW †	0	5	0	—	15	0	0
L. iii. c. 5.	A COW-CALF to the 1st of Nov.	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
	An OXE †	0	5	0	—	15	0	0
	A COW'S MILK for one week	0	0	1	—	0	5	0
	A COW'S or OXE'S HIDE	0	0	8	—	2	0	0

SMALL CATTLE.

		£.	s.	d.	to	£.	s.	d.
L. i. c. 15.	A SHEEP ‡	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
L. iii. c. 5.	A BARREN SHEEP	0	0	3	—	0	15	0
L. iii. c. 7.	A SUCKING PIG not 3 months old	0	0	2	—	0	10	0
L. iii. c. 5.	A NEW-FALLEN LAMB up to Nov.	0	0	1	—	0	5	0
	——— to the end of the year	0	0	2	—	0	10	0
	A LAMB one year old	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
	A RAM ‡	0	0	8	—	2	0	0

* This shews the extravagant price, even now given for a fine horse, to have been generally equalled in Wales at that period.

† These notices shew the prices of cattle to have been much higher in Wales than England. The oxe is one half dearer, and the cow even two thirds.

‡ The price of sheep here is remarkable. It is lower than in England by a fifth. And the ram is double the price of the ewe. This latter proportion is certainly much nearer the relative prices of both, than that which appears in the Saxon table.

DOMES-

		£.	s.	d.	to	£.	s.	d.
					Equal in comparative value			
	DOMESTICK CATTLE.							
	The highest price of a CAT*	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
	A GOOSE	0	0	1	—	0	5	0
	A GANDER	0	0	2	—	0	10	0
	A HEN	0	0	1	—	0	5	0
	A COCK	0	0	2	—	0	10	0
	A HOUSE-DOG	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
	A SHEEP-DOG	0	5	0	—	15	0	0
	An old SWARM of BEES	0	2	0	—	6	0	0
	A new SWARM	0	1	4	—	4	0	0
	TREES.							
	An OAK	0	10	0	—	30	0	0
	An ASH	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
	An ALDER	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
	A WILLOW	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
	A YEW	0	2	6	—	7	10	0
	A BEECH	0	10	0	—	30	0	0
	DOMESTICK FURNITURE.							
L. ii. c. 1.	An IRON POT	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
L. iii. c. 7.	A HAND-BARROW	0	0	1	—	0	5	0
	A SMITH'S BELLOWS	0	0	8	—	2	0	0
	———— HAMMER	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
	A WATER-BOTTLE	0	0	$0\frac{1}{4}$	—	0	1	3
	CLOTHES.							
L. i. c. 22.	A Pair of SHOES	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
L. iii c. 7.	A Pair of COMMON SHOES	0	0	2	—	0	10	0
	A Pair of BOOTS	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
	A Pair of BREECHES	0	0	8	—	2	0	0
	A COAT	0	2	0	—	6	0	0
	A THIN VEST	0	2	0	—	6	0	0
	A THICK VEST	0	0	8	—	2	0	0

* This points out the fondness of the Welsh for these domestick animals.

		£.	s.	d.	Equal in comparative value to	£.	s.	d.
	SHIRT and BREECHES	0	2	0	—	6	0	0
L. ii. c. 1.	A new-born Infant's TUNICK	0	0	4	—	1	0	0

ARMOUR &c.

		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
L. iii. c. 7.	A SPEAR	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
	A Bow and twelve ARROWS	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
	A SHIELD	0	0	8	—	2	0	0
	A SADDLE	0	0	8	—	2	0	0
	A Common BIT	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
	A HONE carried at the girdle	0	0	1	—	0	5	0

HOUSES.

		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
L. iii. c. 6.	One of the KING's HOUSES	1	6	8	—	80	0	0
	A GENTLEMAN's or NOBLE's HOUSE	0	13	4	—	40	0	0
	A VILLAIN's HOUSE	0	5	0	—	15	0	0

WAGES, FEES, or BOARD.

		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
L. iii. c. 7.	WAGES for PLOWING one day either in winter or spring	0	0	2	—	0	10	0
L. i. c. 23.	To a SURGEON for curing a WOUND which laid open the BRAIN	1	0	0	—	60	0	0
	—— for a WOUND which laid open the BOWELS	1	0	0	—	60	0	0
	—— for a WOUND in the LEG or ARM which laid open the MARROW	1	0	0	—	60	0	0
	—— in a FRACTURE of the SCULL for extracting a small BONE from the lower part of it	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
	—— for EXTRACTING a BONE from the top of the HEAD	0	0	3¼	—	0	16	3
	—— for LETTING BLOOD	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
L. iii. c. 8.	Daily BOARD of a SURGEON or his PATIENT	0	0	1	—	0	5	0

The

		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
					Equal in comparative value		Sect. III.	
		£.	s.	d.	to	£.	s.	d.
L. i. c. 13.	The annual SALARY of a GREAT OFFICER of STATE ——	1	0	0	—	60	0	0

CORN.

		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
L. iii. c. 7.	Twenty-four THREAVES of OATS	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
	Twenty-four THREAVES of WHEAT	0	0	8	—	2	0	0

On the BORDERS of BOTH.

ABOUT THE CLOSE OF THE TENTH AND BEGINNING OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Wilkins p. 126.	A HORSE about[1] ——	0	10	0	—	30	0	0
	A MARE[2] —— ——	0	6	8	—	20	0	0
	A FOAL one year old[3] ——	0	6	8	—	20	0	0
	A WILD HORSE[4] — ——	0	4	0	—	12	0	0
	An OXE[5] —— ——	0	2	6	—	7	10	0
	A COW[5] —— ——	0	2	0	—	6	0	0
	A HOG —— ——	0	0	8	—	2	0	0
	A MAN —— ——	1	0	0	—	60	0	0
	A SHEEP —— ——	0	0	4	—	1	0	0
	A GOAT —— ——	0	0	2	—	0	10	0

1 This shews the price of a horse to have continued at the same height, at which we found it half a century before.

2 The mare seems to have been generally one third cheaper than the horse, as in Wales a colt not a year old was 6l. and a filly 4l. 10s, a colt not two years old 12l. and a filly of the same age only 8l, and here a mare 20l. and a horse 30l.

3 The difference in estimating young horses by the Welsh and Saxons is very remarkable. While the colt or filly for three years never rises higher than 15l. in Wales, a foal of a single year is here estimated at 20l.

4 ƿild ƿeorf, rendered constantly wild ass, but signifying any wild animal, and plainly, I think, meaning here what I have translated it. And it answers to the wild horses of the Welsh table, and is one fifth cheaper than they.

5 The oxe remains at its former rate, like the horse before. But the cow has advanced one sixth in dearness. And the oxe in Herefordshire about 1080 was rated only at two shillings, or 6l.—Gale's XV Scrip. p. 770 from Doomsday Book.

Sect. III.

It is very observable upon taking a comparative view of the rates on the continent and in this island, that, whenever we can collate the articles of either table together, every thing appears much dearer at home than abroad. We are obliged indeed to make the comparison in different centuries. But the variation is so great and striking, that no successive declension of prices in the course of an age can account for it. And it may be fairly doubted, whether any declension ever prevailed in these times; as, in our own island particularly, we have previously seen the value of a horse and an oxe continue the same for half a century together, and near the conclusion of the whole period.

The disproportion may be shewn at once, by only bringing the varying rates of a Horse, an Oxe, and a Cow into one view.

An OXE.

	Present Money.		
In FRANCE about the midddle of the SEVENTH Century	6	0	0
In ENGLAND about the middle of the TENTH	7	10	0
In WALES at the SAME TIME	15	10	0
On the BORDERS of ENGLAND towards WALES, about the close of the TENTH or beginning of the ELEVENTH century	7	10	0

A COW.

In FRANCE at ditto	3	0	0
In ENGLAND at ditto	5	0	0
In WALES at ditto	15	0	0
On the BORDERS of BOTH at ditto	6	0	0

A HORSE.

In FRANCE at ditto	18	0	0
In ENGLAND at ditto	30	0	0
In WALES at ditto	30	0	0
On the BORDERS of BOTH at ditto	30	0	0

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

THE CONVERSION OF THE SAXONS TO CHRISTIANITY —THE FIRST FORMATION OF OUR PARISHES— AND THE FIRST ESTABLISHMENT OF ALL OUR ECCLESIASTICAL OECONOMY.

I.

IN the vitiated diſpoſition of our nature at preſent, it is melancholy to remark the ſtrong inclination of the paſſions to cruelty. An over-ruling ſelfiſhneſs has taken poſſeſſion of the heart, and ſelfiſhneſs will ever extinguiſh the finer feelings of tenderneſs. This has occaſioned a harſh ſeverity of affection to ſhoot up the native growth of the mind, while the ſoft and gentle regards are to be ſtudiouſly planted and carefully cultivated in it. And hence barbarity appears the one ſtriking character in all the ruder nations of the world, while the amiable tincture of humanity is found attendant only on refinement, and marking merely the advancements of civility and the progreſs of literature. Thus the three tribes of the Saxons, at their invaſion of Britain, were at once rude in their manners and inhuman in their conduct. They had been perpetually engaged before in piratical deſcents on the continent and the Britiſh iſles, and now behaved with all the ſavage licentiouſneſs of war[1]. And, ſo acting, they were in every view of philoſophy and humanity barbarians. But ſo acting, and rude as they were, they were not much more ſavage in their wars than even the refined Romans. Under all the ſoftening influ-

Sect. I. ence of politeneſs, and in the meridian rays of literature, the latter were almoſt equally cruel at times in their political conduct. And it appears particularly evident in their intended behaviour to the Britons of Caledonia, and their actual conduct to the royal family of the Iceni. In the reign of Severus, the Roman army entered Caledonia under expreſs orders to ſpare neither ſex nor age, to ſlay the un-born infant with the mother, and involve the whole nation in a general carnage [a]. And in that of Nero, though Praſutagus the deceaſed king of the Iceni was no enemy, though he was actually a friend, and had even made the emperor his heir equally with his children; yet his kingdom and palace were ſeized by the Romans, his widowed queen was infamouſly ſcourged, and his orphan daughters were brutally raviſhed by them [z]. Nothing could effectually ſoften and compleatly humanize the heart of man, until Chriſtianity exerted its influence upon it. And that has produced a conſiderable change in the hiſtory of our affections. The tenderer paſſions are now ſtartled at the recital of ſuch cruelties, as even the poliſhed and lettered Romans could dare to execute. That wild affection of the ſoul, the rage of conqueſt, which in the times of triumphant heatheniſm produced ſuch a variety of heroes, and has ſaddened the records of mankind with ſuch a multiplicity of miſeries, is almoſt extinguiſhed among us. And if any nation of Chriſtians ſhould dare to treat one captive prince, as the Romans treated all their captive monarchs in general and Jugurtha in particular, the fact would every where be read with horrour, and the people every where regarded with deteſtation [a].

But the barbarous nature of the Saxons would be gradually ſoftened, by their ſettlement among the conquered Provincials. Theſe had been improved, by the literature and refinements of Rome, and much more by the humanizing genius of Chriſtianity. And when war was terminated by conqueſt, and the firſt impulſes of averſion were ſubdued in both, the Saxon underſtanding would be ſtrongly prompted to cultivate the arts, and attend to the improvement of domeſtick life. The refinements

of

of the Britons about them strongly attracted their notice, and invited their imitation. The shaggy hide of the conquerour[5] was immediately resigned for the woollen and linen vestures of the conquered. The British structure of the houses, so much more elegant and convenient than the Saxon[6], was naturally adopted in the new buildings. And the furniture, which they found in the old, was at once admired and continued. The mind also, though less speedily and strongly, would necessarily catch the contagion of polished manners and softened affections. The old British lord of Manchester particularly, now reduced into vassalage to the Saxon baron, yet retained a considerable property and influence. His original and present mansion was probably the hall of Aldport. And he was, equally with the other frank tenants and mesne lords, a partaker of the baron's diversions, and a sharer of the baron's conversation; as we find some of the provincials in Gaul admitted even into the palace of the French monarch[a].

In this state of refining barbarism, however, the Saxons continued idolaters. And the improvements, which they adopted, would be diminished not a little in their influence upon them; being lowered in the Britons by their reciprocal commerce with the Saxons, and reduced in the Saxons by the association with their remaining rudenesses. But indeed they might have continued idolaters, even though they had received all the unsullied refinements of Britain or of Rome. In the materialized condition of the mind at present, no effort of reason can emancipate the soul from idolatry. The great Socrates, the best good-man that ever heathenism produced, and whose vigorous mind almost lighted up the darkness of its theology, even he lived an open polytheist, and even he died a professed idolater[7]. And, in the most cultivated periods of the human understanding, the Græcians and Romans persisted steadily in the same practices. Nothing can free the mind from this strong delusion, but that new power and additional vigour, which the revelations of Christianity secretly communicate to it. And we have a striking and melancholy argument of the natural tyranny

Sect. I. ranny of idolatry over the mind of man, in the antient and present history of Christendom; where even under the invigorating influence of our religion, and amid the loud remonstrances of Scripture and Protestantism, so large a body of Christians has relapsed into the folly, and continued in it obstinately for ages.

The genius of idolatry carries generally one uniform appearance with it. Proceeding invariably from the same cause, the gross and corporeal disposition of the human mind, it invariably wears the same complexion. Thus one common system of false theology appears in all the various nations of heathenism. And the old idolatry is strongly reflected again in the new. The same in kind, they are merely different in degree.

In the days of Cæsar, the Germans worshiped only those conspicuous parts of the material system about them, the influence of which they felt, and the usefulness of which they experienced; the Sun, the Moon, and Vulcan or Fire [*]. This must have been the first absolute and avowed idolatry in all the heathen nations. And it was the first of the Germans, having been brought probably with their colonies into Germany, and still giving denomination to two or three days in our week, Sunday, Mon-day, and perhaps Fri-day; the verb Fire, in one acceptation of the word, being pronounced Frie to this day, and such transpositions of the R very frequent in the Saxon language [*]. But before the days of Tacitus they had enlarged the circle of absurdity, and borrowed from the Celtick nations which they subdued in Germany, or, like them, invented for themselves, the worship of many divinities besides, Tuisto, Hercules, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, and others. That of Tuisto was their own invention; this father of the people in all probability being the conductor of them into Germany, and now deified by the imitative folly of their descendants [*]. And that of the rest they derived from their Celtick subjects; like them and the other heathens, strangely digesting them into a scale of divinities, and, like them only, acknow-

ledging Mercury for their first and chief [11]. Mars they adored under their own German appellation of Loda, Odin, or Woden, the destroyer; the latter being described in the third century with all the terrible majesty of the classical god of battles [12]. They worshiped Jupiter also under the German-Celtick denomination of Thor, Thur, or Thunder; as Tor-an and Tur-uv signify thunder in the Irish and Welsh, and as we have a Roman-British inscription discovered at Chester I. O M. Tanaro, to Jupiter the Tanar or Thunder [13]. And the present appellations of Satur-day, Tues-day, Wednes-day, and Thurs-day, or as the last is similarly denominated in Dutch the Thundersday, remain to the present hour lively memorials of the idolatry of our fathers.

This was very simple in its origin, and for some years after their conquest of Germany. But they could not have been settled very long among their reduced Celtæ, before the ever-restless spirit of un-satisfied heathenism would multiply their divinities and rites. They had nearly forgotten at first the primitive institution and universal observance of sacrifices; but, before the end of the first century, even copied from the Celtæ their horrid oblations of human victims, and presented them at stated seasons to Mercury [14]. Their temples, like the original ones of the Celtæ, the Persians, and others, in the first century were all open above, and merely circular inclosures of stone; many of which remain to this day in the Orkney and Shetland isles, seeming to differ materially in their construction from the similar fanes of the Britons in the Western [15]. And the Germans of the first century retained the principle, that the Gauls had lost in the days of Cæsar, never to make a personal representation of their deities [16]. But in the continually progressive state of idolatry, growing grosser in its ideas and becoming more materialized in its theology, they appear to have abandoned both these principles afterward; and, at the time of their settlement in England, to have had coverings to their temples and images of their gods. The heathen fanes of England, at the Saxon conversion, are ordered by pope Gre-

gory

Sect. I. gory not to be destroyed, but converted into Christian churches; an order, that sufficiently shews them not to be merely circles of stones[17]. And, during the mixt state of religion for a time in the kingdom of the East-Angles, we find a Saxon temple actually containing within it one altar for the rites of idolatry, and another for the services of christianity; a fact, that fully demonstrates it to have been covered[18]. And each of these had several idols within them, the personal images of their deities, and the immediate objects of their adorations[19].

Such fanes were, therefore numerous in Northumberland, and one at least was erected in Manchester probably, and in every other market-town of the kingdom. But one appears to have been superiour to the rest in dignity, the great cathedral of Northumbria. And it was situated on the wolds of Yorkshire, at a place near Wighton formerly called Godmundingham, and now similarly denominated Godmansham. It was a considerable building, laid out into several courts, and encircled with several walls; had many idols and altars within it; and was attended by the first personage in the Northumbrian priesthood[20]. And this attendant was denominated Coifi by the Saxons, a name that, like the German Dry for a priest, was borrowed from the Celtæ of Germany; as both are retained to this day in Scotland, are often combined together by the Highlanders, and signify the principal Priest or Druid[21].

With this compounded system of idolatry, half-German and half-Celtick, the Saxons landed on the shores of the island, and settled among the Christians of the Provinces. And the native roughness of their manners would insensibly be smoothed, and the natural attachment of their minds to idolatry imperceptibly softened, by their necessary and perpetual intercourse with them. They allowed the Britons the free exercise of their religion. Such a favour we find readily granted in Kent to the Christian queen of Ethelbert and her attendants, and afterwards as readily in Northumbria to Edwin's and her retinue[22]. And the British churches in general appear to have remained un-destroyed by the Saxons, and some of them even

 applied

applied to their original uses. Thus the great one, that was erected upon the hill near Verulam, and at the general place of execution for the Roman Municipium, was standing in very good preservation even as late as the days of Bede[22]. But, in the stipendiary town of Canterbury, no less than two of them continued to the Saxon conversion[23]. And one of these seems to have been regularly used through all the period of idolatry, as the temple of the Provincials at Canterbury, and to have been therefore chosen by Ethelbert's queen, and by Augustin and the missionaries, before the conversion of the king[24].

Indulged with this reasonable liberty, and opposed by no passionate prejudice, the Britons would successfully propagate the doctrines of Christianity. And their knowledge must have given them a great superiority over the Saxons. By the assistance of that orb of light which beams forth in the code of revelation, the meanest Christian can think more sensibly, and argue more judiciously, on those dark points of theology which have engaged the enquiries of man in all ages, than the wisest philosophers of Greece or Italy. The illiterate sages of Germany, therefore, would be a very unequal match, and the lowest of the Provincial peasants an invincible champion against the idolatries of the Saxons. And the lives of the Britons, now refined by their afflictions probably, must have been an additional recommendation of their religion. This indeed is but an equivocal argument in favour of any, being applicable equally to the false and the true. But it ordinarily operates with more force than any other on the generality of mankind, who judge more by their senses than their understanding, and determine oftener from the bias of affection than the impulse of reason. And that purity of conduct, which Christianity has generally diffused over the lives of its professors, a much greater than ever appeared in the retainers of any other religion, though considerably lower than the standard of the Christian precepts, has always been a very persuasive argument in its favour. Both would silently make a deep impression on the Saxons, gradually detach them from

Sect. I. their idolatry, and greatly prepare them for Christianity. And we find them accordingly, some time before the arrival of Augustine, and when no attempts had been made to convert them by the Britons of Wales, actually prepared for conversion and very desirous of the gospel[*].

Apprized of this readiness and invited by these desires, Gregory the bishop of Rome, illustrious by birth, by piety, and by learning, formed the charitable resolution of sending missionaries into Britain[*]. He selected a body of clergymen from the monasteries at Rome. He gave one of them, Augustine, an authority over the rest. And he dispatched them on the expedition. In the autumn of 596 they crossed the continent of France, and wafted over into Britain[*]. The Franks had some time before been converted to Christianity: and some French clergymen were associated with them, to act as their interpreters to the Saxons. The two languages of France and England were the same. And these Roman fathers were naturally un-acquainted with both. They all landed at the great and antient entrance into Britain from Gaul, the well-known harbour of Rhutupæ, and upon one side of it, in the isle of Thanet, being about forty in number. They acquainted the king of Kent with their arrival, and offered to preach the gospel to him. And he came immediately to Thanet, heard them, and owned the agreeableness, but objected to the novelty, of their doctrines. He ordered however a regular provision to be made for their table, invited them to his capital, and assigned them a habitation in it. And at Canterbury the missionaries acted prudently as well as religiously. They spent their time in all those holy exercises of piety, which peculiarly attract the serious attention and engage the religious affections of mankind, prayers, watchings, and fastings. They preached the doctrines, they lived up to the precepts, of the Christian religion. And with a strict abstemiousness they confined themselves to the necessaries of life. Many were delighted with the holy simplicity of their conduct. Many were struck with the blissful views that opened in their doctrines. And the king, and

and a number of his subjects; were converted. No force was used to the rest. The missionaries sensibly declared the necessity of a voluntary service. The people were left to their own inclinations. And all of them received the faith [25].

Thus successfully begun, the work of conversion was as successfully prosecuted. And, in less than half a century, the whole body of the Saxons was reduced under the dominion of Christianity. The neighbouring East-Saxons were proselyted in 604; the East-Angles in 627; one part of the Mercians in 628, another in 653, and the rest in 656 [26]. The West-Saxons were baptized in 634, the South-Saxons in 678, and the Northumbrians in 627 [27]. And Edwin, the king of Northumbria and the conquerour of Manchester, one of the best and wisest men that the Saxon history has recorded, was made the instrument of bringing his Northumbrians to the gospel, and of uniting his Saxon and British subjects in the only religion of truth and purity.

In the summer of 625 Ædilberg, the Christian sister of the Christian Eadbald king of Kent, was affianced to Edwin and conducted into Northumbria. She had previously stipulated for the free exercise of her religion in herself and all her attendants; and now brought Paulinus in her train, a clergyman of Rome, and one of the additional missionaries which Gregory had sent to Britain in 601 [28]. And the immediate sphere of his activity was the queen's houshold. But his views extended greatly beyond it. The monarch of Northumbria was sensible, pious, and cool. And he had actually promised to examine the evidences, and even embrace the doctrines, of Christianity, if the religion appeared upon trial to be more holy in itself, and more worthy of Divinity, than his own. Such a king was sure to be a convert soon. And a fine field was opened to that honourable ambition of doing good, which actuated the soul of Paulinus.

The good man immediately entered on his mission. He preached Christianity to the court and people. And in this employ he exerted himself with vigour. The queen was deli-

Sect. I. vered of a daughter at Easter, and the king permitted her to be baptized. And eleven adults, all members of the queen's family, and the more immediate objects of Paulinus's attention, were baptized with her upon Whitsunday in the year 626, the fair first-fruits of the Northumbrian Saxons.

The king was now half-converted, and actually renounced his idolatry. But he acted prudently and honestly. He did not immediately profess himself a Christian. He had been previously engaged in examining the evidences of Christianity. And he now examined them with greater attention. He discoursed upon them with Paulinus. He reasoned upon them with his wisest nobles. And he revolved them carefully in his own excellent understanding. He often retired into privacy, thought over the subject in secret, and silently meditated his future behaviour in so critical and important a business. In such a disposition of mind, and with such a religion under consideration, he could not long hesitate. He did not. And, now resolved in himself, he summoned the body of his barons to York. In a concern that was so truly national, he naturally wished to have the national suffrages concurrent with his own.

The parliament convened. The king declared the occasion of the meeting. And the coifi or head-pontif of Northumbria was the first that spoke. He gave his voice for examining Christianity, and even for preferring it to their own religion, if it was found to deserve the preference. He was seconded by a baron, who justly condemned the general system of heathenism, as keeping mankind in a dark state of ignorance, shewing them neither what had preceded, nor what was to follow, this fleeting period of existence. And all the members of the assembly concurred with both. The pontif then requested to hear Paulinus speak on the nature of the Christian Deity. Paulinus spoke. And the other felt conviction in every word. He had long found his enquiries after truth returned with disappointment and rewarded with mortification. He now saw a display of it, that assured him of a happy eternity.

nity. And he proposed therefore to destroy the temples, and overturn the altars, of an un-profitable service. As the first scholar of the nation, as the first priest of their religion, this assembly of military barons naturally laid a great stress on his opinion. And the king openly declared himself a proselyte. Never perhaps was the cause of Christianity indulged with so solemn and so fair a national hearing. And never certainly did its evidences produce so cordial and immediate a conversion of a whole nation.

The temple at Godmansham was reduced to ashes by the honest zeal of the pontif and his attendants. The king was more intimately instructed in the elements of the Christian religion. And on Easter sunday, in the year 627, he and all his barons were solemnly baptized at York. The great body of the Northumbrians followed the examples of their sovereign and their seigniors. Numbers were initiated with them, no less than 12000 persons on Easter sunday. Successive multitudes were regularly baptized every day till Pentecost. And the whole nation embraced the manly religion of JESUS, with a just warmth of affection and an ingenuous fervency of zeal[22].

Thus did Paulinus become the great apostle of Northumbria, a man reverend for his years and venerable in his aspect, tall, black-haired, and thin-visaged, having a slender hooked nose, and stooping a little in his walk[23]. And the baron of Manchester was baptized at York with the rest of his brethren[24]. Christianity once more became the popular religion of the manour, and within seven years only after the reduction of it by Edwin. The services of idolatry were no longer beheld in the streets of the town. The Britons saw their fellow-citizens and lords converted to the same religion with themselves. And both of them now met in the temple, and united in the worship of the one only genuine Divinity, the Lord of Nature, the Father of Spirits, and the Friend of Man[25].

Gildas

[1] Gildas c. 23 and 24.—[2] Dio p. 1283.—[3] Tacitus Ann. l. xiv. c. 31.—[4] Yet the grave and philofophical Plutarch relates the ftory of Jugurtha in all its fhocking circumftances, without one compunction of forrow, and even harfhly remarks at the clofe upon the juftnefs of his fate. See his life of Marius.—[5] Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 17.—See alfo c. 16.—[6] Eccardi Leges Francorum p. 83. Si Romanus homo *conviva regis* occifus fuerit, &c.—[7] Xenophon Mem. p. 1 and 2. Wells and Plato v. ii. p. 118. Stephanus.—[8] Cæfar p. 122. Deorum numero eos folos ducunt quos cernunt et quorum opibus apertè juvantur, Solem, et Vulcanum, et Lunam: reliquos ne famâ quidem acceperunt.—[9] So Bird is Brid, Froft Forft, Fright Firht, &c. And this Frie of the Germans was therefore denominated antiently Freyer in Norway (O. Wormius's Danica Monumenta, p. 14).—[10] Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 2.—[11] Tacitus c. 9. Deorum maximè Mercurium colunt, fpeaking of the Germans, and Cæfar p. 121. Deum maximè Mercurium colunt, fpeaking of the Celtæ.—[12] Offian v. i. p. 151 and 199, and Wormius's Danica Mon. p. 11. See a miftake therefore in Clarke upon Saxon coins p. 104, and in various others, who fuppofe Woden to have been Mercury.—[13] See the infcription in Horfeley. The name was originally Thoran, Thorn, as a circus of ftone dedicated to this deity in Iceland is denominated Thornes-thing at prefent (Danica Mon. p. 27); and the N was omitted in pronunciation, as in Saturn-day or Saturday.—[14] Cæfar p. 122. Neque facrificiis ftudent, and Tacitus c. 9 and Cæfar p. 120 compared.—[15] Tacitus c. 9, and Offian v. ii. p. 88. a note.—[16] Cæfar p. 121 and Tacitus c. 9.—[17] Bede l. i. c. 30. And Gregory could not be miftaken as to their conftruction, fince two of Auguftine's attendants had now been with him when he wrote this letter (c. 27).—[18] Bede l. ii. c. 15.—[19] Bede l. i. c. 30 and l. ii. c. 13. And Olaus Wormius de Danicis Monumentis l. i. c. 4 fhews the Germans of the continent to have latterly had idols.—[20] Bede l. ii. c. 13. And fee a curious de-

fcription

scription of its remains, by a strange mistake inserted in the account of the Picts Wall, Camden c. 1057. So likewise in col. 60 we have two hills placed near Sturminster, and in col. 64 mentioned again as different ones, and fixed at the end of Cranbourne Chase. And the two Eddingtons in Wiltshire are confounded in col. 108.—But, on examining the late edition of Camden, I find these mistakes properly rectified there.—[17] Bede ibid. and Crit. Diss. p. 346. The Highlanders call their Druid either Coiffie or Caiffie: and Alcuinus a Saxon, who wrote before the middle of the 8th century (Bede p. 223 and Gale p. 730), calls the Northumbrian pontif Caefi (p. 706 Gale).—[18] Bede l. ii c. 25 and l. ii. c. 9.—[19] Bede l. i. c. 26, 27, and 33.—[20] Bede l. i. c. 26.—[21] See Gregory's Ep. 58 in Bede p. 678, Desideranter velle converti, and l. i. c. 22. See also Ep. 59.—[22] Ep. ibid. and Bede l. ii. c. 1. King Alfred gives this high-wrought character of Gregory, Consideratæ vir fortitudinis absque furore, summo sensu, sapientiâ, consilio præditus—, Romanorum vir optimus, mentis magnitudine abundantissimus, majestate liberrimus (see his preface to his translation of Gregory's Pastoral, Asser p. 90 Wise).—[23] Gregory's letter (Bede l. i. c. 23), when the missionaries were in Provence (see Smith in Bede's appendix p. 679), is dated the 23d of July. —[24] Bede l. i. c. 23—26 and Ep. 58 and 59 in Bede's appendix, l. i. c. 22, and l. v. c. 22.—Mr. Carte p. 222 has applied the censure in Ep. 58, Sacerdotes e vicino negligere, to the French clergy. But l. i. c. 22 plainly confines it to the Welsh, Nunquam genti Anglorum secum Britanniam incolenti verbum fidei prædicando committerent. And so does l. v. c. 22 likewise.—[25] Bede l. ii. c. 3, 15, and 16, and l. iii. c. 21 and 24.—[26] Bede l. iii. c. 7 and l. iv. c. 13.—[27] L. i. c. 29, and Alcuinus p. 705 Gale. —[28] Bede l. ii. c. 9, 13, and 14. Alcuinus, speaking of the idol-temple being destroyed, says,

——Erecta ruit fani structura profani,
Funditus in cineres etiam destructa fatiscit (p. 706 Gale).

And see Nennius's Enlarger p. 117.—[29] Bede l. ii. c. 16.—[30] Bede l. ii. c. 14, Cunctis gentis suæ nobilibus.—

[31] Mr.

Sect. I.

" Mr. Hume, in his account of the Saxon theology, has made ſome ſtrange miſtakes.— " The ſuperſtition of the Germans," he ſays, " particularly that of the Saxons, was of the groſſeſt " and moſt barbarous kind; and being founded on certain tra- " ditional tales, received from their anceſtors, not reduced to " any ſyſtem, nor ſupported by political inſtitutions, like that " of the Druids, it ſeems to have made little impreſſion on its " votaries, and to have eaſily reſigned its place to the new doc- " trine promulgated to them" (p. 30).—The Saxon ſuperſtition appears no where to have been moſt groſs than the general idolatry of Germany. It was exactly the ſame with it, and neither was of the groſſeſt and moſt barbarous kind. They were, as I have already ſhewn, a compound of the Celtick and German theologies. And they were equally founded upon traditional tales with the Celtick, equally reduced to a ſyſtem, and equally, though not in an equal degree, ſupported by political inſtitutions. The prieſts of the Germans had not the ſame high authority as the Druids of the Celtæ. But their religion was ſupported by the policy of the ſtate, as that was, and as indeed all eſtabliſhed religions are, or they would not be eſtabliſhed. And the German idolatry ſeems from facts to have made, not only not a weaker, but actually a ſtronger, impreſſion upon its votaries than the Celtick. The Gauls, in the very reign after their reduction by the Romans, deſerted the principles of their national faith, and dedicated temples to Cæſar and Auguſtus; while the tribes of the Germans, which had remained conquered from the reign of Auguſtus even to the days of Tacitus, in all that long period of time appear not to have made the leaſt alteration in their national religion (ſee Tacitus). And ſuch facts are the beſt proofs of the impreſſions.

II.

THE diviſion of the kingdom into thoſe eccleſiaſtical diſtricts, which are denominated pariſhes, has been referred by different

different criticks to different periods of our history. By some it has been ascribed to Honorius, the fifth archbishop of Canterbury, and the year 635 or 636[1]. By others it has been more sensibly attributed to his successor Theodore, who was consecrated to the see in 668, and made the first of our metropolitical visitations the year following[2]. And it is carried much lower again by others, being supposed to have been the gradual and growing work of several centuries after the Saxon conversion[3]. From this diversity of opinion, the point should seem to be one of those many particulars in the original annals of every nation, which will always remain un-decided by the critick, because he is not furnished with sufficient information concerning them. But this is not the case with the present. And it has been really considered without a sufficient examination of the evidences, and really determined without a proper attention to the proofs.

Sect. II.

If we look with any accuracy into the polity of our church, in the earliest stages of its establishment; we shall find notices occasionally communicated, and facts incidentally recorded, that shew the diocesses of it even then to have been actually divided into parishes.

Before the middle of the seventh century, and within twenty-five years after the conversion of Northumbria, we see churches erected in every quarter of the country, the clergy regularly administering in them, and the people every sunday repairing to the one and attending on the other. Even at this early period, the Northumbrians are expresly declared by their countryman and historian, Bede, to frequent the churches in crouds, and listen to the voice of instruction, constantly and regularly every sunday[4]. And our ancestors of that time, therefore, were as much under the regimen of appropriated and resident pastors, as we ourselves are at present.

A little later than this, but still nearer to the moments of conversion, the same appearances are observable in the kingdom or church of Mercia. A trifling fact shews it. And a single incident often lets in light upon the whole history of a nation.

 The

Sect. II. The king of Mercia destroying Rochester in 676, the bishop of the latter applied to the prelate of the former; received from him the possession of a church in Mercia, and a moderate quantity of land which was annexed to it; and there, engaged in the ministeries of a private clergyman, spent the remainder of his days in peace[5]. And before 676, therefore, the churches of Mercia had received an endowment of glebe, were possessed in fee-simple, and had each its appointed minister regularly officiating in them.

The formation of parishes among the Saxons was coæval with their profession of Christianity. In Northumbria and in Mercia we find them formed and established, within twenty or twenty-five years only from their respective conversions. And the Saxons in great measure received the institution, together with their religion, from the intermingled Britons of the Provinces. The latter appear from the trifling remains that are saved of the British churches, to have had their clergy in the sixth century, not collected into a monastick body under the wing of the bishop, and detached by him in journies through different parts of the diocess; but more judiciously for religion settled separately among the people, and more satisfactorily to themselves possessed of endowed churches. And in that melancholy delineation which Gildas has given us of the clergy in his time, overcharged as in all probability it is by the colouring of zeal, he has mentioned some convincing particulars of this nature. Britain, he says, had very many priests and ministers at that time, men without wisdom and without shame, possessed of churches, but officiating in them for gain[6]. These instructors of the people were the worst examples to them, banishing perhaps a religious mother or religious sisters from their houses, and introducing other women in their stead, the ready ministers of their private pleasures[7]. Their ears were ever open to the idle jests and foolish conversation of worldly men about them. And they were particularly expert in all the doublings and windings of worldly business[8]. They presided over their particular flocks; but the people were daily

daily ensnared by the badness of their practices, and daily perished through the contagion of their viciousness[9]. They gained their admission to the holy order by the influence of bribes. And the appropriated endowments of the churches were at once their inducement and reward[10]. If ever they exercised hospitality, they acted merely from a passion for popularity. Though fathers, they were impure; and their sons were educated in the same impurity. And they were equally unable to govern their own families, unqualified to minister in the house of God, and unworthy to preside over their particular flocks[11]. These are circumstances which clearly imply, and notices that actually declare, the interests of religion to have been carefully consulted among the Britons, by a general distribution of the clergy over the diocess, by the assignment of particular flocks to them, and the settlement of particular stipends upon them.

Such are the plain evidences of a parochial division of the kingdom in the earliest ages. And it is surprizing to find them all either carelessly overlooked or ignorantly neglected by the historians, the antiquaries, and the lawyers that have so frequently canvassed this subject. They carry a decisive authority with them. They shew the falsity of those opinions, which attribute the general division to Honorius, to Theodore, or some centuries after both. And they argue the parishes to have been all formed at once immediately on the Saxon conversion, and even established previously for ages among the Britons of the Provinces.

And, from this insight into the polity of the British and Saxon churches, we may perceive the folly of applying some passages in Bede, as they have been invariably applied by our historians. They cannot be contradictory to the accounts which Bede has already given us. They are easily reconcileable to them. And they actually confirm them. In his epistle to Egbert, this very useful writer assures us upon the report of others, that in 734 there were many places in the Northumbrian kingdom; not towns, but villages, Villæ, Viculi, or Agelli, and

Sect. II. and such villages only as were at a distance from the parish-churches, and situated among the mountains and forests; in which, for many years together, not a clergyman appeared to instruct them [12]. And the ground-work of his charge was this, That the clergy of the times, who officiated in their churches every sunday, often visited the remoter villages in their parishes, to preach to the inhabitants, baptize their children, visit their sick, and perform the other duties of the pastoral care among them [13]. In his general history and life of Cudbert he himself informs us, that this pious clergyman, making little journies in the north in order to instruct the people, went chiefly to those villages, Villæ or Viculi, that because of their remote and hilly situation were not visited by the regular teachers [14]. And, in other parts of his history, he intimates concerning the kingdom in general and the north of it in particular, that about the middle of the seventh century, when the parish-priest accidentally visited or any other clergyman casually travelled through one of these villages, Villæ or Viculi, he was received as the servant of God, and requested to preach to the people [15]. All this shews the largeness of the first parishes in the north, most of them including a length of woods within them, and many extending, as those of Prestwich and Rochdale in the neighbourhood of Manchester do at this day, a considerable way into the adjoining mountains. But the complaint preferred by Bede is again intimated thirteen years afterward, in the third canon of Cuthbert at Cloveshoo, at a time when the eighth, ninth, and tenth, the eleventh, thirteenth, fourteenth, and many others, prove parishes to have been certainly laid out and clergymen certainly settled in them [16]. And near a century before the time of both, and when the visiter or the traveller was requested to preach, the teachers were presbyters regularly fixed in the country, and the people regularly repaired for instruction to their churches on sundays [17].

The religion of redemption was established triumphantly in Britain, about the commencement of the fourth century; and parochial districts would naturally be formed before the conclu-

sion

sion of it. They probably were, immediately after the establishment of Christianity. And they certainly were before the departure of the Romans; as the sad and busy period of wars, immediately subsequent, would prevent any improvements in the civil or ecclesiastical polity of the kingdom. The provinces of the bishops were denominated parochiæ by the Britons[18]: and these little districts within them very naturally assumed the same appellation, being the contracted diocesses of subordinate clergymen. And the parish of Manchester was originally laid out, probably near the commencement of the fourth century, pretty certainly before the conclusion of it, and undoubtedly before 446.

Thus originally established in the kingdom, the parochial division would remain after the departure of the Romans, was continued to the days of Gildas, and existed under the dominion of the Saxons. The British parish-priest of Manchester, at the Saxon conquest, would naturally remain under the victors, and continue with his people in the parish. The condition of his parishioners particularly demanded his care, stooping as they were under the yoke of a foreign dominion, and in danger of being seduced to the established religion of Idolatry. And, on the conversion of the Northumbrians seven years afterward, the old parish of the Britons would become the new one of the Saxons. The British clergymen in all probability were the first parish-priests of the latter, as none of themselves, not even the only scholars of their nation, their idolatrous priests, could have been initiated into the ministry for many years after their conversion. Egbert was the first Saxon that was raised to the episcopate among us. And he was not consecrated till 732[19].

When the parochial division was projected among the Roman Britons, their towns would first engage the attention of the bishops, and be first designed as the centers of their parishes. And the extent of these would be commensurate, not with the narrow sphere of the cultivated grounds about them, but with the whole compass of the seigniory, those grounds

and

Sect. II. and the useful woods beyond them. But, when the other parts of the Provinces came next to be modelled upon paper, the other seigniories would as naturally be formed into parishes. The diocesses had previously been made commensurate with the provinces; and the parishes would therefore be made commensurate with the baronies. And that they actually were so, is plainly intimated in the canons of Cuthbert at Cloveshoo. There they are literally described by the ninth as loca et regiones laicorum, the possessions and seignories of the laymen, which had presbyters settled in them, and had been appropriated by the bishops of the kingdom[30]. And the seignory of Manchester was therefore formed into the parish of it.

At that period, they both comprized the present lordship and parish of Ashton-under-Line. And these were members of the others, even down to the later ages. In the records of our barony, Albert Grelle, the lord of it in the twelfth century, testifies that he gave totam terram de Eston, or the whole township of Ashton, to Roger the son of Orm, to be held as Roger held it from the father of Albert[31]. And in another deed, dated the fifth of Henry the sixth, Thomas de la Ware, lord of Manchester in the fifteenth century, gives to John de Asheton and his heirs for ever one rod of land, parcel of the manour of Manchester, in a certain field denominated Smithfield, together with the church of Asheton; the said John holding the manour of Asheton from Richard de Kirkby knight, and Richard holding it from Thomas de la Ware[32]. In a third, dated the thirty-second of Edward the first, William de Marchia is said to have been parson of the church of Manchester, to which (adds the record) the chapel of Asheton is annexed, ad quam capella de Asheton est annexa; and Walter de Langton to have been parson afterwards, and to have held the chapel of Asheton in the same manner, tenuit capellam de Asheton similiter[33]. And in another, the forty-sixth of Henry the third, Thomas Grelle is declared to have given his son Peter the manours of Manchester and Childwall,

with

with the churches of both, and the chapels of Afheton, Hale,
and Garftan belonging to them [a].

Thus was the antient manour and original parifh of Manchefter exactly commenfurate in fize, and extended equally over the prefent townfhip and parifh of Afheton. And the whole was fkirted by the parifhes of Eccles and Flixton on the weft, and wafhed by the currents of the Merfey and Tame on the fouth; reached up to the hills of Saddleworth on the eaft; and bordered upon the parifh of Preftwich to the north. It was a level but irregular area of fifty-five or fixty miles in circumference; the longeft diameter croffing from eaft to weft, and being about twelve or thirteen in extent; and the fhorteft running from fouth-weft to north-eaft, and being about feven and a half. And the town was fituated, not exactly in the center, but near the northern and weftern margins of it; the boundaries of Preftwich ranging within three miles, and thofe of Eccles within one, from the town; and the limits of Flixton, Cheadle, Stockport, and Rochdale lying at the diftance of five, eight, and eleven from it.

[1] Archbifhop Parker, Bifhop Godwin, Mr. Camden, Mr. Hume, &c.—[2] Mr. Whelock, Mr. Carte, &c. See Bede l. iv. c. 1 and 2.—[3] Bifhop Kennet, Judge Blackftone, &c.—[4] Bede l. iii. c. 26, Diebus dominicis ad ecclefiam five ad monafteria certatim—audiendi fermonis Dei gratiâ confluebant.—[5] Bede l. iv. c. 12, Acceptâ ab illo poffeffione ecclefiæ cujufdam & agelli non grandis, ibidem in pace vitam finivit,—in illâ folùm ecclefiâ Deo ferviens.—[6] P. 31 Gale, Ecclefiæ domus habentes fed turpis lucri gratiâ eas adeuntes.—[7] P. 31.—[8] Ibid.—[9] Populi quibus præeftis—veftro quotidie exemplo pereunt, p. 34.—[10] Queis (quæfo) veftrûm non quærit agrum de mercede iniquitatis? Judas namque loculos compilabat, vos ecclefiæ donaria filiorumque animas ejus vaftatis; ille adiit Judæos ut Deum venderet, vos tyrannos & patrem veftrum diabolum ut Chriftum defpiciatis. P. 37. This darkly refers to purchafing benefices,

Sect. II. as in the similar passage p. 24. A tyrannis & a patre eorum diabolo fucata & nunquam profutura emunt sacerdotia.—[10] *Qui domui suæ præesse nescit, quomodo ecclesiæ Dei diligentiam adhibebit?* Hæc sunt verba quæ indubitatis effectibus approbantur: p. 38. Nec sibi quisquam sacerdotùm—supplaudat, cùm eorum queis præst &c: p. 39.—[11] Bede p. 309, a note, and Malmesbury f. 10 for the date of the epistle: Bede p. 307, In montibus inaccessis & saltibus dumosis.—[13] Diebus dominicis ad ecclesiam—confluebant: & siquis sacerdotum in vicum fortè deveniret, mox congregati in unum vicani verbum vitæ ab illo expetere curabant. Nam neque alia ipsis sacerdotibus aut clericis vicos adeundi quàm prædicandi, baptizandi, infirmos visitandi, &, ut breviter dicam, animas curandi causa fuit. Bede l. iii. c. 26. The ministers, who officiated in the churches on sundays, are the same that are here described visiting the villages on other days —[14] Viculis qui in arduis asperisque montibus procul positi —Doctorum arcebant accessum: Bede l. iv. c. 27, and Vita Cudbercti c. 9.—[15] L. iv. c. 27 and l. iii. c. 26.—[16] Wilkins's Concilia vol. i. p. 95—96.—[17] Presbyteri per loca & regiones laicorum quæ sibi ab episcopis provinciæ insinuata & injuncta sunt: Canon 9.—Ubicumque clericus—adveniret,—etiam si in itinere pergens inveniretur,—verbis—horum exhortatoriis diligenter auditum præbebant. *Sed &* diebus dominicis ad ecclesiam—confluebant. Bede l. iii. c. 26.—[18] Gildas's Ep. p. 24, Si in parochiam &c.—[19] Nennius p. 116 and Bede p. 223.—[20] Presbyteri *per loca & regiones laicorum* quæ sibi ab episcopis provinciæ insinuata & injuncta sunt—officium—studeant explere (Canon 9. Wilkins vol. i. p. 96).—[21] See Appendix N° 4 (3).—[22] Ibid.

III.

WHEN Christianity was made the religion of the kingdom, Episcopacy became the polity of the church. The mode of

 government,

government that was originally appointed for the religion, and had been every where continued with it, was equally with it adopted by the Saxons. And the ecclesiastical œconomy, which had been previously settled among the Britons, and at this period was universally fixed on the continent, was now restored in the province of Maxima. Immediately on the conversion of the first sovereign of the Saxons, Augustine went back into France, was consecrated by the bishop of Arles, and became the first prelate of the English[1]. And, equally on the conversion of the other sovereigns, other bishops were appointed successively in every kingdom[2]. The district of the monarch became the province of the prelate, and the capital of the kingdom the metropolis of the diocess[3]. And Northumbria was reduced under the spiritual dominion of a bishop, and our Mancunian ancestors again subjected to the ecclesiastical, as well as civil, supremacy of York. But the diocess was not now, as it had been in the time of the Britons, confined within the boundaries of Maxima. It comprized nearly half of Valentia; and, if the Damnii and Gadeni had been subdued, would have actually comprehended the whole[4]. And one of these sees was invested for the first time with a paramount authority over the others, and dignified with the name of an archbishoprick.

The Saxons, like the Britons, had no city pre-eminent over the rest, and the general metropolis of the provinces; and would naturally therefore, like them, have acknowledged no archiepiscopal authority. But the devotion of the converts to their apostle conferred the pre-eminence on him; and the compliment, paid to the person, was continued to the see, of Augustine. And Canterbury was formally appointed the ecclesiastical metropolis of the nation[5]. The chair of York was afterwards invested with the same privileges. And, on the speedy multiplication of diocesses in Northumbria, it began to exercise the same powers[6]. In this division of the Northumbrian kingdom, the south of Lancashire continued a member, not only of the province, but the diocess, of York; as the north of

Sect. III. it did to these later ages. But some time after the reduction of Northumbria under the dominion of the West-Saxons, and the consolidation of the seven kingdoms into one empire; and before the subjection of this to the yoke of the Normans; the south of Lancashire, and the parish of Manchester, were dissevered at once, as they continued to the sixteenth century, from the diocess and province of York, and annexed, as they equally remained for the same period, to the province of Canterbury and the diocess of Litchfield. And this appears plain upon the face of the Doomsday record. There the large and beautiful portion of Lancashire, which lies to the south of the Ribble, is subjoined to the county of Chester, but sufficiently distinguished from it by the appellation of the country betwixt the Ribble and Mersey. The large and woodland remainder is also annexed to Yorkshire, and discriminated from it only by the titles of its hundreds. And if the south of Lancashire, like the north, had been a member of the diocess, it would, like that, have been subjoined to the county, of York. But the two parts were combined again in 1541, as they have ever since continued, under the dominion of one bishop, and re-united for ever to their antient and original province of York.

In the system of ecclesiastical police among the Saxons, the archdeacon ranked immediately under the bishop. This officer appears from his title to have been the president of the deacons on the continent, when all the clergy lived collected with the bishop, and when, only, the whole body of the deacons could have been under diaconal government. And he was therefore required among us, even to the last Act of Uniformity, to be always in deacon's orders [r]. The deputy of the bishop to all the deacons of the diocess before the formation of parishes, he naturally retained the authority afterwards; and, receiving a power from the bishop which would otherwise have devolved to the archipresbyter or dean of the cathedral, he even extended it over the priests. In France, the archdeacon was an ecclesiastick immediately under the bishop, and an officer

cer of considerable power in the diocess, as early as 630 [8]. He even made visitations there, and convened synods, as early as 760 [9]. And we find him in England actually exercising a jurisdiction with the bishop about 950; the priest that neglected the latter's commands being punished with a fine of twenty oræ, and he that neglected the former's with one of twelve [10].

The whole diocess of the bishop would naturally be at first the province of the archdeacon under him. And all the authority, which the latter enjoyed on the continent, he assuredly possessed in the island; and equally made his visitations, and equally assembled his synods, in both, as early as the formation of parishes. The archdeaconry existed commensurate in extent with the diocess, according to all our historians and canonists, below the year 1085; as, in a charter of that year, the archidiaconus of the bishop is particularly mentioned by the Conqueror [11]. But, even two years previous to that, we find more than one archdeacon in a diocess; and more than one had been settled in each of them, I apprehend, for two or three ages before. Archbishop Lanfranc, in a letter to the bishop of Chichester, remonstrates against the archdeacons of the latter, because in their ecclesiastical progresses they had presumed to visit such of the churches, and exact procurations from such of the clergy, in that diocess, as were immediately subject to his own authority [12]. And we find two or more in a diocess upon the continent, as early as 850 [13].

At the first partition of the bishoprick into archdeaconries, the principal towns of the latter would naturally be constituted the capitals of them; and the Roman colony of Chester was made the metropolis of our own. This extended its jurisdiction over the south of Lancashire, as the archdeaconry of Richmond did over the north. And both were molded together by Henry VIII into a new and distinct diocess, their revenues being nearly all engrossed by the income of the bishoprick, and their power entirely swallowed up in the authority of the bishop.

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The next ecclesiastical division of the country was into rural deaneries. And this appears to have been, equally with the archdeaconry and bishopricks, coeval with the formation of parishes. The rural dean is the same ecclesiastical officer as the archipresbyter or archpriest. This is manifest on the continent; a very antient canon of the French church speaking of the archpriests, as actually constituted in their deaneries; and the decrees of Innocent III and Benedict XII asserting the archpriests to be frequently denominated rural deans [14]. And it is equally so in our own islands; the archpriests of Ireland in 1216 being said to be the presidents of the rural deaneries; and *archpriests or deans* being expresly mentioned in a bull of pope John XXII to the clergy of England in 1317; and in the process of Grenefeld archbishop of York during the years 1310 and 1311 [15]. Very grossly deceived, therefore, is the learned and worthy Mr. Johnson in his notes upon the Saxon institutes, when he asserts the archipresbyter to have been different from the rural dean [16]. Absolutely the same, they appear plainly from their name to have been presidents over a deanery of priests before the institution of parishes, and as plainly from facts to have continued in the same authority after it. And in the nominal laws of the Confessor, which, merely as historical monuments of the eleventh or twelfth century, are authentick memorials of the Saxon polity, and, un-opposed by evidence of a better or an equal nature, should carry a decisive authority with them; we see the rural dean every where settled, and the rural deanery every where laid out, among our Saxon ancestors [17]. In the kingdom of France, where the ecclesiastical records have been more carefully preserved, and our ecclesiastical notices are more numerous and accurate, we see the deans established in their deaneries, and making visitations in them, as early as 850; and even several years earlier invested with a considerable authority, and acting as ecclesiastical judges immediately below the archdeacon and bishop [18]. And the whole of our spiritual police in England was introduced among us, at first, from that country. Greatly therefore

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is the learned bishop Kennet mistaken, in supposing the office of the archdeacon to have been less ancient than that of the dean [8]. The one was just as antient as the other. As greatly mistaken is he, in his attempt to magnify the antiquity of rural deanry, when, un-faithful to his own design, he dates the commencement of them some time subsequent to the reign of Alfred [9]. And his antagonist Mr. Johnson has wandered still farther from the truth, in his contrary design to lower their antiquity, when he reduces it even to the eleventh or twelfth century [10]. The rural dean was constituted at the same time with the parish-priest. And Lancashire was partitioned into deaneries very early in the seventh century.

At the first formation of these districts, the more considerable towns would naturally be made the capitals of them. And, of the three Roman-British towns in the south of Lancashire, two were appointed the heads of the two only deaneries within it. Coccium or Blackrode had been nearly ruined in the Saxon invasion. Manchester and Warrington were therefore appointed. And these remained the capitals of the deaneries in South-Lancashire, even for several ages. This appears from the oldest ecclesiastical draught that we have of the kingdom, the Valor Beneficiorum which was taken in 1292 by the command of pope Nicholas IV. [11] And, in that authentick record, we see the whole county of Lancaster partitioned into thirty-six parishes only; if we exclude the hilly district of Furness from it, which once belonged to Westmoreland probably, as it is so remarkably detached from the former, and is actually annexed there to the latter. [*] The other land to the north of the Ribble was even then a compleat deanery, and contained exactly ten parishes within it. And that to the south, comprising too few for three deaneries, even at this later period of the church, could originally have composed only two. The number of our parishes has never been diminished by time. On the contrary, it has grown with our towns and increased with our

Sect. III. population. And the whole of South-Lancashire, therefore, was modelled at first into a couple of deaneries; and the six supernumerary livings, in the Valor, were formed out of fragments of the original twenty. The deanery of Layland there, comprizing only five parishes within it, has been merely the creation of later times. And the two original ones were those, which acknowledge Manchester and Warrington for their capitals there.

The six newer parishes were certainly Asheton, as appears from the accounts which I have previously given concerning it, and probably Flixton, Leigh, Hyton, Halsall, and Layland, as may be inferred from the value of the livings collated with those of Asheton and others in the Valor. Asheton, Hyton, Layland, and Halsall are all rated only at fifteen marks; Leigh is valued only at twelve; and Flixton even estimated only at seven: while Eccles, Winwick, Croston, Ormeskirk, and Prescot, the probable parents of Flixton, Leigh, Layland, Halsall, and Hyton; and Manchester, the certain mother of Asheton; are rated at thirty, forty, and fifty, twenty, sixty, and eighty. And, on this principle, the twenty original parishes of South-Lancashire were these. The deanery of Warrington would originally comprize, as it does in the Valor, those of Warrington, Prescot, Childwall, and Walton, Sephton, Ormeskirk, Winwick, and Wigan; and also include, what the Valor has thrown into the new deanery of Layland, Standish and Eccleston. And that of Manchester, or, as it is denominated in the Valor, Manchester and Blackbourne, would comprehend the parishes of Penwortham and Croston, annexed in this record to Layland deanery; and equally encircle what are ascribed to it by the Valor, those of Manchester, Eccles, Prestwich, and Bury, Middleton, Rochdale, Blackbourne, and Walley[22].

When the episcopal order was instituted in the church, the character of pre-eminence was impressed upon it, and the superintendency of her provinces committed to it, for ever. Certain powers also, essential to the being of the society, and in-

 communicable

communicable to the other orders of the clergy, were equally conferred upon it. And such in reality was the episcopate of the Saxons. In the earliest canons of their church, the presbyters are expressly enjoined not to presume to act in certain offices, which were appropriated to the bishops [23]. And though the prelate was restrained from ordaining, as he now is, without a council of assisting presbyters; yet he had, as he still has, the power of ordaining solely in himself [24]. The acts of ordination and confirmation, the inseparable rights of his order, and the consecration of churches and institution to and expulsion from them, the natural privileges of his pre-eminency, were all reserved to him [25]. And the diocess was visited by him once a year [25].

A large portion of the episcopal authority was delegated to the archdeacon, the immediately subordinate officer of the bishop. From the beginning he examined the candidates for orders, and presented the select to the prelate [26]; made visitations, and assembled synods; and generally went to every church of his archdeaconry once a year [27]. And twice a year he convened his clergy in chapter [28]. As the lands of the spiritualty were not subject to the taxation of the secular powers, and actually retained the immunity to the Restoration; during the ages antecedent to the establishment of a convocation, and on the requisition of a subsidy from the king, the archdeacon consulted his clergy, and the assembly determined by suffrages [29]. And he presided in a court, that maintained a jurisdiction over all the archdeaconry, and from which there lay an appeal to the bishop [30].

Another portion of the episcopal authority was consigned to the rural dean. And equally an ordinary, equally a prelate, with the archdeacon and bishop, he was yet subordinate to both [31]. He appears very early subject to the former on the continent; being declared in 850 to be actually ministerial to him, and mentioned many years before as a personage next in authority to him and the bishop [32]. And he appears equally subordinate in England; being early and repeatedly called the dean

Sect. III. dean of the archdeacon, and his province the archdeacon's deanery; and the jurisdiction of the latter, as I have already shewn, reaching from the first over all the deaneries[33]. Very erroneous, therefore, is the opinion of the Parochial Antiquarian on this subject. And the rural dean was so far from being an officer of higher dignity than the archdeacon, that he was not even equal, and was actually subordinate, to him[34].

In this state of subjection, however, the authority of the dean was very considerable. And the great machine of ecclesiastical discipline was principally managed by him. He had a settled jurisdiction over all the clergy and laity in his deanery; and was invested with a coercive authority over the goods and persons of offenders, among the former[35]. As a merely ministerial officer, he notified the death of any rector, vicar, or curate to all the mother-churches in his district, and took care to see the stated obsequies performed in each, and repeated in the next convention of his clergy. And the archdeacon was equally obliged to transmit the same notice to all the other deans of the archdeaconry, and see the same obsequies celebrated in every deanery within it[36]. During the vacancy of any church in his province also, the dean ordered the lands to be cultivated, and was re-imbursed the expences by the next incumbent[37]. And he inducted him without a fee[38]. But as the ordinary and prelate of his deanery, like the archdeacon and bishop, he visited the clergy of it, and, like them, went constantly once a year[39]. The primary object of his journey was to examine the demeanour of the clergy and the conduct of the laity, and promote the important interests of religion in both[40]. And the second was to inspect the state of the structure, and the condition of the furniture, in the churches; and keep the ecclesiastical houses in good repair[41].

These visitations, like those of the archdeacon and bishop, were made personally to every beneficed clergyman. And, like them, he had a right to a procuration from each, or one day's entertainment for himself and his attendants[42]. The number of these was very properly limited by the law; the bishop being confined

confined to a train of twenty horses, or thirty at the most, the archdeacon to five or seven, and the dean to two[43]. And thus the procuration became gradually so fixed and certain, that it was frequently redeemed, or changed into a pecuniary payment, as early as the year 1200; and has long settled into a positive sum[44]. It was very wisely appointed at first, as a provision for the maintenance of the ordinary and his attendants during the time of visitation, and to preclude that natural fear of expence which might abridge the frequency, and contract the particularity, of this useful exertion of discipline. But this end is now answered no longer. The first departure from the designation reduced it into a pecuniary payment. Custom soon ascertained the particular sum. And the lowered value of money has rendered the latter insignificant. It is no longer sufficient for the purposes, for which it was originally imposed. And the very useful, the parochial, visitation has therefore contracted itself into little more than a formal and hasty one by deaneries.

The dean had also power, like the archdeacon and bishop, to assemble his clergy in chapter. These little synods were summoned by his apparitor; all the rectors and vicars, or their curates, were obliged to attend; and he was the president of the assembly[45]. And they were convened in some diocesses every third week, and in others only every month[46]. The latter was the original time of meeting, the rural chapters being held on the continent in 854 de Calendis in Calendas[47]. And they were held about the center of the deanery for the greater convenience, and at some particular town near it for the better accommodation, of the persons who attended; and continued only for part of a day, that the clergy might return home before night[48]. These chapters took cognizance of most of the common concerns in the deanery, except causes of deprivation, simony, matrimony, or the probate of wills[49]. Even some of these were locally referred to the judicature of the dean; as the probate of testaments, which bequeath not to the value of forty pounds, is to the present day retained by the dean of

Sect. III. Manchester. And the president read and expounded the last diocesan or national constitutions, copies of which were transmitted to him by his superiour the archdeacon; and admonished the clergy to publish such of them to their respective flocks, as concerned the laity [50]. The former brought in their presentments of offences within their parishes. And the dean summoned any of the latter, and tested them by a purgatory oath [51].—This, however, was only a private assembly. There were other conventions of the deanery, which were more solemnly held every quarter, and denominated the four principal chapters of the year [52]. And these were equally summoned by the decanal authority. But the presidency of the dean, in them, was frequently superseded by the attendance of the archdeacon [53]. And, at every diocesan synod, the dean delivered to the bishop an account of the condition of his deanery, and reported to him the names of delinquents among the clergy [54].—But, besides these extraordinary provisions for the support of discipline, the dean, like the archdeacon and bishop, had a regular court, at which only some of the nearer ministers were obliged to attend, and such as were engaged to prosecute causes for themselves or their parishioners [55].

This officer, however, stood in a still more intimate relation to the clergy of his deanery. He was their common confessor, as the bishop was his; and they were originally obliged to confess to him once a week at the least [56]. And the appointment continued to the thirteenth century. Then the clergy declining to confess to their superintendants the deans, and the deans to their superiours the bishops; one or two clergymen were selected in chapter to be the confessors of the rest in the deanery, as others were nominated by the bishop to be the confessors of the deans [57]. And if any dubious points occurred, or any clergyman declined to come to the general confessors, the point or confession was referred to the peculiar confessor of the deans or the principal penitentiary of the bishop [58].

Such

Such, in general, was the original authority of the rural dean. And it remained such to the Reformation. In the injunctions of archbishop Pole to the diocess of Gloucester, every dean is required to signify to his ordinary, from time to time, the death of every parson or vicar in his deanery within ten days afterward, and the want of any curate within fifteen; once a month to transmit to the ordinary, or his chancellor, all the presentments that shall come to his hands; and once a quarter, at the least, to deliver in the names of all the parsons and vicars that are non-resident on their benefices[59]. And this shews the monthly and quarterly chapters of the deaneries to have been continued to that period. They were unwarily laid aside in the succeeding reign of Elizabeth. And the Dissenters at the Hampton-court conference in 1603, among some idle overtures of reformation, sensibly proposed the revival of the former chapters[60]. But the episcopal, archidiaconal, and decanal synods were now sunk for ever, being all overturned by a law enacted in the twenty-fifth of Henry the eighth and revived in the first of Elizabeth[61]. The power of the dean, however, remains considerable in many diocesses to the present moment; and the present dean of Manchester holds his court of visitation twice a year, and twice a year receives the presentments of the churchwardens in it. And, since the archidiaconal authority has been lost in the episcopal, the dean is become the sole ordinary of the diocess below the bishop, the only faint check on the irregularities of the clergy, and the only support to the interests of expiring discipline[62].

Under the government of the Saxons, the clergy enjoyed some particular privileges above the laity, conceded by the benevolence of the state, and the result of true religion and sound policy. The former induced them to confer distinguishing favours upon those, who sequestered themselves from all the emoluments of a secular employ, and engaged in the occupation of pressing upon man an attention to his principal interests; who devoted the studies, and dedicated the labours, of a whole life to the business of enlightening the minds of others with reli-

Sect. III. gious instructions, and of warming their hearts with devout affections. And policy as naturally inclined them to give peculiar dignity to men, that were the officers of religion and the substitutes of Divinity to them, and on whose exteriour and secular character, in the judgment of the generality, the dignity of religion too greatly depends. The clergy therefore were exempted from all civil impositions, and absolved from all secular services, except such as were indeed the only burdensome ones almost that were laid upon the subject, the necessary contributions to expeditions, publick bridges, and publick castles[83]. And the dean, archdeacon, and bishop enjoyed each some special privileges, annexed to his rank, and an addition to his dignity. The first was constituted a civil officer in his district, had cognizance of any violation of the peace under the earl, and with the earl and king received a share of the fine awarded upon it[84]. The archdeacon was also constituted the same, sat as president with the centenary in the court of the hundred, and determined all the causes with him[85]. And the bishop was equally so with both, and presided with the earl in all the county-courts of his diocess[86].

But the last was distinguished by other honours. He enjoyed the high privilege of baronial royalty, in the mintage of money; and though only one coin of the Saxon barons, and one of the Norman, has descended to us, yet many of the Saxon bishops have been transmitted to the present times[87]. This is a plain proof, that the spiritual peer minted considerably more than the secular. And he was also indulged with the baronial dignity of a suffrage in the assemblies of the nation[88]. The one bishop of every kingdom in the heptarchy was seated in parliament, as the one pontif of it had been before; and the prelate of York succeeded to the coin of Northumbria[89]. But he sat not there as the baron did, and as we are every day told that the bishop has always sat, by a duty resulting from a military or baronial tenure. The pontif could not possibly have been subject to such an obligation, as he was forbidden to appear in arms[90]. And the episcopal revenues

venues of England were first loaded with the yoke of military service, in the convulsions of the Norman conquest[71]. Even after that change, the antient forms were so carefully retained among us, that at the period of a vacancy, and when the temporalties devolved as baronies into the hands of the sovereign, the mere guardian of the spiritualties has been frequently summoned to parliament. And at this day the prelate may take his seat in the house immediately after confirmation, previous to the rite of consecration, and before the restitution of his temporalties[72].

When sees were multiplied in every kingdom, or some kingdoms combined into one, the body of bishops and the order of barons composed two distinct and separate estates in parliament. Not that either of them had a general negative opposed to the other. They only formed two distinct and separate classes of men in the kingdom. This is the true and constitutional idea of a parliamentary estate; the parliamentary being the same as the civil, and necessarily adopted from it. And in some of our written institutes the nation is accordingly declared to be "a body politick, compact of all sorts and "degrees of people, divided in terms and by names of spiri-"tualty and temporalty;" and the parliament is asserted to consist of "lords spiritual and temporal and commons, repre-"senting the whole state of the realm[73]." How wild and erroneous therefore are all the accounts of a parliamentary estate, which in these two last ages of the kingdom have been so industriously propagated by our common lawyers, generally but half-learned in the constitutional antiquities of our government, and too frequently led away by an illiberal prejudice against the bishops. And how strikingly unjust is the recent assertion of Sir William Blackstone in particular, who declares some writers to have argued very cogently, from the want of a separate assembly and separate negative in the prelates, that the lords spiritual and temporal are only one estate at present; and affirms this to be unquestionably true in every effectual sense, though the antient distinction between them nominally continues[74].

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tinues[74]. If the bishops and barons are not two distinct estates at present, they never were. They never had a separate assembly and separate negative. And this short remark entirely overthrows the assertion. But, in deference to such a writer as Sir William, it may be proper to shew the folly of it still farther. And the laws, the decisive standards of constitutional proprieties, have done it for me compleatly, continually denominating the barons and bishops the two estates of the realm; even as late as the reign of Elizabeth, expresly declaring these "to represent one of the three estates, the state of "the clergy, one of the great states of the realm"; and giving them equally the appellation "of the high state of pre- "lacy".[75] The spiritualty composed at first a distinct estate in the kingdom; and therefore the bishops formed the same in the representative assemblies of it. And, as long as the one continues to compose a distinct estate in the former, on the fundamental principles of our constitution, the other must equally continue to form the same in the latter. But this is not all. The spiritualty were at first the principal class of men without the house; and the bishops therefore constituted the principal rank of peers within it. And, while the one remains that in the realm, upon the plan of polity which has now been established among us for more than a thousand years, the other must continue to be this in the council. The additional assertion therefore which has been made by Sir William, That the prelates are not held in strictness to be peers of the land, but merely lords of parliament[76], is still more unjust than the first, as frivolous as it is rash, and directly repugnant to every principle of our constitution. Being the first estate of the kingdom, the bishops must necessarily be peers of the realm, as well as lords of parliament; and are actually recognized as such in the twenty-fifth of Edward the third, where they are expresly declared to be pieres de la terre[77]. The position of the Judge, we see, is confronted by the very letter of the law over which he presides. And it is not only wrong in itself, but founded on a distinction absolutely sophistical in fact, and entirely subversive

of

of the constitution. When an estate in parliament is the same with an estate in the realm, a lord of the one must necessarily and for ever be a peer of the other[77].

Such were the useful ordinaries of every diocesan church among the Saxons; and such the ecclesiastical powers and secular privileges of each. The bishop and dean were originally nominated to their offices, by the united suffrages of the clergy and laity. And the former was so nominated in France as late as the year 827, and the latter as late as 850[78]. But the king in all probability possessing, as the bishop certainly did, a clear negative on the election in the privilege of confirming or superseding it[79]; this very early settled into a positive appointment in both. And the sovereign frequently nominated to bishopricks as early as 630[80]. In England he actually appointed to all the prelacies, and the bishop nominated to all the deaneries, from the first introduction of both[81].

At that period, the extent of the deanery would be defined, and the capital of it appointed, by the absolute authority of the bishop. And a particular church in every district was exalted into a pre-eminence over the rest, and the rector of the one became the superintendant of the other. At the first adoption of the rural dean by the Irish in 1152 and 1216, the Chore-Episcopi being laid aside and the bishops of smaller sees removed, the churches, which had previously been the seats of the prelacies, were now made the capitals of the deaneries, and archpriests instituted in them by the bishop[82]. And in the few records that we have with the subscription of the rector of Manchester to them, though they relate only to private contracts and parochial transactions, he generally assumes the name, not of the rector or parson, but of the Dean, of Manchester. In some common evidences of 1235, his subscription is J. DECAN. DE MANUCESTRO. About seventy years later, and in the reign of Edward the first, it is Jo. DECAN. DE MANCHESTER. About the year 1307, merely as a witness, he writes himself GALFRIDUS NUNC DECAN. DE MANCESTER. And, in 1421 and the solemn agreement of the last rector and the

vestry

Sect. III. vestry for the incorporation of the church into a college, he is entitled DECANUS DECANATUS DE MAMCESTRE [83]. This regular use of the decanal for the rectorial appellation shews the deanery to have been united to the rectory. Annexed to it as late as 1421, it was continued to the wardenship afterwards; and the latter is accordingly denominated in the last charter THE WARDENSHIP AND DEANERY OF THE COLLEGE [84]. And the two offices were first separated about the time of the Reformation. They had now been long dis-joined in all other parts of the kingdom. And one of them had become a merely temporary dignity in many, as early as 1237 [85]. But this was not the case in the archdeaconry of Chester. And the rural deanery continued to be there, what it was universally at first, and what it remains to the present moment, a perpetual office and a dignity for life [86].

[1] Bede l. i. c. 27.—[2] Bede l. ii. c. 3 and 14, l. iii. c. 7, &c.—[3] Ibid. Dorchester was accidentally the capital of the West-Saxons at their conversion; and, when Winchester regained its former dignity, the see was removed to it (Bede l. iii. c. 7).—[4] See b. II. ch. 4. s. 1.—[5] Wilkins's Concilia vol. i. p. 32, a record about 622. See also Bede lib. i. c. 29. And in 669 the archi-episcopal authority was exerted in a metropolitical visitation (Bede l. iv. c. 2).—[6] Bede l. ii. c. 17 &c.—[7] Conc. Lond. A. D. 1102. Canon iv. p. 382. vol. I. Concilia, &c.—[8] Baluzius col. 41, 42, 153 and 154, tom. i.—[9] Baluzius c. 177 and 184. tom. i.—[10] Northum. Presb. Canon 4, 7, and 8, p. 218. vol. i. Concilia.—[11] Record p. 368. vol. i. Concilia, and Gibson, Warner, Burne, &c.—[12] Vestri Archidiaconi, p. 368. vol. i. Concilia.—[13] Hincmar, Sirmondus's edition, p. 741. tom. i.—[14] Per Decanias sicut constituti sunt archipresbyteri, Baluzius c. 23. tom. ii; Archipresbyteri qui a pluribus decani nuncupantur, Dufresne's Glossary, Benedictine edition; and, Decanis ruralibus duntaxat exceptis qui in aliquibus regionibus archipresbyteri nominantur, p. 580. vol. ii. Concilia.—[15] Canon 1 of Meath p. 547. vol. i.

 Concilia,

Concilia, p. 467. vol. ii. A. D. 1317, and p. 393, 395, and 398. Sect. III.
vol. ii.

[m] See his Addenda to the Laws of the Confessor in vol. i.—[n] LL. 31, Decanus—in cujus decanatu pax fracta fuerit.—[o] Hincmar p. 716. tom. i. Articles of Enquiry made by the Deans, and Baluzius c. 860 and 1123. t. i.—[p] Parochial Ant. p. 638.—[q] P. 638, and Johnson's Addenda to Edw. Conf. LL.—[r] See p. 180. vol. ii. Concilia, and in Appendix to this history N° 4 (4) a copy of the Valor for the deaneries of Lancashire.

[s] This account of the two deaneries shews the folly of the inconsistent relations, which have been equally adopted as true; That deaneries were made in the church in order to correspond with the tythings, and to agree with the hundreds, in the state. The uniformity of the ecclesiastical and civil tything is asserted by bishop Kennet. The sameness of the deanery and the hundred is affirmed by Dr. Warner. And both accounts are equally adopted by Dr. Burne in his Ecclesiastical Law. But they are as wrong as they are contradictory. I have previously shewn the south of Lancashire, all from the Ribble to the Mersey, to have been divided into three hundreds and thirty tythings at the least. And here the same country appears to have composed only two deaneries.—This strange mistake, however, has so far influenced bishop Kennet, that falsely supposing the tythings of the state to have been instituted by Alfred, and obliged not to make the copy more antient than the original, he therefore dates the ecclesiastical tything below the age of Alfred, and asserts the latter to have been in no kingdom that had not the former (p. 634 and 651); when the latter was confessedly in Wales (p. 634), and actually in Ireland, Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland (Benedict's Bull mentioned before), where the former never was.

[t] Cuthbert at Cloveshoo Canon 12. p. 96. vol. i. Concilia A. D. 747. This Cloveshoo, where several councils were held in the eighth and ninth centuries, has been generally, but wildly, supposed to be Cliff at Hoo in Kent. It was certainly in Mercia,

Sect. III. as the kings of Mercia were constantly present (p. 94, 167, 172, 173, and 175. vol. i. Concilia). And it was plainly Glevum, Clevum, or Glou-cester, being Clou's and Clove's Hoo or castle, and Gloucester being also part of Mercia at that time (p. 152 and 156. vol. i. Concilia).—

[24] Exception 45. A. D. 740. p. 104. vol. i. and Leges Eccles. about 994. p. 265. vol. i.—[25] Elfric's Canons about A. D. 957. p. 252. vol. i, Theodore's Canon 57. about A. D. 664. p. 105, and Excerption 23. p. 103.—And Odo Const. 3. p. 213. vol. i. about A. 943.—[26] Hincmar t. i. p. 740. about A. D. 850 for the continent, and Conc. Lond. A. D. 1200. Canon 6. p. 506. vol. i. Concilia for the island.—[27] Baluzius c. 177 and 184, t. i. about A. D. 760 and Hincmar t. i. p. 738 about 850, Langton Const. 24. A. D. 1222 in vol. i. p. 589 and Synod. Exon. A. D. 1287. Canon 40. p. 151. vol. ii.—[28] Peckham A. D. 1279. p. 36. vol. ii.—[29] Peckham p. 37.—[30] Const. of Clarendon 8, 10, and 13, vol. i. p. 435.—[31] Stratford A. D. 1342. p. 699. vol. ii. and p. 578. vol. i.—[32] Hincmar t. i. p. 741, Ministerio vestro, and Baluzius t. i. c. 1123.—[33] Archidiaconi aut sui decani, Conc. Lond. A. D. 1200. Canon 5. p. 505. vol. i. See also Const. Winton. A. D. 1308. p. 299. vol. ii, &c. and Otho Const. 2. A. D. 1237. p. 650. vol. i.—[34] Par. Ant. p. 638.—[35] A synodical decree in Ireland A. D. 1152. p. 547. vol. i. Concilia, and Cantilupe about 1240. p. 673. vol. i.—[36] Bleys A. D. 1219 for Worcester diocess p. 570. vol. i.—[37] Bleys A. D. 1229. Canon 20. p. 627. vol. i.—[38] Cantilupe p. 671.—[39] Canon 4 of Meath A. D. 1216. p. 547. vol. i.

And see a great mistake in bishop Gibson, who in his Codex strangely asserts the rural dean to have never made visitations. —[40] Conc. Lond. A. D. 1200 Canon 5. p. 506. vol. i.—[41] Ibid. and Canon 4 of Meath.—[42] Const. Sodor. A. D. 1350 Canon 4. p. 11. vol. iii, and Conc. Lond. p. 505 and Canon 5. p. 506.—[43] Conc. Lond. p. 505. vol. i.—[44] Ibid. p. 508.—[45] Canon 8 of Meath p. 547 and Cantilupe about A. D. 1240, p. 671. vol. i, Kirkham A. D. 1255. p. 706. vol. i, and Wolsey for York A. D. 1518. p. 664. vol. iii; and Canon 9 of Meath, and Bleys A. D.

 1219.

1219. p. 570. vol. i.—[46] Canon 8 of Meath A. D. 1216, and the Dissenters propositions at Hampton-Court p. 374. v. iv, for third week; Synod. Exon. A. D. 1287 Canon 31. p. 148. vol. ii, and Conft. Winton. A. D. 1308. p. 299. vol. ii, for a month; and archbifhop Stratford A. D. 1342. p. 699. vol. ii, for both.—[47] Hincmar t. i. p. 731. See alfo p. 714.—Bifhop Kennet therefore is much miftaken, in afferting thefe chapters to have been held *at firft* every three weeks, and *afterwards* once a month (Par. Ant. p. 640).—[48] Conft. Winton. p. 299. vol. ii; Canon 8 of Meath, and Synod. Exon. p. 148. vol. ii; and Synod. Exon. ibid.—[49] Canon 8 of Meath, Conc. Oxon. A. D. 1222 Canon 20. p. 588, for matrimonial caufes; Conft. Winton. A. D. 1308. p. 299. v. ii. for marriage, wills, &c.; and Canon 10 of Meath for all the exceptions.—See therefore another great miftake in Kennet's Par. Ant. p. 641, who afferts the dean to have once legally had cognizance of matrimonial caufes.—[50] Poore A. D. 1223. p. 601. vol. i.—[51] Kirkham A. D. 1255. p. 706. vol. i, Wolfey Con. 4. A. D. 1518. p. 664. vol. iii, and Conft. Winton. A. D. 1308. p. 299. v. ii. —[52] Peckham A. D. 1279. p. 36. vol. ii.—[53] Ibid. and Otho A. D. 1237. Conc. 20. p. 654. vol. i.—[54] Canon 5 of Meath and Conc. Ebor. p. 502.—[55] Capitula archidiaconorum generalia in meditullio cujuflibet decanatûs, & non nifi de quartâ in quartam hebdomadam, præcipimus celebrari; quibus rectores, vicarii, & prefbyteri parochiales, *privatis* verò non omnes, intereffe cogantur &c: Conft. Winton. A. D. 1308. p. 299. vol. ii.—[56] Otho A. D. 1237. p. 651. vol. i, and Conc. Scotican. A. D. 1225. Canon 16. p. 609. vol. i; Conc. Oxon. A. D. 1222. Canon 19. p. 588. vol. i; and Peckham A.D. 1181. p. 52. vol. ii.—[57] Otho and Conc. Scotican. ibid., Ireland A. D. 1217. p. 548. vol. i, Conc. Dunelm. A. D. 1220. p. 577, Peckham p. 54. vol. ii, Bleys A. D. 1229. Conft. 10. p. 624. vol. i, and Conc. Oxon. ibid.—[58] Conc. Dunelm. p. 577 and Conc. Oxon. p. 588. vol. i. —[59] P. 146. N° 14. vol. iv.—[60] Ut clerus juxta conftitutiones provinciales quâlibet tertiâ hebdomade in decanatibus ruralibus conveniret, p. 374. vol. iv.—[61] 1 Eliz. c. 1.—

[62] From

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[62] From this history of rural deans the bishops Gibson and Kennet appear greatly mistaken, in asserting the archdeacons to have usurped on the authority of the deans, and in the age immediately preceding the Reformation to have reduced it almost to nothing. It existed nearly, if not absolutely, in all its plenitude of power to that remarkable æra.——Bishop Kennet has also asserted (p. 635) the rural dean to be the same with the Decanus Christianitatis. And Mr. Johnson has questioned the truth of the assertion. The former has produced no proof. But the Benedictine enlargers of Du Fresne's Glossary appeal in proof of it to a record of Stephen bishop of Tournay A. D. 1192, published in the second volume of Miræus. In England, however, the dean of Christianity was a different person. His name appears in the process of the archbishop of York against the Templars in 1311. He was settled at York, and has evidently a jurisdiction over the whole province, as he cites the Templars of it to appear (p. 397. vol. ii. &c.), and seems a sort of deputy to the vicar-general. And such also seems to have been the dean of the arches in the other province.

[63] Wihtred A. D. 692. p. 57. vol. i. and p. 60 and 63 in parliament. This grant mentions not the three exceptions: but they were understood, and are expressly specified in the reference to and confirmation of it by Ethelbald king of Mercia, p. 86. vol. i. See also p. 100 and Excerption 155 and 161.——[64] Conf. LL. 31.——[65] Concilia p. 368. vol. i.——[66] Ibid., Edgar LL. Sec. 5. p. 78 Leges, and Records p. 2, 7, and 9 of Dissert. Epist.——[67] Some of Plegmund and others, archbishops of Canterbury, and some of Wigmund, archbishop of York (see Camden and Clarke). And the pieces inscribed Sti Petri Moneta (see Camden in Lancashire) are pieces minted at the palace of St. Peter's in York.——[68] Prefaces to Saxon Laws.——[69] Bede l. ii. c. 13.——[70] Ibid.——[71] M. Paris p. 5. Watts.——[72] Gibson's Codex. So the clergy of France were equally exempt from all military obligations, Baluzius t. i. c. 409—410.——[73] 24 H. VIII. c. 12, and 25 H. VIII. c. 21.——[74] Comment. p. 156. v. i.

——[75] 1 Eliz.

[75] 1 Eliz. c. 3, and 8 Eliz. c. 1.—[76] Blackstone's Com. p. 457. v. i. and Stat. 3. c. 6.—

[77] How strongly does this account serve to expose that idle but popular doctrine, which our laws so expresly reprobate, of the king's being one of the three estates in parliament! Is he one of the three in the nation? Is he the representative of the clergy? Or is he the representative of either branch of the laity among us?—

[78] Baluzius t. i. col. 21 a decree of Clothaire in A. D. 615, Episcopo decedente, in loco ipsius a clero et populo eligatur; and see to the same purport in col. 99, Cap. Aquisgran. t. i. col. 379. about A. D. 803, and t. i. c. 1157 in 827.—And Baluzius t. ii. col. 353, Sane removenda quorundam laicorum procacitas, qui, hôc solo obtentu quòd ad electionis *consortium* admittantur, archipresbyteris suis dominari præsumant.—[79] Decanum illum qui electus est interim constituite, says the bishop, donec ad meam notitiam electio illa referatur, et meâ constitutione aut confirmetur aut immutetur: Hincmar t. i. p. 741.—[80] Episcopum quem constituit rex vel populus elegit sibi pontificem, t. i. col. 99. art. 11. And so, among the Britons, king Arthur nominated David to the see of Caerleon; Price's Defensio Hist. Brit. p. 26, from an antient life of David.—[81] Bede l. iii. c. 7 &c. Eddius's Wilfrid c. 11 Gale, and decanus episcopi in Conf. LL. 31.—[82] In ecclesiis, olim sedibus episcopalibus, nunc verò capitibus ruralium decanatuum, archipresbyteri instituendi perpetuam residentiam facerent in iisdem ecclesiis &c., p. 457. v. i. Concilia.—[83] H's MS. p. 6, Kuerden v. ii. p. 499, British Musæum N° 2063. Harleian MS. p. 166, and the record of agreement in the college-chest.—[84] Canonicè institui et installari in guardianatum et DECANATUM istius ecclesiæ (Charles's Charter).—[85] Otho Const. 28. p. 655. v. 1.—[86] Hincmar t. i. p. 741. and Baluzius t. ii. col. 353.—

How mistaken therefore is bishop Gibson, in asserting the office of rural dean to have been always of a temporary nature (Codex on deans). And how mistaken in the fact are even Lindwood and Athone, in asserting it to be universally so in

their

Sect. III. their times (ibid.). The engraving of the name with the office on the seal of our Manchester deans, of itself proves the office to have been then for life (See Otho A. D. 1237 con. 28. p. 655. v. i. Concilia). And it was once so in the diocess of Norwich (Gibson).

CHAP. X.

THE IMMEDIATE EFFECTS OF CHRISTIANITY ON THE SAXONS—THE FIRST CONSTRUCTION OF THE TOWN OF MANCHESTER ON ITS PRESENT SITE—AND THE NATURE OF OUR CHURCHES AND THEIR SERVICES AT THIS PERIOD.

I.

THE theology of the goſpel, in every period of its hiſtory, has eminently diſtinguiſhed itſelf above all the ſpurious ſyſtems of religion, by its ſuperiour influence on the mind of man. Modelled by him who originally framed, and therefore was intimately acquainted with, the interiour ſtructure of the heart; it is peculiarly calculated to move all the ſecret ſprings of the affections. And it has ſtrikingly manifeſted its power, by giving a new dignity of ſentiment to the ſoul, and raiſing it above that ſcene of ſenſe about it which ſo much engages the paſſions of ordinary minds. Pulling down the thick partition, which intercepted our view into the world of ſpirits; and diſcloſing the great chain of connection, that binds the two claſſes of bodied and un-embodied beings to each other and the Father of the univerſe; it naturally elevates our ideas, and enlarges our conceptions, of our own importance. Throwing the preſent ſtage of our exiſtence into a ſhade, and exhibiting to us another delineated in the brighteſt colours, it takes away thoſe attractive charms which glittered in the ſcenery of life. And ſhewing our home to lie on the other

ſide

Sect. I. side of the grave, and promising there the only happiness that is accommodated to our nature and proportioned to our passions; a happiness, which shall survive the sun and moon, shall last when time has finished his course and the world compleated its duration, and even go on without diminution, and with actual increase, growing in greatness with our progress towards perfection, and commensurate in continuance with our own existence, the years of eternity, and the being of God; it kindles those sublime conceptions in the soul, that overleap the limits of creation, and rush forward into the regions of infinity.

Such are the natural tendencies of the gospel-system on the mind of man. Such, in different degrees, have they been in all the ages of Christianity. And they were greatly such among the Saxons. Tied down by their gross theology before to this visible sphere of things, and looking no farther than the sun or moon for their divinities, their minds became emancipated from the bondage now. A new world of beings opened upon their understandings, and new principles of action began to operate on their passions. The common people repaired to the churches in crouds upon sundays. Even on the other days of the week, if any clergyman came into the remoter parts of their large and extensive parishes, he either voluntarily began or was particularly requested to preach to the people; the neighbouring inhabitants flocked to hear him; all listened with pleasure to the voice of instruction; and all with pleasure obeyed the admonitions that he gave them [1]. And many of the barons and kings, actuated by a generous disdain for the little allurements of sense, but sometimes led into extravagance by the headiness of their zeal, resigned their honours, laid down their crowns, and devoted the remainder of their days to a sequestered expectation of that irreversible change, and a more immediate preparation for those refined delights, which they were impatient to receive and enjoy [2].

To elevate the mind above the entangling mass of matter around it, was the direct design of Christianity. But it has also

also been indirectly a great encourager of literature and the arts. Reducing the animal half of our natures to its original state of subordination, and restoring the intellectual to its pre-eminence over it, it necessarily becomes the patroness of every mental improvement. And such it particularly appeared among the Saxons. Within fifty years after the conversion of our Northumbrian fathers, finer architects in stone than had ever appeared among us before, were encouraged to come and settle in Northumbria [a]. The useful and agreeable knowledge of manufacturing glass for windows, an art hitherto unknown and unpractised in the island, was introduced into the north within the same period [a]. And, in the same with both, a collection of books was begun at Wiremouth and Yarrow in Northumberland, comprizing a great variety of volumes in all the departments of literature. It was purchased at Rome, and imported into England, as early as 676; being particularly enriched with a curious manuscript in cosmography, that was afterwards purchased by the Northumbrian monarch, and for which no less than eight hides, or nearly two thousand acres of land, were given in exchange by him [b]. And a library, even more extraordinary than this, was established within sixty or seventy years afterward at York; containing copies of the Hebrew scriptures, all the Fathers, and all the Greek and Roman writers, and being the greatest repository of books in all branches of knowledge that was any where known in Europe [c]. These improvements in the arts, and these collections of literature, were all made by the clergy; the former library being begun by Benedict the first, and increased by Ceolfrid the third, abbot of Wiremouth and Yarrow; and the latter being begun and compleated by Egbert, the seventh archbishop of York. The clergy in all ages of our church (it may be said, I believe, without partiality) have been at once the promoters of literature and the leaders in it. And they are even now perhaps as much superiour to the laity in both respects, as they have been in any former period of our history [d].

Sect. I.

Sect. I.

Ever since the incorporation of Christianity with the political system of nations, it has had an evident tendency to improve the œconomy of the state. Softening the natural harshness of all the passions, it takes off the edge of that national ferocity, which is the greatest preventive of national order. And, also inculcating strongly in its' precepts a reverent submission to authority, it opens the way more immediately for various improvements in civility. It seems to have thus improved our polity at present, by inducing us for the first time to record our laws, and by introducing the use of testaments among us. Both were utterly unknown to the Saxons of Germany[8]. And testaments first appear among those of England, soon after their conversion to Christianity. The earliest that we find amongst them was made by Hean, the founder and first abbot of Abingdon, in the reign of Ina[9]. The next earliest was executed by Badenoth Beotting in the time of Egbert, and is preserved to the present day[10]. And the number of witnesses to them appears to have been never ascertained by the law, and is therefore various in various testaments. It is always more than seven, and in all probability was never allowed to be less. Less the civil law admitted not. And the Saxons would find the rule established in the Provinces. But in cases of extremity, and even for a nuncupative will, a single witness was sufficient. And the testaments of the Saxons did not, like the present, appoint persons to execute the purposes of them. The civil courts assigned executors to each. And all controversies about them were referred to their judgment, till the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions were divided at the Conquest; and then they were generally remitted, as they still go, to the judicature of the bishop[11].

Such were the happy effects produced by Christianity in the kingdom. And others arose of a different nature from the accompanying introduction of parishes. When a church was erected and a parsonage-house constructed, in parts of the country remote from a village or a town, and near only to the mansion of the erecting lord, a new village was naturally

settled

settled about both, and received the appellation of one or the other. And, in South-Lancashire particularly, no less than three towns and three villages appear to have commenced at this period, and to have resulted from this principle. In the great forest of Derbyshire, which I have formerly shewn to have filled up nearly the whole hundred of Derby, arose the towns of Ormeskirk and Prescot; gradually growing up around the new-erected church of the baron and the contiguous house of the priest, and deriving their appellations from them. Coeval with these, and in the more northerly parts of South-Lancashire, was founded on the banks of the Yarrow the town of Eccles-ton and the village of Cross-ton. And two others were built at the same period in the more immediate vicinity of Manchester. Directly to the north of the town, and near the course of the Roman road to Ribchester, was placed the church of a parish and the mansion of its rector; and the village of Prest-wich settled dispersedly about them. Another church was constructed to the west, and near the line of the Roman road to Warrington; and another village was occasioned by it: both of them, in the sacred language of Half-Europe at this period, being denominated Ecclesia or Eccles. And these churches were assuredly four of the first, that were originally erected in South-Lancashire; as they pretty plainly appear to have been of the twenty, that originally composed the only deaneries within it.

Bede lib. iii, c. 26, Certatim confluebant, and Bede l. iii. c. 26 and l. iv. c. 27, Libenter ea quæ dicerentur audirent, libentiùs ea quæ audire & intelligere poterant operando sequerentur.— Bede lib. v. c. 7, Malmesbury f. 57, and Hoveden f. 236.— Malmesbury f. 11, Ante Benedictum [A. D. 676, Bede p. 295] lapidei tabulatûs domus in Britanniâ nisi perraro videbantur;—artifices lapidearum ædium—primus omnium Angliam ascivit.— See f. 3. of this chap.— Bede p. 295, 297,

and

and 299.—[6] Malmesbury f. 12. from Alcuinus, f. 153, and Alcuini Poema p. 730. Gale.

[7] How unjustly therefore does Mr. Hume assert "the priests "of the heptarchy" to have been "almost as ignorant and "barbarous as the laity," and "to have contributed—little "to the improvement of the society in knowledge or the arts" (p. 63. a Note).

[8] Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 20, Nullum testamentum, and c. 19, Literarum secreta—ignorant.—[9] Diss. Epist. p. 56.—[10] P. 54 and 56. See several other wills of the Saxons in p. 51, 54, and 55.—[11] P. 56, 57, 57 and Pref. p. 30, and p. 58.—[12] So Preston in the other part of the county, and Eccles-hall in Staffordshire, Eccles in Norfolk, Eccles in Berwickshire, &c.

II.

WHEN the Romans induced a clan of the neighbouring Sistuntii to leave the heights or the vallies about us, and settle on the ground contiguous to their station; they equally prevailed upon the lord of the clan to settle on the same ground with them. And the hall of Aldport was therefore what I have previously supposed it to have been, the habitation of the British baron. But, when a colony of the Saxons was planted in the parish, the case was very different. And I have already shewn their chief to have resided about a mile to the north of the town, and on the summer-camp of the Romans. The parish-church therefore, which was raised by the British lord, would necessarily be fixed at the town, because the site would be near to his mansion. And that, which was built by the Saxon baron, would naturally be erected at a distance from it, because his mansion was so. The town has removed from the ground on which it was pitched by the Romans. It has shifted from the vicinity of the regular station on the Medlock, to the neighbourhood

bourhood of the summer-camp on the Irwell. And the erection of the Saxon parish-church, in the neighbourhood of this and the baron's house, was obviously the occasion of it. The church would naturally be settled near the house by the erecter of the one and the inhabiter of the other. And it would as naturally invite the town after it.

That city then, which was planned by the Romans and built by the Britons in the autumn of 79, had now reached the meridian point of its perfection. It had spread out to the utmost extent which it ever filled. And it had lengthened into all the streets that it ever contained. Some of these probably extended into the more northerly garden, and reached along it to Tickle-lane. One I have formerly shewn to have been laid in a regular direction to Aldporton Fold. And the appellation of the town, still faithfully retained by the fold, loudly suggests the latter to have been an original part of the former. The principal street would be continued along the road to Ribchester, and accompanied all the way by its two parallel ones at the sides. And the whole extended mass of buildings, in this little city, had now, and probably for a couple of centuries before, diffused itself over sixteen or seventeen acres. But from this period its sun began to decline. And the town gradually hastened to decay. This forms a very remarkable epoch in the history of Manchester, when a new city commenced in its neighbourhood, at once the daughter and rival of the old. For the town was now planted first on its present ground, where it has spread to so uncommon an extent and flourished with so unusual a vigour, that it has actually shot out its branches unto Aldport, and is ready to re-enter upon its original site, and once more take possession of its native soil. And this is the second very memorable incident that occurs in the annals of the town, and happened at the same time with the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, and in the year of the Christian æra 627; seven years only after the reduction of Manchester by the Saxons, five hundred and forty-eight after its erection by

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Sect. II. the Britons, and a hundred and eighty-one after the departure of the Romans from the island. In that year, the great cathedral was begun at York*. And in that year would all the parish-churches be equally begun, throughout the extensive diocess of Northumbria.

When the Saxons of Manchester were converted to the faith of the Britons among them, they would naturally repair immediately to the old parish-church of the latter. And one, denominated St. Michael's, existed pretty plainly (as I shall shew hereafter*) among the Saxons in Aldport. But another was also erected on the site of the present town, for the conveniency of the baron and his family. And both are expressly mentioned in the Doomsday record. Both constituted together the one parish-church of Manchester, as together they were invested with the customary endowment of one. They possessed a carucate of land in common, exempt from all tribute but Danegeld. And they continued to enjoy it below the Conquest*.

When an additional church was designed to be erected in the vicinity of the baron's hall, the site selected for it was not the same on which the parish-church is constructed at present. It was a little nearer to Aldport. And the appellation, retained by one of our streets, very evidently points it out. One of the two parish-churches of Manchester, in the time of the Saxons, appears from Doomsday book to have been called St. Mary's; and the name of St. Mary's-Gate remains a decisive memorial of its site. The building stood at the termination of the street, as this was the avenue leading directly to it. And it was fixed at the eastern termination. Had it been at the western, the Deansgate would have anticipated the appellation, and been called St. Marysgate. And at the eastern it is actually settled by tradition.

This being the site of the church, the rectorial house would be constructed, and the rectorial gardens laid out, at no great distance from it. A house and gardens were allotted to every parish-church of Northumbria, and always situated near it*.

 And

And the name of Parsonage, which is given equally in our antient records and in popular usage to a large piece of ground adjoining, plainly proves them to have lain near the course of the old, and then forgotten, road to Ribchester, and on the western side of the present Deansgate. So placed appears the habitation of the rector, in the earliest period to which our records ascend[5]. And the rectorial mansion of Manchester was the first-erected house in the present town.

The original mansion was on the site of a building, I apprehend, which still belongs to the church, and was lately inhabited by my deceased friend the rev. Mr. Oldfield. And this building, in all probability, was the parsonage-house itself at a recenter period of time. The present house of the warden, which is immediately adjoining to it on the south, was allotted him since the Restoration only[6], and is not constructed in the rude, old, and magnificent style of the other. This indeed is modelled in a manner, of which we have not one specimen besides in the town. A chamber comes over the entrance, projecting into the street, and supported by pillars of wood at the angles. A hatch-door opens under it into a narrow room, that has only one window at the end and no fire-place, the hall or portico of the dignified structure. And this leads into a contracted court, which is lined with the buildings of the house upon three sides, and, according to the unvarying oeconomy of such houses, was formerly lined with them on all four. The edifice therefore once extended its front along the street, some yards to the north of its present termination. And the hatch-door, the over-hanging chamber, the portico, and the court were exactly or nearly in the center of the whole. Some of the rooms within are ornamented to the present period, in the style of magnificence that was universally adopted by the higher rank of gentlemen three or four centuries ago, with embossed and figured stucco on the walls. And the general aspect and architecture of the whole, robbed as it now is of one half of its original extent, and frequently altered as it has been by the modernizing hand of

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Sect. II. improvements, ſtill carries an appearance of conſiderable antiquity with it. The great riſe in the plane of the ſtreet, which has gained conſiderably on the windows of the parlour, and now lies near two feet above its level, carries the ſame appearance even more ſtrongly. And both of them refer the date of the building to the fourteenth century at leaſt, when the rector, not exalted into a warden, reſided certainly in the Deanſgate; and point it out as the only houſe in the ſtreet, that can claim the honour of having been the rectorial edifice of Mancheſter.

The firſt ways, that were laid out in the town, would be the preſent lines of the Deanſgate and St. Maryſgate. The former being the avenue from Aldport and the Manour-houſe to St. Maryſgate and the church betwixt them, it was terminated, as it now is, by that at one end and this at the other. And being the road from both to the only houſe along it, the manſion of the rector or dean, it was naturally called, as it is ſtill denominated, the Dean's-Gate or the ſtreet of the rector. When the line of the road to Ribcheſter was cut through by the Romans at the foot of the Deanſgate, in order to inſulate the ſite of their ſummer-camp, a draw-bridge was thrown acroſs the current, and the Deanſgate now opened directly from it to St. Maryſgate and the rector's. And, as the way to Aldport from the Manour had been originally on the ſame road, it was naturally continued along or near the courſe of it at preſent.

The firſt houſes, that were conſtructed after the rector's, would be placed in one or the other of theſe ſtreets. They would be fixed in the nearer neighbourhood of the church, in St. Maryſgate and the adjoining parts of Deanſgate. And the former would be the firſt finiſhed ſtreet in the town. The contiguous parts of the latter, as high as the rector's and as low as the foot of the ſtreet, would next be occupied with buildings. And, this little combination of houſes bearing the appearance of a new town, the ſtructures on the Medlock

 natu-

naturally assumed the appellation which the site of them retains at present, that of ALDPORT, ALDPORT-TON, or Old Town.

Sect. II.

Thus established on its present ground, the embryo city would soon be accommodated with a market. The remoteness of Aldport from the increasing inhabitants and the baron's hall, made a market a considerable convenience to both. And the field, directly adjoining to St. Marysgate and the church, was naturally appropriated to it. This was the commencement of our present Forum, which is now contracted by successive encroachments into a merely broader street. But it then extended, as it reached to the 15th century [1], all over the site of the present Exchange, the present Shambles, and the large mass of buildings betwixt both; and along the line of the Smithydoor, as low as the northern side of the Shambles. And, being now graced with a market, the new town carried a greater dignity with it, and appeared a bolder and more equal rival to Aldport.

I have shewn a mill and millhouse to have been already erected on the southern verge of the streamlet, that was turned from the Irke to the Irwell. This was then the private mill of the baron, as the other on the Medlock was the publick one of the barony. And the former would now become common to the town, and afterwards, when the latter was destroyed, accessible to all. The equal conveniency of a mill and a market at the new town, as at the old, would considerably promote the growth of it. And, when the market-place was laid out, a new road appears to have been opened from the northern side, leading down directly to the mill, and aptly denominated the Mill-Gate. This name it constantly carries in the records of the town. And since the translation of the mill to another site, and the opening of another road to it, it popularly bears the title of Old Millgate.

By the appointment of this market-place and the formation of this road, the lengthening line of the houses was naturally directed to the east and north. The buildings would first

range

Sect. II. range from the north-eastern point of St. Maryſgate along the ſouthern and weſtern margins of the upper half of Smithy-door, and ſtretch along them to the north-weſtern angle of the market-place. They would then turn, and incloſe the northern and eaſtern quarters of the laſt. And thus the Forum of the town was lined with houſes on three ſides, and terminated by the church on the fourth. The courſe of St. Maryſgate had reached as far as it now reaches to the eaſt, before the market-place was laid out. And this circumſtance occaſioned that large projection of buildings, which now comes forward into the original area of it, and forms the great angle at the upper end of Smithydoor.

The town having thus far continued its progreſs, and not being able to extend upon the ſouthern ſide of the Forum, becauſe of the church and its incloſure; it naturally took its courſe to the north. The lane of the Old Millgate would firſt invite it down to the mill. And another lane would naturally be opened and another ſtreet be formed, parallel with this and the Deanſgate, and at an equal diſtance betwixt both. It was opened. And, a blackſmith firſt erecting his forge at the bottom of it and near the bold bank of the ſtreamlet, the ſteep was denominated, as it is ſtill called, the Smithy-Bank, and the road leading to it from the market-place the Smithy-Door.

Such was the curious commencement of the preſent Mancheſter; not beginning like Aldport, and conſtituting a town at once, but riſing from the ſlendereſt origin, and containing at firſt only a ſingle houſe and a church. And ſuch was alſo the curious increaſe of it; not growing like that, and gaining additional inhabitants from the country around it, but deriving at once its being and its health from the neighbouring town, ſtrengthening as it weakened, and flouriſhing as it faded, till it had reduced the venerable city of the Romans to a ſolitary fold of houſes. All theſe ſtreets were pretty certainly laid out before the year 875, and the removal of the church to its preſent ſituation; as the laſt of them, the Smithydoor, from

from its immediate direction to the church and the antient principles of denomination in the north, would otherwise have received the appellation of Kirk-Gate. And these remained very nearly the substance of the present town, even as late as the fifteenth century.

[1] Bede l. ii. c. 14.—[2] Ch. xi. s. 2.—[3] Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ et Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis tenebant in Mamcestre unam carucatam terræ quietam ab omni consuetudine præter Geldum. See Appendix, and B. II. ch. xi. s. 2.—[4] Exc. 25. p. 103. vol i. Concilia, Nec de domibus, neque de atriis vel hortis, juxta ecclesiam positis.—[5] H's MS. p. 7.—[6] College-Register from 1635 to 1714, p. 82.—[7] This will be shewn in B. III.

III.

THE custom of placing cœmeteries around our churches, in England, is asserted by all our antiquaries to have been originally introduced by Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, about the year 750[1]. But they are as much mistaken in this, as I have already shewn them to be in many other particulars. And the church-yard was everywhere laid out, at the time when the parish-church was erected, among the kingdoms of the Heptarchy. The churches in France had cœmeteries about them, as early as 505[2]. And those in England had them equally, as early as the period of their own construction. The very first that was built by the Saxons in the kingdom, that of St Peter and St. Paul without the city of Canterbury, had an inclosure for sepulture about it; and the very first apostle of the Saxons, the pious and worthy Augustin, was actually buried within it[3]. In sixteen years only after the conversion of the Northumbrians, the church of Lindisfarne appears encir-

Sect. III.

cled with its cœmetery; and the head of Oſwald the ſlain monarch of the kingdom, and the body of Aidan the biſhop of the dioceſs, were equally interred there[4]. And even the country-church of St. Michael, diſtant about a mile and a half from Hexham, had a cœmetery around it as early as 685[5].

This poſition of our burial-places may ſeem to have been introduced among us from the continent, by Auguſtin and his attendant miſſionaries. It appears immediately after their arrival in the iſland. And it is natural to ſuppoſe, that it could not have been known to the Roman Britons; as the police of their cities was pretty certainly Roman, and the Roman laws forbad burials in them. But, to the confuſion of all ſuch reaſonings, it appears deciſively from two remarkable facts which I have noted before[6], the interment of Arthur in the cœmetery of Glaſtonbury and the ſepulture of Pabo in a church-yard of Angleſey, that the incloſures of our ſacred edifices are as old as they and our pariſhes, and that the Britons had cœmeteries about their churches as regularly as the Saxons. And the church of St Michael in the old town, therefore, had a cœmetery adjoining to it equally with St. Mary's in the new. This area of the church was denominated by our Saxon anceſtors a leᵹeꞃ-ꞅꞇoꝑ or burial-place and a cẏꞃıc-ꞇun or church-incloſure[7], and would be very ſmall at Aldport and very extenſive at Mancheſter, as the former was laid out when the population of the pariſh was confined and weak, and the latter after it had been increaſed by the acceſſion of a Saxon colony, and had diffuſed itſelf on every ſide. And, placed as I have ſhewn the church and church-yard of the new town to have been at the eaſtern termination of St. Maryſgate, the neighbouring ground points out the extent of the area in its own dimenſions and name.

There was a large cloſe immediately adjoining to the town, as late as the beginning of the preſent century, which was denominated Acres Field[8]. It ſpread at that time over the preſent Acres Square, its two ſtreets at the ſides, its four at the angles, and the incloſure of St. Anne's church. And it originally ex-

tended

tended over the site of all the buildings, that now intervene betwixt the Exchange and the Square; as the name of Acres Court to the narrow passage about the center testifies. This ground, I suppose, would be about six statute-acres and a half in compass, and was the original church-yard of the town. The church, situated at the center of it, would stand near the north-eastern side of the Square. And the northern fence of the cœmetery abutted, just (I suppose) as the houses do at present, upon the eastern opening of St. Marysgate; and on the very site of the corner-house, and answering to the line of the street, was the original way into the church-yard. This avenue was probably placed, not leading directly to the center, but pointing only to the north-western angle, of this extensive inclosure; that it might serve more commodiously for the baron's road, as well as the rector's, from the Deansgate to it. And, on raising the present church in Acres Square, vast quantities of bones were dug up, reposited in their cells, and discovered every where as the foundations were carried along, about two yards deep in the ground.

When the mode of burying in church-yards was introduced into England, the custom of interring in churches was admitted with it. Augustin was originally buried in the cœmetery at Canterbury, because the cathedral was not then compleated; and was afterwards removed from the one, as soon as the other was finished[8]. And Edwin, the first Christian monarch of Northumbria, was laid in the cathedral of York[9]. Sepulture however was modestly confined to the porch, and not permitted to invade the body of the church. And Ethelbert and his successors in the kingdom of Kent, Augustin and his followers in the see of Canterbury, and Edwin of Northumbria, were all reposited in the porch only[10]. But the indecent custom was soon enlarged, and has nearly converted our churches into charnels. When the porch at Canterbury would receive no more in 690, the other archbishops were buried in the body of the building[11]. Nor was the privilege long confined to the primacy. It was early communicated to all the bishops,

Sect. III. bishops, early reached out to all the priests, and extended in law to all the good and religious, and in reality therefore to every body, even as early as the reign of Edgar[12]. And archbishop Lanfrank was not, as bishop Kennet supposes him to have been, the first introducer of burying-vaults under the chancels of our churches[13]. The architect of the present St. Peter's in the city of Oxford, who was (if we can confide in the Oxford criticks) the celebrated Grymbold, as early as the reign of Alfred constructed a vault under the chancel of St. Peter's, and reserved it purposedly for his own burial[14].

The original churches of the Saxons were constructed on principles of Roman architecture, and formed in the style of the many British buildings which they had among them[15]. And their architects appear very early engaged in working upon the plans of the Provincials; as, even at the commencement of the eighth century, the Picts were supplied with several of the Roman school from Northumbria[16]. The churches of the Britons, however, were generally modelled in wood[17]. And our own at Aldport was probably a wooden structure. The first churches of the Saxons were equally so. That of Cambodunum or Slack in Longwood, which was destroyed in 633, though the town was the residence of a king, and though the building was particularly grand, yet was merely a timbered edifice[18]. Even the cathedral of Lindisfarne, about the year 650, was all constructed of oak[19]. And the church of St. Mary in Manchester was formed of the same materials, as the later building, which was destroyed in the fifteenth century, is well known to have actually been[20]. Lighted up within by the round-headed arches of Roman windows, and supported by buttresses of timber without[21], the inner walls were probably covered with whitewash, and the whole structure capped with lead. The walls of the cathedral at York were whitewashed by Wilfrid, as early as 677 or 678[22]. The church of Lindisfarne, covered at first with reeds, was soon roofed with lead[23]. That of York was so roofed in the seventh century[24]. And

3 even

even the wooden buildings of Croyland abbey were leaded before the tenth[25].

The art of casing our windows with glass, the most agreeable and enlivening in all the refinements of domestick life, I have formerly remarked to have been unknown to the Romans of the first century[26]. But it was known to those of the fourth. This a very curious passage in Lactantius shews us; where he asserts the mind to look at objects through the eyes, as through windows framed of glass or composed of lapis specularis, quasi per fenestras lucente vitro aut speculari lapide obductas[27]. And from the manner in which he speaks of the windows, vitro aut speculari lapide obductas, the Roman casements at that period appear to have been furnished with the one as familiarly as with the other. This application of glass, however, was never introduced into the British provinces by the Romans; and the art of manufacturing the metal for windows was unknown in the island, for nearly two ages and a half after their departure. Practised very commonly at Rome in the beginning of the fourth century, it was gradually diffused over the continent. And it was first introduced from France, and was first carried into the north. Biscop Benedict, the founder of Wiremouth and Yarrow monasteries, the earliest establisher of a publick library in the north, and the inviter of finer architects in stone to Northumbria, was also the introducer of this manufacture into the kingdom; a man, whose name ought no longer to be buried in obscurity, and a hero, who in the estimate of reason more justly demands the applauses of Englishmen, than all the favourite Edwards and Henries of our history. This monk, with a refined taste and an exalted spirit, sent his emissaries into France in 676, to engage some of the manufacturers, and bring them over to Northumbria. The emissaries went. And the artists arrived. The windows of the church, and of some particular apartments in the abbey, of Wiremouth were glazed. And the manufacture was established in the kingdom for ever[28]. The churches of the island, before, were all windowed merely with lattices of wood or

sheets

Sect. III. ſheets of linen[29]. And, even after 676, the glazing of church-windows was but ſlowly proſecuted in the iſland. The cathedral of York was glazed within one or two years afterward[30], while the magnificent abbey of Croyland was windowed only with lattices to the Conqueſt[31]. But gradually adopted afterwards by other churches, the glaſs-window was at length, about the Conqueſt, introduced into private houſes[32].

Bells were uſed by the Romans to ſignify the times of bathing[33], and naturally applied by the Chriſtians of Italy, therefore, to denote the hours of devotion and ſummon the people to the church. They were ſo applied before the concluſion of the ſeventh century in the monaſtick ſocieties of Northumbria, and as early as the ſixth even in thoſe of Caledonia[34]. And they were therefore uſed from the firſt erection of pariſh-churches among us. Thoſe of France and England appear to have been furniſhed with ſeveral bells. The ſecond Excerption of Egbert about the year 750, which is adopted in a French capitulary of 801, commands every prieſt at the proper hours to ſound the bells of his church, and then to go through his ſacred offices to God[35]. And the Council of Ænham, in 1011, requires all the mulcts for ſins to be expended in the reparation of the church, cloathing and feeding the miniſters of God, and the purchaſe of church-veſtments, church-books, and church-bells[36]. Theſe were ſometimes compoſed of iron in France; and in England, as formerly at Rome, were frequently made of braſs[37]. And, as early as the middle of the tenth century, there were many caſt of a large ſize and a deep note. Two of them were given by Egelrick to his own abbey of Croyland in the reign of Edward, and another much larger by his immediate predeceſſor Turketul. And ſeveral of them were preſented by archbiſhop Dunſtan to the monaſtery of Malmeſbury, in the preceding reign of Edgar[37]. The number of bells in every church gave occaſion to that curious and ſingular piece of architecture in all, the Campanile or bell-tower; an addition, which is more ſuſceptible of the grander beauties of architecture than any other part of the

edifice,

edifice, and is generally therefore the principal ornament of it. It was the constant appendage to every parish-church of the Saxons, and is actually mentioned as such in the laws of Athelstan [38]. And the custom of ringing regular peals, now peculiar to the inhabitants of England, commenced in the time of the Saxons, and was common before the Conquest [39].

The services of every parish-church, among them, were celebrated at seven periods of the day, which were called the canonical hours, and were three and six in the morning, nine, twelve, and three, the evening, and the midnight [40]. These services were generally chanted; and, in a canon of 747, the presbyters are commanded not to chatter like reciting bards in their offices, and either mar the composition or confound the distinction of the words by a theatrical pronunciation, but to follow the plain and holy melody of the church. And such as could not chant were permitted to read the service [41]. Some parts of it were also sung, the custom being introduced into Northumbria by James the deacon, an attendant on Paulinus [42]; and every greater church and monastery, even previously among the Britons, having choral service celebrated regularly in it. Since Maglocunus has left his monastick abode, says Gildas in his epistle, he hears no more the praises of God in the sweetly modulated accents of young choristers, and listens no longer to the breath of ecclesiastical melody [43]. And the instrumental musick of the British churches is here distinguished sufficiently from the vocal. Both the British and Saxon instruments were probably called the Organ or Organs. The Romans had an instrument, which they equally denominated an organ; as Alexander Severus, says his historian, Lyrâ, Tibiâ, Organo cecinit [44]. Very early after the conversion of the Northumbrians, we find an instrument of that name familiarly used in the services of the north; Alchfrid, the son of king Oswi, requesting Wilfrid to stay with him about 660, to preach the word of God to him and the other Northumbrians, and be to them a spiritual organ, voluntarily heightening the devotions of the church with its pious tones [45]. And all

Sect. III. England, says the history of Ramsey, lamented the death of Edgar, the quires of the monasteries and their organs, cùm vertêretur in luctum chorus monachorum, organa in vocem flentium[46]. But that grand combination of instruments, which we now denominate so, was absolutely unknown in Europe at this period. It was the happy production of Eastern genius. And the first, that ever appeared in the west of Europe, was sent by Constantine the Græcian emperour to Pepin of France in 756[47]. The artists of the west availed themselves of the present. Organs were constructed on the continent and in the island, and erected in some of our cathedrals before the middle of the tenth century. And archbishop Dunstan in the reign of Edgar presented the church of Malmesbury with one, in which (according to the historian's description) the pipes were formed in certain musical proportions of brass, and the air was impelled through them by a pair of bellows[48].

When the office of the Eucharist began, a taper was lighted at the altar, and continued burning to the end of the service[49]. And pretty certainly before but undoubtedly after the Conquest, in all the greater parish-churches of the kingdom, one was left burning day and night before the consecrated bread reposited over the altar[50]. These were all of wax[51], and very early inclosed in lamps. When the windows of the church were once lined with pannels of glass, its taper would soon be protected by a screen of the same metal. And glass-lamps were actually used in our churches very early in the eighth century[52]. They were used in the north of the island. But they were utterly unknown in the south. In these first ages of the Saxon history, learning and all the arts appear to have been more successfully cultivated in Northumbria, than in the southerly parts of the kingdom. Northumbria produced such eminent scholars in the eighth century, that one of them, Bede, was sent for to Rome to assist the conclave in the discussion of some articles of divinity; another of them, Alcuin, became the tutor of Charlemagne in France, and instructed him in rhetorick, logick, and particularly astronomy; and the court of

France was advised to send over some youths to York for education[53]. And the introduction of finer architects in stone into the island, the importation of large and valuable libraries into it, and the establishment of a manufacture of window-glass within it, were all of them, the happy efforts of refinement in the active spirit of Northumbria. All of them were carried directly from the continent to Northumbria, and the knowledge of them was actually limited to Northumbria for ages afterward. And this is plain from one little particular in the history of Alfred, in which both the king and his historian, near two centuries after the introduction of glass-lamps into the north, appear absolutely un-acquainted with them. To guard his wax-light from the wind, unconscious of the lamps that had been long used in Northumbria and particularly mentioned by Bede, the king invented an awkward lantern of horn and wood; and the learned bishop, his historian, applauds the happy ingenuity of his scholar and patron. By an artful expedient, he says, the king ordered a lantern to be very handsomely constructed of cow-horn and wood, the white horns being shaved into thin plates, and becoming as transparent as a glass cup. And this wonderful production of the king's mechanical powers, he adds, answered his design compleatly; the lantern being fitted with a valve of horn, and the taper protected entirely from the wind[54].

Thus furnished, the eastern part of the church was separated from the rest by cancelli, or a partition of lattice-work, and was therefore denominated the chancel[55]. And the rest was kept constantly open, as the churches on the continent are at present; and people frequently repaired to them, as they still do there, to offer up their private devotions in them[56]. But, in all probability, our sacred buildings originally consisted only of what we, therefore, denominate to the present moment the Body of the church.

Being not extended into a chancel, the edifice would be nearly square in its dimensions. And such was actually the first cathedral of Northumbria, the great church which king Edwin

 erected

Sect. III. erected at York in 627. This is expresly declared to have been constructed in a square-like form, per quadrum cœpit ædificare Basilicam[57]. And since the church, or great society of Christians, in the first ages was universally and fancifully compared to a ship at sea; every ecclesiastical structure, obtaining equally with that the appellation of a Church, was also equally denominated, as the body of the church is among ourselves, the Navis or Nave. Thus, to produce instances from the Saxons only, the great assembly of Christians is repeatedly called Navis Christi, in the epistle of archbishop Boniface an Englishman to archbishop Cuthbert, about the year 740[58]. And the body of the church, that existed at Croyland in the reign of Edgar, bears expresly the appellation of Navis Ecclesiæ in the history of Ingulphus[59]. But chancels were early subjoined to the buildings, as Charlemagne erected Cancelli even of solid brass in that which he built at Aix-la-Chapelle. They were also not uncommon in France, during the eighth century. And even about 673 bishop Wilfrid constructed an Arcus Sanctuarii or chancel, when he raised the magnificent church at Hexham[60]. This is the first indeed, that is noticed in the records of England to have been constructed with a chancel. And St. Peter's in Oxford, the reputed work of Grimbold in the reign of Alfred, is the second[61].

The alæ, ailes, or wings of our churches were not added, as has been universally supposed, by the architects of Normandy. They were formed as early as the middle of the seventh century, the church of Hexham being constructed equally with ailes and a chancel. This is evidently declared by Richard of Hexham, in his little history of his own monastery and church. And the whole passage is as curious in itself, as it has been utterly un-noticed by our antiquaries. The lower part of the church, says the historian, he built for crypts and subterraneous oratories; but raised the walls of an immense length and height, supported by squared, variegated, and well-polished columns, and formed into three stories. And the walls, the capitals of the columns, and the ARCUS SANCTUARII or chancel, he decorated

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corated with historical paintings and images; and also inclosed the body of the church with ailes, ipsum quoque CORPUS Ecclesiæ APPENTICIIS—undique circumcinxit [61]. These Appenticiæ appear plainly, from the import of the word as appendages, to have been the same additions to the church which were otherwise denominated the alæ or wings of it. And, from its popular signification as pentices, they seem also to have been constructed like our ailes at present, much lower in the ceiling than the nave of the church, and more sharply sloped away in the roofing. Richard's account proves them to have been merely continued along the nave at Hexham, and not extended parallel with the chancel. And the whole building, he adds, for the udicious and ingenious combination of its parts, and the elegance and beauty of its appearance, was superiour to all the churches in the kingdom, and had no equal even on this side the Alps [62].

[1] Kennet's Par. Ant. p. 592, Somner's Ant. of Canterbury p. 232, Spelman's Concilia tom. i. p. 11, Johnson on 25 Excerption, &c.—[2] Quodsi sint ecclesiæ quibus atria clausa non sint, Clothaire's second decree col. 21. t. i. Baluzius.—[3] Bede l. i. c. 33 and l. ii. c. 3, Foras, juxta ecclesiam.—[4] Bede l. iii. c. 12, In cœmeterio, and l. iii. c. 17.—[5] Bede l. v. c. 2.—[6] See B. ii. ch. 2. f. 4.—[7] Conc. Lond. about A.D. 944 canon 4. p. 215, and Edgar c. 26. p. 226, v. i. Concilia.—[8] Bede l. ii. c. 3.—[9] L. ii. c. 20.—[10] L. i. c. 33 compared with l. ii. c. 3 and 5, and l. ii. c. 20.—[11] L. ii. c. 3 and l. v. c. 8.—[12] Theodulfi capit. c. 9. p. 179. Leges.—[13] Par. Ant. p. 593.—[14] Asser. p. 53, Tumbam in testitudine quæ erat facta subter cancellum ecclesiæ Divi Petri in Oxonia.—[15] See Bede l. i. c. 26, and l. i. c. 33, Antiquo Romanorum fidelium opere, and l. i. c. 27, Passus est Albanus —juxta civitatem Verolamium, ubi postea, redeunte temporum Christianorum serenitate, ecclesia est mirandi operis atque ejus martyrio condigna extructa, in quo videlicet loco usque ad hunc diem—frequentium operatio virtutum celebrari non desinit. And Gildas,

Sect. III. Gildas, speaking of the martyrdom of St. Alban and others, intimates a church to have been there in his days, quorum nunc corporum sepulturæ, et passionum loca, if Verulam had not then been taken by the Saxons, non minimum intuentium mentibus ardorem divinæ charitatis incuterent (p. 11).—[16] Naitan, king of the Picts, desired and obtained from Ceolfrid, abbot of Bede's monastery, Architectos qui juxta morem Romanorum ecclesiam de lapide in gente ipsius facerent: Bede l. v. c. 21.—[17] Ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Britonibus more, [Nynia] fecit, Bede l. iii. c. 4.—[18] Basilica, l. ii. c. 14 and l. iii. c. 17.—[19] Robore secto, l. iii. c. 25.—[20] Hence even the term for building among the Saxons is to timber. In A. D. 699, says the Saxon Chronicle, was Raculf given to build a church in, mynster on to tymbrianne.—[21] See Wren's Parentalia, p. 296 and Bede l. iii. c. 17.—[22] Parietes quoque lavans, says Eddius c. 16, super nivem dealbavit. Ipse illas [materias], says Malmesbury of the same person f. 148, albâ calce dealbavit.—[23] Bede l. iii. c. 25.—[24] Eddius c. 16, and Malmesbury f. 148.—[25] Ingulphus p. 53. Gale.—[26] B. I. c. x. f. 4.—[27] De opificio Dei c. 8. p. 93. t. ii. Paris 1728.—[28] Bede p. 295. Misit legatarios Galliam qui vitri factores, artifices videlicet Britanniis eatenus incognitos, ad cancellandas ecclesiæ porticuumque et cœnaculorum ejus fenestras adducerent. Factumque est, et venerunt: nec solùm opus postulatum compleverunt, sed et Anglorum ex eo gentem hujusmodi artificium nosse ac discere fecerunt; artificium nimirum vel lampadis ecclesiæ claustris vel vasorum multifariis usibus non ignobiliter aptum. The historian however is certainly mistaken, in supposing the art of manufacturing glass in general to have been unknown among us to this time. The primitive Britons made it, as I have already shewn B. I. c. ix. f. 2. The islanders therefore, at this period, could have been ignorant only of the art of forming glass-plates for windows. And so Malmesbury f. 11 states it: Artifices—vitrearum fenestrarum primus omnium Angliam ascivit.—Ante Benedictum—neque, perspicuitate vitri penetratâ, lucem ædibus solaris jaciebat radius, &c.—[29] Eddius c. 16.—Bede, speaking of the

the manufacturers being invited over, says that they were sent for to *lattice* the windows with glass, ad *cancellandas* ecclesiæ fenestras; an expression necessarily derived from the lattices of the windows before. And Malmesbury, speaking of York cathedral before bishop Wilfrid's time, says, Fenestris lucem dabant vel panni linei tenuitas vel multiforatilis asseraxis, f. 148.—[30] Eddius c. 16.—[31] Ingulphus p. 97.—[32] Malmesbury f. 11, Ante Benedictum—neque, perspicuitate vitri penetratâ, lucem *ædibus* solaris jaciebat radius, &c.; which shews glass-windows in houses to have been considered as antient in Malmesbury's days.—Stubbs in Actus Ebor. col. 1694, Twisden, falsely ascribes the introduction of glass-windows in churches to Wilfrid, a bishop of Worcester who died in 736.—[33] Juvenal, Sonat æs thermarum &c.—[34] In Adamnan's life of Columba, the latter of whom lived in the 6th century, and the former even before Bede, Columba in Ionâ insulâ subitò dicit ad suum ministratorem Dermitium, Cloccam pulsa; cujus sonitu fratres incitati ad ecclesiam, ipso sancto præsule præeunte, ocyus currunt (L. 1. c. 8. p. 341. Colgan's Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ); and in another place, mediâ nocte pulsatâ personante cloccâ, festinus urgens [Columba] ad ecclesiam pergit (L. 3. c. 23. p. 371); and Bede l. iv. c. 23.—[35] The second excerption of Egbert is the eighth of this capitulary, Baluzius c. 350. t. i. And Signa appears to have been a common word in both kingdoms for bells, as in Adamnan, Signo personante, L. 3. c. 13. p. 366, and Baluzius c. 532, 586, and 951. t. i, and Malmesbury de pontificibus p. 366. Gale. And about 742 we find bells in the French churches, Baluzius t. i. c. 147, Clocas.—[36] P. 291. v. i. Concilia.—[37] Baluzius t. i. c. 1039, sonat *æs* thermarum in Juvenal, and Ingulphus p. 97. Gale.—Malmesbury p. 366. Gale, Signa sono et mole præstantiora, and Ingulphus p. 53. —[38] P. 70. Leges, Bell-hus.—[39] Ingulphus p. 53, Fecit ipse [Egelricus] fieri duas magnas campanas,—et duas medias,—et duas minores:—fecerat antea fieri—Turketulus—unam maximam campanam, quâ cum prædictis campanis compositâ fiebat mirabilis harmonia, nec erat tunc tanta consonantia campa-

narum

Sect. III. narum in totâ Angliâ.—[40] Cuthbert A. D. 747. p. 97, Excerp. 28. p. 103, and Elfric's canons p. 252, v. i. Concilia.—[41] Canon 12. p. 96. v. i. Concilia; Presbyteri sæcularium poetarum modo in ecclesiâ non garriant, nec tragico sono sacrorum verborum compositionem ac distinctionem corrumpant vel confundant, sed simplicem sanctamque melodiam, secundùm morem ecclesiæ, sectentur: qui verò id non est idoneus assequi, pronunciantis modo simpliciter legendo dicat atque recitet.—[42] Bede l. ii. c. 20.—[43] Dei laudes canorâ Christi tyronum voce suaviter modulante, pneumaque ecclesiasticæ melodiæ.—[44] Ælius Lampridius p. 123. Hist. Aug. Script. Paris 1620.—[45] Adjuravit, ut esset cum eo, et sibi et omni populo, *organo spiritali se canente*, verbum Dei prædicaret; Eddius c. 7.—[46] Hist. Ramsei. cap. 38. Gale.—[47] Florence of Worcester p. 574, and Modern Univ. H. v. xxiii. p. 114.—[48] Organa ubi per æreas fistulas musicis mensuris elaboratas

Dudum conceptas follis vomit anxius auras.

Malmesbury p. 366. Gale.—[49] Edgar Canon 42.—[50] Cantilupe p. 667. v. i. Concilia.—[51] P. 292 and 302 v. i. Concilia, and Asser p. 68.—[52] Artificium nimirum lampadis ecclesiæ claustris —non ignobiliter aptum, Bede p. 295.—[53] Malmesbury f. 11 and 12, and Eginhart's Charlemagne (Schminkius) c. xxv. p. 118.—[54] Excogitavit unde ventorum sufflationem prohibere potuisset, concilioque artificiosè atque sapienter invento, laternam ex lignis et bovinis cornibus pulcherrimè construere imperavit (bovina namque cornua, alba, ac in una tenuiter dolabris erasa, non minùs vitreo vasculo elucent); quæ itaque laterna—mirabiliter facta &c.—[55] These cancelli or lattice-partitions are mentioned by Ottobon A. D. 1268 Const. 16. p. 9. v. ii. Concilia, Cancelli Ecclesiæ.—[56] Elfric's Canon 23. p. 272. v. i. Concilia.—[57] Bede l. ii. c. 14.—[58] Spelman's Concilia v. i. p. 238 and 240. So in France Sancta ecclesia, navis more, &c. and navis sanctæ ecclesiæ &c. Baluzius t. ii. col. 1 and 7.—[59] F. 505. Saville.—[60] Eginhart's Charlemagne c. xxvi. p. 120, Baluzius c. 1293. t. 1, and Twisden f. 290.—[61] Asser p. 53; Subter cancellum ecclesiæ.—[62] Twisden f. 290, Profunditatem ipsius

ipsius ecclesiæ criptis et oratoriis subterraneis—fundavit: parietes autem quadratis et variis et bene politis columpnis suffultos, et tribus tabulatis distinctos, immensæ longitudinis et altitudinis erexit; ipsos etiam, et capitella columpnarum quibus sustentantur, et ARCUM SANCTUARII, historiis et imaginibus &c. decoravit; ipsum quoque &c.—[63] Dr. Burn, in his Ecclesiastical law v. i. p. 242, has strangely referred the NAVE of our church to a Saxon original, and to the word napa, the boss or center of a wheel. Our ecclesiastical terms and appellations are universally Latin. And the etymology is obviously unjust in itself. For what similitude can subsist betwixt the body of a church and the center of a wheel?

CHAP. XI.

THE SEVERAL MINISTERS BELONGING TO A PARISH-CHURCH FORMERLY—THE COMPLEAT ENDOWMENT OF ONE — AND THE ORIGIN OF WAKES AND FAIRS AMONG US.

I.

THE common appellations for a beneficed clergyman, among the Saxons, were various. He was ſometimes denominated Pꞃeoꞅꞇ or prieſt; and the name is popularly retained at preſent in the neighbourhood of Mancheſter and the hills of Saddleworth. And at other times he was called a Shrifte or confeſſor, and pariſhes were entitled equally Prieſt-ſhires and Shrift-ſhires[1]. But the name of Perſona or Parſon, and the appellation of Rector or Governor, appear from their Roman extraction and preſent popularity to have been uſed as early and familiarly as either. And the beneficed clergyman received the diſtinguiſhing title of Parſon, not becauſe he was the legal repreſentative of the church, Perſonam eccleſiæ geſſit, as all our lawyers aſſert[2]; but, as the appellation evinces of itſelf, becauſe he was Perſona eccleſiæ, the one eccleſiaſtick or kirk-man, the principal perſonage among the ſeveral retainers of the church. The moſt honourable name of ſuch a clergyman, therefore, is not the title of Parſon, as the lawyers again affirm[3], but the appellation of Shrifte or the denomination of Prieſt. The firſt related merely to the family of the church, as the retainers of it are called in a law of Alfred[4]. And the two laſt referred to the great family of the

3 prieſt,

priest, as the parish is denominated in a canon of Cuthbert[5], to religion, and to God.

The retainers of the church consisted of six persons under the rector, the deacon, sub-deacon, and acolyth, the exorcist, lector, and ostiary[6]. The office of the ostiary was to open the doors and ring the bells of the church; of the lector, to read the lessons in the service; and of the exorcist to attend—the possest. The acolyth held the taper, when the gospel was read or the eucharist administered at the altar. The sub-deacon waited on the deacon in his offices there. And the latter administered the sacrament of baptism to infants, and was subservient to the priest in the eucharist; placing the oblations upon the altar, reading the gospel, and dispensing the elements[7]. The priest and deacon only were reputed to be in holy orders[8]. The rest however were denominated Clerks, and even in contra-distinction to these[9]; and have transmitted the name to their successors, the parish-clerks of the present period. And, as they assisted in the services of religion, they had seats in the chancel with both; and their stalls remain in many old parish-churches at present, and have frequently induced our antiquaries, without reason, without authority, and in mere ignorance of the antient custom, to suppose the churches to have been formerly collegiated. Each of these seven had some privileges conceded to him by the state, superiour to his rank in life, and denied to laymen of the same order. The werigild even of the ostiary was one pound more, than that of the same man while he was merely a laick; and the werigild of the lector was two pounds more, of the exorcist three, and of the acolyth four, of the sub-deacon five, of the deacon six, and of the priest seven[10]. The deacon and priest enjoyed the same honour as the baron in compurgations; their own single affirmation, made in their surplices before the altar, being equivalent to the oath of a common person and of four others[11]. And the latter ranked generally upon the same footing with every mesne lord of the kingdom[12].

Sect. I. The clerks were all destined for holy orders. Each priest was previously a clerk. And persons were gradually promoted through every of the inferiour offices, to the diaconate and priesthood [13]. The proper instruction of them for orders was committed to the care of the priest, as the education of youth in the monasteries was consigned to the abbot; and the priest and abbot, therefore, were equally denominated the rector or governor [14]. And the former had other pupils with his clerks. His house in reality was a little academy for the sons of the neighbouring gentry, as the bishop's was another and a greater. This curious and unnoticed particular appears plainly in the Saxon constitutions. Let the bishops willingly teach schools and instruct, says the twenty-sixth ecclesiastical law of Canute. And let every priest have a school in his house, says the twentieth canon of Theodulf. The bishops, abbots, and rectors are required, as early as 747, to keep their families in continual application to reading, and for that purpose to confine the boys to the schools, and train them up to the law of sacred knowledge; that, being thus instructed, they may become in all respects useful to the house of God, and the spiritual ornaments of it [15]. And if any good man will send his children to the priest, says another canon of a later date, the priest ought to teach them willingly, not expecting any reward from their relations, except what they voluntarily give [16].

The pupils of the rector, however, did not confine their attention to liberal knowledge. They were also taught some mechanical art; this remarkable custom being adopted probably from the usage of the Jews. Let each priest, says a canon of Edgar, teach the youth diligently, and lead them to handicrafts [17]. And let all the clerks that are old enough to work, says a much earlier constitution of Egbert, learn some little mechanical arts together with the knowledge of literature [18]. Instructed in a handicraft before, the priest was to instruct his scholars in it. And the profit of their labours was his property [19].

The

The rector and his subordinates could not be appointed from either of the two orders of villainage[20]. And he and they were all legally incorporated together, and therefore composed together the legal representation of the church. This little corporation was denominated the gesærship or society of the rector, the family of the church, or the gildship of the presbyter[21]. All the gesæra were required diligently to seek a recompence, with the assistance of the bishop, for any injury offered to the rector[22]. And an offence committed against any of the gesæra was punished by a mulct to the bishop, to the wig-bede or altar of the church, and the rest of the associates[23].

The clerks were many of them very young[24]. But no one could be admitted into the diaconate till he was twenty-five years old, or into the priesthood before he was thirty[25]. And this was surely a very prudent prohibition, and has been unwarily relaxed since. By a regulation which has continued to the present period, no one could be ordained at any of the quarterly ordinations in the year, without an express mention of the church for which he was designed[26]. And by another, that was absurd in itself and injurious in its consequences, but received equally on the continent as in the island, no rector was permitted to desert the church to which he was originally appointed, but was constrained to continue at it for life[27]. This provision indeed precluded all the inconveniencies, which have been frequently supposed to result from the translations only of one part of the clergy. But at the same time it took away all that forcible and honest impulse to meritorious actions, the desire of preferment or the regard for honours; extinguished half the ingenuous ambition of the soul, and left the mind to settle into an intellectual calm. And if a rector even purchased or received a second church, intending to hold it with his first, he was deprived of his holy worship or office, and forfeited the friendship of his gesæra[28].

[1] North. Presb. Canon 12. and Edgar Canon 6. See also Cnute Eccles. LL. 23 for Shrifte, and every where for Priest.—[2] See particularly Blackstone's Comment. vol. i. p. 384.—[3] Ibid.—[4] LL. 2.—[5] Canon 14. at Cloveshoo.—[6] Elfric p. 251. vol. i. Concilia. They were the same on the continent, Baluzius t. i. c. 98 &c.—[7] Ibid.—[8] Excerption 160. p. 112. vol. i. Concilia, Extra sacros ordines.—[9] Ibid. and p. 12. Leges.—[10] P. 13. Leges.—[11] P. 12. Leges.—[12] Athelstan p. 64. Leges.—[13] Ibid. and Peckham A. D. 1281. p. 53. vol. ii. Concilia.—[14] Excer. 47, and Canon 7 at Cloveshoo.—[15] Cuthbert at Cloveshoo Canon 7.—[16] Canon 20 of Theodulf.—And the same custom prevailed in France, mention being incidentally made of the clericos quos secum habent presbyteri, and of the scolarios that every presbyter had, Baluzius t. i. col. 370 and 532, and some directions given for the government of these schools, col. 714.—[17] Canon 51.—[18] Exc. 159.—[19] Let not the rectors be so greedy of their worldly labour as to &c. (says Cuthbert at Cloveshoo Canon 7); Let the youth be taught handicrafts (says Canon 51. Edgar), that the churches may thence receive profit; and no priest (says Canon 10. Edgar) shall take another's scholar.—[20] Egbert's 14 and 15 Answer in Johnson.—[21] P. 13. Leges, Alfred LL. 2, and Edgar Canon 9.—[22] North Presb. LL. 1.—[23] P. 13. Leges.—[24] Exc. 159.—[25] Exc. 93 and 97. The same law with regard to priests obtained in France, Baluzius t. i. col. 270.—[26] Exc. 99 and 52.—[27] Exc. 13. and Baluzius t. i. col. 360.—[28] North. Presb. Canon 2.

II.

WHEN the Divinity appointed a particular body of men to be his embassadours on earth, he made a particular provision for

for their maintenance. This the rights of justice required, and the interests of religion demanded, for those who were to resign up their hours to the study of religion, and consecrate their labours to the furtherance of it, for the publick emolument; by entreaties and remonstrances, to raise the groveling appetites of man, and traverse the strongest impulses of his nature, to urge the necessity of a greater purity to the careless, and check the effrontery of sin in the profligate. And the members of such a profession could never have been made precarious stipendiaries by God. Infinite Wisdom can never counteract his own designs. And when the dim morning of Christianity, in the Patriarchal and Jewish dispensations, was advanced to a noontide brightness in the personal revelations of our Saviour; the same eternal principle of reason would equally operate for the same provision. As an instituted body of priests was continued in the world, an established provision for their maintenance must have been equally continued with them. And the ascertained maintenance for the clergy, under this and the preceding dispensations, was evidently tythes. Fixed for ages before the coming of Christ, and not superseded by any other appointment at it, it was necessarily kept on afterwards, and admitted by all the nations of Christendom. They all embraced the Christian religion, all reverenced the Christian clergy, and all made the Christian provision for them. They all paid tythes. And not a single nation of proselytes appears upon the face of the earth, but what acknowledged the allocation to be the antient establishment of God, and received the appointment as a part of Christianity. This was particularly the case among our Saxon ancestors. If any withholds his tythes, say the laws of Edward and Guthrum, let him pay the fine injoined among the Danes and the mulct imposed by the Saxons [a]. And the substraction of tythes, say the constitutions of Edgar, is an offence against the laws of God, and provokes the anger of the Almighty, tythes being a necessary tribute that Christians owe to the Deity [b].

These

Sect. II. These were principally the tenths of new-born cattle, the fruits of the earth, and personal gains[3]. Those of young animals were discharged at Whitsuntide, and the fruits of the ground at the vernal equinox in the following year, or at farthest on the feast of All Saints in the succeeding winter[4]. And the latter were therefore housed by the farmer, and the tythe was the tenth of the grain[5]. The tythes were not fetched away by the rector or compounded for by the layman, but brought in kind to the church by the latter. A canon of Elfric expressly mentions them to have been long delivered into the church, and injoins the rector to come and receive them at it[6]. And they could not be paid, as has been frequently asserted by our lawyers, to any church or monastery whatever at the discretion of the payer. This the very institution of parishes shews to be absurd. And the very letter of the Saxon laws proves it to be false. If indeed a thane had a church that was encircled with a cœmetery, that is, such a chapel of ease as was permitted to have a burying-ground about it, he might dispense the third part of his tythes to it. But, if his church had no cœmetery, he might bestow what he would of his own nine parts on his priests; the tenth was to be absolutely discharged to the ealdan mynstre or mother-church[7]. And the tythes are positively commanded by another canon, to be given to none but the parish-church[8]; and by a third, to be paid only to "the ealdan mynstre to which the "parish belongs, from the land of the lord or the land of the "villain, as the plough goes"[9].

But to this, the universal provision for the clergy, the Saxons made several additions. And they consisted of the church-shot, light-shot, and soul-shot, plough-alms, and oblations. The church-shot was a house-tax, payable at Martinmas for that holme and that hearth where a man resided the preceding Christmas[10]. The plough-alms was a penny from every plough-land in the parish[11], and paid within fifteen days after Easter[12]. And the light-shot or candle-money was discharged three times a-year, a halfpenny-worth of wax from each

each hide of land, upon Easter-eve, at All Saints, and at Candlemas [13]. This particularly remains in our own parish at present, being a halfpenny from every house, and denominated the Wax-money; a right, that has been impertinently endeavoured to be discredited among us, but which results from more express laws, and is founded on more antient prescription, than half the just demands in the kingdom [14]. And these were all regular and determined payments. But the soul-shot was occasional, and the oblations were uncertain. The latter however were very considerable, being enumerated in the Exceptions of Egbert among the principal branches of church-endowment [15]. The former was merely a burial-fee, contingent on the performance of duty, and discharged at the open grave [16]. And, though the body was not interred in the parish, the soul-shot, like our present burial-fee, was paid to the minster to which the person belonged [17].

The tythes were divided at first on the continent into four parts, one reserved for the bishop, and another for the rector, the third for the reparation of the church, and the fourth for charity [18]. And this division continued in France to the ninth century [19]. But it was not practised in England, though it is universally supposed to have been so. In the earliest canons of the Saxons, we find the bishops claiming no proportion of the income. And the whole was partitioned into three shares, to the church, the poor, and the rector [20]. The division was formally made by the rector at church and in the presence of the people [21]. And the parishioners were also obliged to contribute their share to the expences of repairing the church [22].

But this was not all the endowment of our Mancunian rectory. Annexed to it was the long and triangular piece of ground, that commencing with a broad base behind and a little to the south of the parsonage-house, and contracted by the Irwell upon one side, and the Deansgate on the other, gradually terminates in a point at the bridge. This is about six statute-acres in extent, I believe, and for the greatest part of it denominated the Parsonage to this day, in the appellations of

Sect. II. Parsonage-croft, Parsonage-lane, and Parsonage-bank. And except one or two intermediate spots, which have been alienated, the whole is the property of the church at present. The part contiguous to the rector's house would be laid out in offices, a garden, and an orchard; and the part more distant perhaps be thrown into a rick-yard for the tythes [23]. And the site was admirably calculated for an orchard and garden, forming an airy terrace on the bank of the Irwell, and presenting an extensive view across the channel of it; the river brawling over its many shallows below, the peninsula of Salford lying all under the eye, and the woody heights of Kersal rising nearly to a level with it, and terminating the scene.

The parochial churches in France, at their original erection, were endowed with a manse of land [24]. This being as much as was generally annexed to a mansion or house, and reckoned sufficient to employ a plough and maintain a family for the year; it was in England denominated equally a Manse, a Family, a Hide, or a Carucate of land. And in the twenty-fifth Excerption of Egbert, which was written about the year 740, adopted at four different times into the capitularies of the Gallican church [25], and we find the one entire manse, una mansa integra, expressly attributed to every parish-church in Northumbria, and expressly distinguished from the houses and gardens near it [26]. Accordingly, a carucate of land appears from Doomsday-book to have been given to the church of Manchester, and to have been retained by it to the Conquest [27]. And this is the present possession of the church, and the little township of Kirkmanshulme. That appears the property of the rector in the thirteenth century. And the singular and expressive nature of its name shews it to have been so from the beginning. Being given to the persona ecclesiæ, the kirk-man [28], or principal personage of the church, and a holme or house constructed upon it; the one naturally assumed, and the other therefore received, the appellation of Kirk-man's-hulme. This township contains two hundred and thirty-nine statute-acres at present, two roods, and thirty-nine perches,

according

according to a late and accurate menſuration of it, and incluſive of the ground taken up by the hedgerows, houſes, and ditches[9]. And two hundred and forty ſtatute-acres, therefore, were the general complement of the antient carucate.

Sect. II.

This land would be rendered independent of the baron, as the clergy poſſeſſed the ordinary endowment of the church exempt from all ſecular ſervices[10]. And it actually remained to the Conqueſt unburdened by any impoſitions but Danegeld[11]. It was therefore erected into a little lordſhip under the church, and the rector held his courts leet and baron at it. And, for the cultivation of it, he would be furniſhed with a number of working villains by the lord. Such were univerſally a part of the eccleſiaſtical endowment in France[12]. And, when Charlemagne ſettled Chriſtianity and laid out pariſhes in Saxony, a body of a hundred and twenty pariſhioners gave one male and one female villain for ever to the rector[13].

Thus variouſly endowed, the churches of England may ſeem at firſt to have been conſiderably rich. But they certainly were not. And it appears evident from the records of our own. As late as the commencement of the fourteenth century, when the revenues of our parſonage had been heightened by donations and enhanced by buildings, and the whole townſhip of Newton particularly had been given to the rector; the fixed and united income of Mancheſter and Aſheton churches amounted, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter, only to two hundred and forty marks, or a hundred and ſixty pounds, a-year.

When the church of Mancheſter was erected, the temporalties of it would naturally claim the protection and guardianſhip of the baron. And, to engage this protection and enſure this guardianſhip more effectually, the latter was indulged with the liberty of recommending a clerk to the biſhop. This power of recommendation ſoon ſettled into a right of nomination. And it retains to the preſent moment the reaſon of the original indulgence, in the continuing name of Advowſon, Patronage, or Guardianſhip. Coeval with the commencement of the church, and granted to the baron for the better ſecurity

of

of it, the right became annexed to the manour with the power of patronage. And, under all the revolutions of government and all the extinctions of families, it remained the appendant right of the barony even to the reign of Queen Mary [24].

[1] P. 52 Leges.—[2] P. 79 Leges.—[3] Exc. 102 and Lex Eccles. 35. for personal gains, and Edgar LL. 3. and Can. 54, and Ethelred p. 114 Leges.—[4] Ethelred and Edgar ibid. and p. 302. vol. i. Concilia.—[5] The custom of the farmer's carrying the tithes with his own corn to his own barn, and keeping them in it for the rector, continued very late in the isle of Man. Decima bladi & leguminum, say the constitutions of Sodor in A. D. 1291, deferatur per parochianos ad domos vel grangias suas, & eâdem diligentiâ eam custodiant quâ suam partem, donec rectores ecclesiæ vel sui procuratores de toto decimam recipiant (vol. ii. p. 177 Concilia).—[6] P. 156 Leges.—[7] Edgar LL. 2. p. 76 Leges, and Cnute Canon 11.—[8] Lex. Eccles. 14.—[9] Edgar LL. 1. p. 76 Leges.—[10] Ina LL. 4 and 61, and Cnute Canon 11.—[11] Ethelred LL. 1. p. 295. vol. i. Concilia, where a penny is ordered to be paid from every caruca. And, that this was the ordinary plough-alms, is plain from the other orders in these laws, all requiring only the old rights of the church to be paid; and particularly from the seventh, where the meaning of the rest is thus summed up, *Omnibus annis deinceps* reddantur *Dei rectitudines* in *omnibus rebus quæ supradictæ sunt*, ut Deus Omnipotens misericordiam nobis faciat.—[12] Conc. Ænham p. 288. vol. i. Concilia.—[13] P. 302. vol. i. Concilia.—[14] See it in Edward and Guthrum LL. 6, Conc. Ænham p. 288. vol. i. Concilia, p. 293. ibid., p. 302. ibid., Cnute LL. 12. p. 130 Leges, Ethelred p. 114 Leges, and Synod. Exon. A. D. 1287. p. 139. vol. ii. Concilia.—[15] Exc. 25.—[16] Conc. Ænham p. 288, p. 302. vol. i. Concilia, and Ethelred p. 114. Leges.—[17] P. 302. vol. i. Concilia.—[18] Gregory's first answer to Augustine's questions in Bede.—[19] Baluzius t. ii. col. 356.—[20] Exc. 5.—[21] P. 156. Leges.—[22] Cnute LL. 63. p. 143. Leges.—[23] Atriis vel

vel hortis juxta ecclesiam positis. Exc. 25.—[24] Baluzius col. 663 and 841. t. ii.—[25] Baluzius col. 566, 720, 865, and 1290, t. ii.—[26] Ut unicuique ecclesiæ vel una mansa integra attribuatur; & presbyteri in eis constituti non—de domibus—neque de præscriptâ mansâ &c.—[27] In Mamecestre Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ &c. tenebant unam carucatam terræ: see Doomsday-book in Appendix N° 2.—[28] See Wihtred p. 12.—[29] The parsonage-house, and land adjoining to it, appear from the quotations above to have been always reckoned distinct from the carucate.—[30] Exc. 25.—[31] Doomsday-book in Appendix N° 2, Quietam ab omni consuetudine præter Geldum.—[32] Baluzius col. 1001 and 1002. t. i, Homo and Mancipiis.—[33] Baluzius col. 253. t. i.

[34] Mr. Hume has made several mistakes in this portion of the history, which call for a brief correction. His divinity is too common-placed and frivolous for notice. And I shall attend only to his facts.

P. 75. "The ecclesiasticks, in those days of ignorance made "very rapid advances in the acquisition of power and grandeur; "and inculcating the most absurd and most interested doctrines, "though they met sometimes, from the contrary interests of "the laity, with an opposition which it required time and ad- "dress to overcome, they found no obstacle in their reason or "understanding."

The Saxon clergy are here presented with a degree of knowledge, that found no competition in the reason and understanding of the laity, that qualified them to defend the most absurd doctrines and recommend the most selfish tenets, and triumphed by its own power over the faculties of their understandings and even the stronger convictions of their interest. And yet, with an amazing forgetfulness of his own assertions, Mr. Hume a few lines below represents the very same persons as shamefully ignorant; "little versed in the scriptures," and just "able to discover, that the priests under the Jewish law pos- "sessed a tenth of all the produce of land;" and in p. 63 more explicitly declares them to have been "almost as ignorant and "barbarous as the laity." How gross is the inconsistency of these accounts! One while we behold the Saxon eccle-

siasticks

Sect. II. siasticks seated on an eminence, and enjoying the clear day-light of knowledge, while the laity are labouring in darkness and ignorance below. But in an instant the perspective is changed, and we see them dismounted from their airy elevation, and plunged in the same ignorance and barbarism nearly as the laity.

——" Not content with the donations of lands made them " by the *Saxon* princes and nobles, and with the temporary ob-" lations from the devotion of the people, they [the clergy] " *had cast a wishful eye* on a vast revenue, which they *claimed* as " belonging to them by a divine, indefeizable, and inherent title, " ——a tenth of all the produce of land.——*During some cen-" turies*, the whole scope of sermons and homilies was *directed* " *to this purpose.——Encouraged by their success in inculcating* " *these doctrines*, they——pretended to draw the tenth of all " industry.——The ecclesiasticks had never yet [in 854] been " able to get possession of the tythes."

Here is a rich harvest of mistakes.——Whatever the Saxon laity gave to the clergy, the latter are represented as gaining from them by their superiour address. But, as no such address could have been practised by a clergy " almost as ig-" norant and barbarous as the laity," the advantages derived from it by Mr. Hume must be merely visionary.

The ecclesiasticks are described as enjoying only the donations of glebe and voluntary oblations during some centuries, even till 854, and as all the while casting a wishful eye upon the tythe of the produce of land. The former assertion the reader is expected to take upon the authority of Mr. Hume. And the latter refers for its justification to all the sermons and homilies of some centuries. But the reference is just as authenticating as the assertion. And neither are of any moment. Not a sermon, not a homily, is extant inculcating the divine right of the clergy, and written before the assignment of tythes to them. The tenth of the produce of land, which Mr. Hume avers to have not been possessed till 854, had been actually enjoyed a couple of centuries before. Boniface, archbishop of Mentz

Mentz, but a native of England, who was born in 670, testifies tythes to have been paid by the English in his time. Lac & lanam ovium Christi oblationibus cotidianis ac DECIMIS fidelium suscipiunt; says he in an epistle addressed to archbishop Cuthbert, and indirectly blaming him for some disorders among the clergy in England, who received their tythes, but forgot their duty (see Johnson's Preface to 747 and a note, and Spelman Conc. v. 1. p. 240). And Mr. Hume, we see, is grossly mistaken. They were paid undoubtedly from the first establishment of Christianity in the island.

The Saxon clergy therefore could not be encouraged by their success in acquiring the tythe of land, to pretend to that of the gains of industry. There was no interval of time betwixt the establishment of a clergy, and the payment of ground-tythes, in England. There was none at least, that is marked by the light of history; and Mr. Hume's sermons and homilies are all the creation of his own fancy. And the first domestick record, that mentions the payment of the tythe of land, mentions equally the discharge of the tenth of personal gains (Exc. 25, 101, and 102).—But the mode of proving here is worthy of a particular attention. It is truly curious. Mr. Hume asserts the clergy never to have acquired the tythe of land till 854. Encouraged by their success in inculcating this right, he says, they pretended to the tenth of personal gains. And in proof of the latter assertion he appeals to a record, not later than 854, but actually prior to it by more than a century. In proof of a fact asserted to be posteriour to 854, he appeals to a canon of 747. He refers to Spelman Conc. vol. i. p. 268, and to the 100th Excerption of Egbert archbishop of York.

—"The ecclesiasticks had never yet been able to get possession of the tythes; and they therefore seized the present "favourable opportunity of making that acquisition, when a "weak, superstitious prince [Ethelwulph] was on the throne, "&c."

This assertion is equally with the former materially false. The clergy could not take advantage of any circumstances to get the

the tythes into their poſſeſſion in 854, when they had actually poſſeſſed them for more than two centuries. They particularly could not want the tenth of the produce of land in 854, when, according to Mr. Hume's own account in his appeal to Spelman Conc. p. 268 v. i, they had enjoyed that and the tythe of perſonal gains more than a century before.—But the donation of Ethelwulph in 854 and 855 is greatly miſ-repreſented by Mr. Hume. It was no donation of tythes at all. And it was not made ſolely to the clergy. It was actually a gift of land. And it was actually ordered to be diſtributed to the clergy, the monks, the nuns, or the poor; ſive famulis et famulabus Dei Deo ſervientibus ſive laicis miſeris. See Mr. Carte's particular and authentick account of this donation, v. 1. p. 293.

III.

BEFORE a building could be uſed for divine offices, it was required to be conſecrated by the biſhop, formally ſequeſtered from all ſecular applications, and dedicated to the purpoſes of publick devotion [1]. And every church at its conſecration received the name of ſome particular perſonage, who was celebrated in the written annals or the traditionary hiſtory of Chriſtianity, and whoſe name had been admitted into that great roll of eccleſiaſtical fame, the Calendar of the church. This cuſtom was practiſed among the Roman Britons; and they had the church of St. Martin at Canterbury [2], and (as I ſhall immediately ſhew) that of St. Michael in Mancheſter [3]. It was alſo continued among the Saxons, and the Saxon churches in York, London, and Mancheſter were diſtinguiſhed by the names of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Mary. And, in the council which was held at Cealchythe in 816, the name of the denominating ſaint was expreſsly required to be inſcribed on

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the altars, and also on the walls of the church or a tablet within it [3].

The feast of this saint became of course the festival of the church. And the connection betwixt the church and saint being enhanced by the fancifulness of superstition, and the former supposed to be under the patronage of the latter, the parishioners would naturally consider the day of their spiritual guardian with particular respect, and celebrate it with peculiar festivity. This conduct would as naturally be encouraged by the civil and ecclesiastical governors, because it substituted innocent and Christian festivals in the room of the impious and idolatrous anniversaries of heathenism. The common people, generally in all countries as much attached to the festivals, as they are devoted to the principles, of any religion, finding their annual feasts return as before, and being now able to join in them without guilt, would be the sooner weaned from their idolatrous attachments. And this would be the natural operation of the affections, equally on the continent and in the island, and equally among the Britons and Saxons. Thus at the first commencement of Christianity among the Jutes of Kent, and with a view to promote the conversion of them and the rest, Gregory prudently advised what had been previously done among the Britons [4], Christian festivals to be instituted in the place of the idolatrous, and the suffering-day of the martyr whose relicks were reposited in the church, or the day on which the building was actually dedicated, to be the established feast of the parish [5]. Both were appointed and observed. And they were observed and appointed as distinct festivals. Bishop Kennet indeed, in his sensible account of our wakes, has invariably confounded them, and attributed to the day of dedication what is true only concerning the saint's day [6]. But they were fully distinguished at first among the Saxons, as appears from the laws of the Confessor, where the Dies Dedicationis or Dedicatio is repeatedly discriminated from the Propria Festivitas Sancti or Celebratio Sancti [7]. And they remained equally distinct to the Reformation, the dedication-day in 1536 being

 ordered

Sect. III. ordered for the future to be kept on the first sunday in October, and the festival of the patron saint to be celebrated no longer [8].

But the former could never have been observed by the people with the same regard as the latter. That was merely a feast commemorative of the church's commencement. And this was one previously kept by the nation in general, and the day of their own saint in particular. This therefore, in a high strain of pre-eminence over the other, was actually denominated THE CHURCH'S HOLIDAY or its peculiar festival [9]. And, while this remains in many parishes at present, the other is so utterly annihilated in all, that the learned and sensible antiquary, whom I have mentioned before, actually knew nothing of its distinct existence, and absolutely confounded it with this.

Thus instituted at first, the day of the tutelar saint was observed, most probably by the Britons, and certainly by the Saxons, with great devotion. And the evening before every saint's day, in the Saxon-Jewish method of reckoning the hours, being an actual part of the day, and therefore like that resigned to the duties of publick religion, as they reckoned sunday from the first to commence at the sunset of saturday; the evening preceding the church's holiday would be observed with all the devotion of the festival [10]. The people actually repaired to the church, and joined in the services of it [11]. And they thus spent the evening of their greater festivities in the monasteries of the north, as early as the conclusion of the seventh century. In that of Rippon, and on the anniversary of Wilfrid particularly, we see the bishops, abbots, and numerous trains of attendants, all convened at the monastery in order to celebrate the day, and all assembled the evening before it at the prayers of the church [12]. And these services were naturally denominated from their late hour pæccan or Wakes and Vigils or Eves. That of the anniversary at Rippon, as early as the commencement of the eighth century, is expressly denominated the Vigil [13]. But that of the church's holiday was named the Cyric pæccan or Church-

Church-wake, the Church-vigil or Church-eve[14]. And it was this commencement of both with a wake, which has now caused the days to be generally preceded with vigils, and the church-holiday particularly to be denominated the church-wake. So religiously was the eve and festival of the patron saint observed for many ages by the Saxons; even as late as the reign of Edgar, the former being spent in the church and employed in prayer[15]. And the wake, and all the other holidays in the year, were put upon the same footing with the octaves of Christmas, of Easter, and of Pentecost; and any persons repairing to the celebration of the day were, as all ordinarily resorting to the church were, under the immediate protection of the king, and consequently free from arrests, in their way to and return from it[16].

When Gregory recommended the festival of the patron saint, he also recommended something more adapted to gain a general reception than religious acts and exercises. He advised, that the people should be encouraged on the day of the festival to erect booths of branches about the church, and to feast and be merry in them with innocence[17]. And, as the authority of Gregory would certainly cause the encouragement to be given, so the smallest would be effectual. Nor would such churches only as had previously been heathen temples[18], but all, immediately have the day of their guardian saint observed with this open festivity. As the people had been all idolaters, the reason would be equally forcible for one parish as another. And the strong tendency of the common people to every sensitive enjoyment would make the practice universal. In our own and every parish, on the returning anniversary of the saint, little pavilions were constructed of boughs; and the immediate neighbourhood of St. Michael's, and the church-yard of St. Mary's, resounded with the voice of hospitality and the notes of merriment.

But few persons are ever to be intrusted to feast. And fewer are to be allowed to meet in numbers together. There is a contagious viciousness in crouds. Though each individual

Sect. III. of them, alone and by himself, would act with a religious propriety; yet all together they act with irreligion and folly. The fire imperceptibly runs from breast to breast, each contributes to swell the tide of spirits beyond its proper bounds, and wickedness and absurdity enter at the breach that is made in reason. And this viciousness is always augmented in its force, when the grosser spirits, that are merely the result of feasting, mingle and ferment the tide. The feasting of the saint's day was soon abused. And it seems to have been greatly so before the reign of Edgar, as the intemperance of the festival was then creeping even into the vigil, and even mixing with the offices of religion. In the very body of the church, when the people were assembled for devotion, they were beginning to mind diversions and introduce drinkings[19]. And so gross an abuse of the eve could have stolen in only from the licentiousness of the festival. The growing intemperance would gradually stain the service of the vigil, till the festivity of it was converted, as it now is, into the rigour of a fast[20]. These disorders would be less obnoxious on the day itself, because they did not intrude within the church and profane the prayers. But they were certainly greater, and went on increasing in viciousness and folly, till they too justly scandalized the puritans of the last century, and numbers of the wakes were disused entirely. Our own has been long discontinued. It was not abolished in 1536 by the law of Henry the eighth, which appears to have had little or no influence on the general practice. It was put down by a particular and local order in 1579, and forgotten in the long and rigid reign of puritanism that was then commencing at Manchester. And Henry earl of Derby, Henry earl of Huntingdon, William lord bishop of Chester, and others of the High Commission under Queen Elizabeth, assembled at Manchester in 1579; issued orders against pipers and minstrels playing, making and frequenting ales, bear-baitings, and bull-baitings, on the sunday, or any other day of the week in time of divine service or sermon, and prohibited for the future all superfluous and

 super-

ſuperſtitious ringing, common feaſts, and WAKES[21]. But the wake of the neighbouring pariſh of Eccles is celebrated among us to the preſent day. And a conſiderable number of people reſort to it annually from our own and the adjoining pariſhes.

This cuſtom of a celebrity in the neighbourhood of the church, on the days of particular ſaints, was introduced into England from the continent, and muſt have been familiar equally to the Britons and Saxons; being obſerved among the churches of Aſia in the ſixth century, and by thoſe of Weſt-Europe in the ſeventh[22]. And equally in Aſia and Europe, equally on the continent and in the iſland, theſe celebrities were the cauſes of thoſe commercial marts which we denominate Fairs. The people reſorted in crouds to the feſtival[23], and a conſiderable proviſion would be wanted for their entertainment. The proſpect of intereſt invited the little traders of the country to come and offer their wares, and the convenience of the accommodation promoted a vigorous ſale among the people. And other traders were induced by the experience of theſe, to bring in different articles, and hope for an equal ſale. Thus, among the many pavilions for hoſpitality in the neighbourhood of the church, various booths were erected for the ſale of commodities. In large towns ſurrounded with populous diſtricts, the reſort of the people to the wake would be great, and the attendance of traders at the celebrity numerous. And this reſort and this attendance conſtitute a fair. Baſil expreſly mentions the numerous appearance of traders at theſe feſtivals in Aſia, and Gregory notes the ſame cuſtom to be common in Europe[24]. And, as the feſtival was obſerved on a Feria or holiday, it naturally aſſumed to itſelf, and as naturally communicated to the mart, the appellation of Feria or Fair. The ſame among the Saxons, the French, the Germans, and the Britons, Fæger, Foire, Feyer, and Faire, the word was derived from the ſame ſource in all theſe nations, the one eccleſiaſtical language of Weſt-Europe at this period[25]. And ſeveral of our

moſt

Sect. III. most antient fairs appear to have been actually held, and have been actually continued to our own time, on the original church-holidays of the places; as that on the festival of St. Peter at St. Peter's church in Westminster, another on the feast of St. Cuthbert at St. Cuthbert's in Durham, and a third on the holiday of St. Bartholomew at St. Bartholomew's in London[26].

I have previously shewn the town of Manchester to have the churches of St. Mary and St. Michael in the Doomsday record, both equally possessed of the same endowment, and both existing to the Conquest. That of St. Mary I have shewn to be in the present town. And that of St. Michael was therefore in Aldport. The former was the parish-church erected by the Saxons; and the latter was therefore built by the Britons. When these were dedicated to St. Michael and St. Mary, the feasts of both would become distinguished festivals at Manchester, and the crouded celebrity near the church settle a considerable fair in the old and new town. And that is evidently our insignificant fair of Knotmill, and this the more important one of Acres-field, at present.

The feast of St. Michael was not then, as it now is, placed towards the rear of the year. It was near the front of it, and very nigh to Easter. For the plough-alms are ordered by the council of Ænham in 1011 to be discharged within fifteen days after Easter, by the laws of Ethelred more determinately on St. Michael's day, and by the constitutions of Canute, the successor of Ethelred, on the fifteenth day after Easter[27]. In these ages therefore Michaelmas was always within fifteen days, and was actually on the fifteenth, after Easter-sunday. And on this day was the fair of Aldport originally celebrated. But, as Aldport decayed and the new town arose, the mart naturally lost its importance. It was still however observed as a festivity for the servants, under its former appellation of a fair, and would be so as long as St. Michael's day continued a festival of the church and a day of vacation from labour. And, when this was abolished

lished at the Reformation, that was naturally adjourned to the time on which it is now kept, the neighbouring holidays of Easter.

Among the many festivals of the Blessed Virgin, one was denominated the Assumption of St. Mary, and distinguished over the rest by the pre-eminent title of St. Mary's Feast. This was observed in the season of harvest, as a law of Alfred mentions some days of grace conceded to free servants in harvest-time, being all the week before St. Mary's mass [28]. And it was the fifteenth of August. The neighbouring church of Eccles being equally dedicated with our own to the Virgin Mary, its wake is observed on that day at present, if it happens to be a sunday, and, if not, on the sunday immediately following it. And on the fifteenth of August, no doubt, Acres fair was regularly kept from its early institution in the seventh century to the sixth of Henry the third. Then, for reasons which I shall immediately mention, the baron of Manchester converted his prescriptive into a chartered fair, and transferred it to its present period.

From the Saxon mode of reckoning the hours, as I have previously shewn, the evening preceding a holiday was actually esteemed a part of it, and therefore observed equally with it. And in the reign of Edgar, as I have also shewn, the festivity of the holiday began to be extended backwards into the eve. In a short time afterwards, the vigil would bear its full share of the feasting. And, as the fair occasioned by the latter would naturally be commensurate with it in duration, those of Aldport and the New Town, and all others in the kingdom, were therefore continued for a couple of days. Aldport fair lasts only a couple at present. And the other could have had a right to no more till the sixth of Henry the third, when it was extended by the charter to three. But even the charter was over-borne by the custom, and the mart continues only two at present.

The fair of St. Michael is kept to this hour at the site of the Old Town, in the neighbourhood of the Roman station, and

Sect. III. and along the course of Aldport-lane. That of St. Mary is equally kept on its original ground, the plane of the antient church-yard and the area of Acres-field. And both wakes and fairs were generally celebrated in church-yards, as late as the thirteenth century[29].

Thus were two marts established at Manchester, one being now begun by the Saxons, and the other having previously commenced among the Britons. Either part of the borough had a distinct fair at it. And that of the new town would greatly promote the growth of it. Few must have been the fairs in other parts of the county. They could have been settled only in towns at first. And, few as the towns of Lancashire were at this period, all the fairs would be greatly crouded. Nearly half the south of Lancashire must have repaired to the marts of Manchester. And this was the reason of that formal procession which is still made to the fair, and of that publick proclamation which is still issued in Acres-square and the market-place. The baron, the clergy, and the gentry walked solemnly in procession together. The burgesses under arms escorted them. And the seneschal of the manour in the name of his master, who was the guardian of the peace and the justiciary of the tything, proclaimed the fair, and an immunity from all arrests to the persons engaged in it; and commanded the attendant crouds to keep the peace, and use no weapons offensive or defensive, during the continuance of it[30]. This proclamation would also be made, as it now is, on the second day of it. The eve, as I have already shewn, grew up by degrees and some time after the reign of Edgar, a late addition to the original festivity. And the fair was previously established, and the custom of proclaiming the peace had begun before. Thus fixed before the fair was extended to the eve, the proclamation could not possibly take notice of this at first, and has naturally continued un-observant of it ever since.

When Acres-field was made the site of the antient church, it was given for that purpose by the baron. But, when the present

present ground was equally given by him, the other would naturally revert to him again. And the baron actually possessed it to the time of the recent constructions upon it. Previously to the removal of the church, however, the fair had been established on the ground; and he received it under the necessary reservation, that the mart should still be celebrated there. And the lessee of the lord, even within the memory of the present generation, was obliged to carry away his corn before the day of the fair, or the people were at liberty to enter the field and trample it under their feet. The feast of St. Mary I have already shewn to have been in the period of harvest. And, as it was at the very beginning of our Lancashire harvest, this would be a considerable injury to the lord, since it precluded all application of the land to tillage. To remove the obstruction and prevent the injury for the future by an alteration of the fair-day, was the great reason assuredly for the baron's application to the government in the reign of Henry the third, and the conversion of the prescriptive into a chartered fair. By the principles of the Saxon and Norman constitutions, no fair or market could be appointed or transferred without the permission of the sovereign. Henry was then in his minority. But the regent granted a licence in the sixth of that king; and in the twelfth the king himself, then a major, confirmed it by a charter[illegible]. The consideration for the grant is expresfsly specified in our national records, and was five marks and a palfrey[illegible]. And the fair was settled above a month later in the year; being transferred from the fourteenth and fifteenth of August, the eve and feast of St. Mary, to the twentieth and twenty-first of September, the vigil and festival of St. Matthew, and the day following.

By the feudal principles which I have formerly mentioned, the tolls of the fair, as well as the market, all belonged to the baron. The fair was only a greater and annual market. And yet, when Acres-field was the area of the church, the commodities vended in it could never have been subject

Sect. III. to the baronial toll, and paid their little customs to the rector [32]. But when the church was removed to its present site, and Acres-field was resigned again to secular uses, the baron became entitled to the toll. Accordingly, the customs of both the market and fairs have been enjoyed by him ever since. And a small and narrow street in the town, that leads from the Deansgate into the old inclosure, the one passage for the cattle and commodities to the fair, retains the appellation of Toll-lane to the present moment.

[1] See Bede lib. v. c. 4 and 5, &c., and Concilia vol. i. p. 3 for Ireland.—[2] Bede lib. i. c. 26.—[3] Const. 2.—[4] See Mona p. 183.—[5] Bede lib. i. c. 30.—[6] Par. Ant. p. 608—612.—[7] LL. 3.—[8] P. 824. vol. iii. Concilia.—[9] Ibid.—[10] Wihtred p. 11. Leges for sunday, and Edw. Conf. LL. 3. for the eves of saints-days.—[11] Edgar Canon 28. p. 84. Leges.—[12] Eddius's Wilfrid (Gale) c. 65, Anniversariâ die pontificis nostri, undique pontifices nostri, undique abbates, suos ab oriente & occidente, ab aquilone & austro, ad solemnem diem congregantes, in unum convenerunt, vigiliasque vespere facientes in ecclesiâ—. Crastinâ die—, solemnitatis convivio & cœnâ finitâ in crepusculo vespertino &c.—[13] Vigilias vespere facientes in ecclesiâ.—[14] Edgar Canon 28. p. 84. Leges.—[15] Ibid.——[16] Edw. Conf. LL. 3.—[17] Bede lib. i. c. 30.—[18] See Bede ibid.—[19] Edgar Canon 28.—[20] See in Par. Ant. p. 609 a quotation from the Legend of St. John.—[21] H.'s MS. p. 21.—[22] See Basil and Gregory in Spelman's Glossary and Kennet's Par. Ant.—[23] Edw. Conf. LL. 3.—[24] Spelman and Kennet.—[25] Davies in his Welsh Dictionary idly derives the British Faire from the Greek Φοριον.—[26] Spelman.—[27] Conc. Ænham p. 288. vol. i. Concilia, Ethelred LL. 7. p. 295, and Cnute LL. Eccles. 8. p. 302.—[28] LL. 39. This festival was also observed in France, at first without authority, and afterwards by it; Baluzius t. 1. col. 732 and 748.—[29] Cantilupe A. D. 1240. p. 666. vol. i. Concilia, and Kennet's Par. Ant.—[30] So in Leges Burgorum c. 91. fol.

fol. 144, Poſtquam pax nundinarum in burgo proclamata fuerit, nullus capietur nec attachietur in illis nundinis, niſi &c.—[31] Dugdale's Baronage p. 608. vol. i.—[32] So in a dialogue of 1493 the prelates and curates are ſaid to take monies of the chapmen, for the place that they ſtand in within the churchyards (Kennet's Par. Ant. p. 613).

CHAP. XII.

THE LEADING PRINCIPLES OF THEOLOGY AMONG THE SAXONS — THE INROADS OF FANATICISM AND SUPERSTITION UPON THEM—AND THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ROMISH SUPREMACY INTO THE ISLAND.

I.

THE wild ſyſtem of natural religion, and the rational one of revealed, are both of neceſſity addreſſed equally to the head and the heart of man. And both will therefore comprize doctrines to be believed as well as commands to be practiſed. The one pretending to diſcloſe, and the other actually diſcloſing, the various duties of man to God; the nature of the latter muſt neceſſarily be revealed in part, as the foundation of the religion and the reaſon for the duties. And any, even a partial, revelation of the divine properties will contain in it many notices, too refined for the inſpection of our minds, but too certain not to demand the aſſent of our underſtandings. Such in the religion of nature is the eternity of the great firſt cauſe, a point demonſtrable by the unaſſiſted powers of our reaſon, and yet involving in itſelf a ſeeming contradiction, exiſtence without beginning of being, and continuance without ſucceſſion of time. And ſuch alſo is that ſublimeſt ſentiment in the whole compaſs of natural theology, the awful omnipreſence of the Deity, his eſſence being infinitely diffuſed through ſpace, his center everywhere and his circumference nowhere. Of the ſame complexion and genius,

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in the religion of revelation, is the equally infinite extension of the seemingly contradictory attributes of the Deity, his mercy and his justice; the moral freedom of his will, when his nature is incapable of moral evil; and his necessary existence for a whole eternity before the creation of angels, when all his moral attributes must have lain dormant within him, for want of objects to receive the exercise of them; the production of matter, and creation of spirits, out of nothing; and the trinity of persons in an unity of essence. And of the same kind also are those other astonishing notices, the human race falling by representative wickedness and rising again by vicarious goodness, a God the substitute in sufferings for a revolted world, an incarnate Deity, and a crucified Divinity.

The doctrines of the Trinity, the Fall, and the Satisfaction are written in the most legible characters on the pages of Scripture, and have been invariably taken from them since by the Christians of every age. In the long flight of seventeen hundred years, not a national church has been constituted in Christendom, which has not received them as the dictates of inspiration. And the fact is a full evidence of their truth. They are certainly the doctrines that God designed to be retained in all ages of Christianity, because they are those which have been actually retained. The great and characteristick principles of our religion would be revealed so plainly at first, and guarded so carefully afterwards, by the providence of God; that the un-interrupted consent of all national churches, from the commencement of Christianity to the present time, is in itself a sufficient authentication of them. And the church of this island, in the period equally of the Britons and Saxons, regularly professed the doctrines.

For the earlier part of our history, we have ample testimony of the fact in the writings of Athanasius and the remains of Gildas; the latter being the only monuments of the British church, that have been transmitted to us by the hands of Britons. The Father expresly mentions the inhabitants of this island as retaining the Nicene faith, in general, to the reign of Jovian [t].

Sect. I. Jovian [1]. And the historian affirms the doctrines of the Trinity in Unity and the Incarnation of the Deity, in particular, to have continued even the un-troubled faith of our church nearly to the Roman departure; when, as he expresses this curious fact, the Arian perfidy for the first time shed its pestilential venom in the island [2]. But in his epistolary address to the kings and clergy of Britain, where the general principles of faith are necessarily the same that were believed by both, we find all the three doctrines plainly, though incidentally, asserted. Judas (he says) betrayed the saviour of all men, omnium salvatorem, for thirty pieces of silver [3]. Citing some of Christ's expressions, he calls them the sayings of the creator and saviour of the world, salvator mundi factorque [4]. And oh wonderful condescension, he exclaims, for Christ to style himself the reproach of men, opprobrium hominum, when he himself took away the reproach of the world, cùm omnis mundi opprobria deleverit [5]. Comparing the conduct of the clergy with the behaviour of Judas, the latter (he intimates) went to the Jews in order to betray to them for reward, not a mere man, not an angelick being in the habit of man, but actually and really GOD; adiit Judæos ut DEUM venderet [6]. And, upbraiding the clergy in another place for their want of the spirit of martyrdom, he asks them, Whether, like the apostles formerly, they could with all their hearts give thanks to the TRINITY, that they were accounted worthy to suffer for CHRIST the GENUINE GOD [6]. Quoting also our Saviour's well-known declaration, "I "can do nothing of myself," as a model for their conduct; he immediately subjoins, And yet he was coæval with the Father and the Holy Spirit, and of the same common substance with both, and framed the heaven, the earth, and all the inestimable decorations of them [7]. And in the conclusion of this address, invoking the blessing of God upon good pastors, and speaking of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit by name, he calls them the One Omnipotent God, and attributes eternal glory and honour to the Three in One [8].

For

For the time of the Saxons, we have still ampler testimony of the fact in the authoritative institutes of their church. And even in the first national council of England, which was summoned as early as 680, the members in a pious and orthodox profession of their faith, as they say, and in concurrence with the creeds of the primitive bishops, declared the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit to be properly and truly a Trinity in Unity consubstantial, and an Unity in Trinity, that is, as they themselves explain their meaning, one God in three consubstantial subsistences or persons of equal glory and honour [9]. In that which was assembled at Cloveshoo in 747, all priests are required, as the first and principal point, rightly and sincerely to believe in the Holy Trinity [10]. In the next century and the publick constitutions of Alfred, the Redeemer of the world is expressly denominated OUR GOD [11]. In the tenth and the Penitential of Edgar, every confessionary is required to express his belief in the Lord the High Father, Wielder of all things, in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost [12]; and, immediately afterwards, Christ is actually denominated the Lord Saviour who wieldeth and governeth heavens and earth [13]. In the last or eleventh age, the laws of Canute assert the Omnipotent God to have first made us all, and then to have redeemed us with a great price, that is, say they, with his own life [14]. And in the council of Ænham the object of our Christian adorations is declared to be One God, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; the Father un-begotten, the Son begotten by the Father before time and born of his mother in it, and the Holy Spirit proceeding from both; a Trinity in persons, and an Unity in substance, co-equal in divinity, and co-eternal in honour and glory [15].

From these historical evidences the doctrine of the Trinity, particularly, appears to have been always embraced by the Christians of this island, to have been introduced originally with our religion, and to have continued incorporated with it ever since. The hypothesis of Arianism was totally unknown among us, till the conclusion nearly of the Roman government here. And, at its first appearance in the country, the great body of our believers

Sect. I. believers treated it with a high contempt for its absurdity and with a strong indignation at its wickedness.

The course of my history has naturally led me to point out the facts. And the duty, which every writer owes to religion, induces me to make the remarks. A film seems to be gathering upon the eye of Christianity in this country. Arianism, which had been banished the island for twelve or thirteen ages, returned into it about ninety years ago; and baffled in one or two efforts, and obliged to desist from its attempts, has very lately begun to disturb us again. And, what peculiarly marks the operations of the present period, Folly has solicited the services of Frenzy, and Arianism called in Fanaticism to its aid. This monster, whose ravages in the last century have left a formidable impression of his power on our minds, has awakened from his long repose at the call, cast off the gloomy vizor of Calvinism that he formerly wore; and started forth with all his original extravagance to destroy almost the only rational principles that he once entertained. With such an associate and friend, even Arian imbecillity is become dangerous. And the viper, that hitherto had only hissed in the dust, is now emboldened to rise upon its spires, to look defiance, and to threaten destruction.

[1] Ad. Jov. p. 246. t. i. Paris 1627.—[2] Arriana perfidia, atrox seu anguis, transmarina nobis evomens venena, exitiabilè &c. Hist. c. 9.—[3] P. 37, Gale.—[4] P. 33.—[5] P. 27. So in his Hist. c. 8. he speaks of Christ's dying for mankind, Christum animam pro ovibus ponentem—and p. 37.—[6] P. 26, Quis verum, —post diversarum plagas virgarum, ut sancti apostoli, quod dignus habitus est pro CHRISTO VERO DEO contumeliam pati, toto corde TRINITATI gratias agit?—[7] P. 27, Cùm ipse, coævus Patri ac Spiritui Sancto, communis ejusdemq; substantiæ, cœlum et terram cum omni eorum inæstimabili ornamento fecerit.—[8] P. 39, Ipse omnipotens Deus,—Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, cui sit honor et gloria in secula seculorum.—

[9] Vol.

* Vol. i. p. 52. Concilia, Nos, pie atq orthodoxè—professi, credimus consonanter et confitemur, secundùm sanctos Patres, proprié et veraciter Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, Trinitatem in Unitate consubstantialém, et Unitatem in Trinitate, hoc est, unum Deum in tribus subsistentiis vel personis consubstantialibus æqualis gloriæ et honoris.—" Canon 11. p. 96. vol i, Cuncti presbyteri,—quod primum est, de fide Sacræ Trinitatis rectè ac sinceré sapiant.—" LL. 49. p. 189. vol. i, Unigenitus Dei filius, DEUS NOSTER, hoc est, Salvator Christus.—" P. 230. v. i.—" Canon 9. ibid.—" Canon 18. p. 303. v. i, Deus omnipotens nos omnes creavit, & deinde magno pretio, hoc est, propriâ vitâ, quam pro nobis omnibus tradidit, redemit.— " Unum Deum colendum esse debere, Patrem videlicet, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum; Patrem siquidem in-genitum, Filium autem ante tempora genitum a Patre, in tempore natum a matre, Spiritum verò Sanctum ab utroque procedentem; Trinitatem siquidem in personis, Unitatem in substantiâ, Deitate co-æqualem, honore et gloria co-æternum (p. 293. v. i. Concilia). The same doctrine is also set forth in the strongest terms, as the faith of the Gallican church in 789, Baluzius t. i. col. 240.

II.

THE mind of man, exerting its powers un-disturbed by the impulse of passion, would become more religious as it grew more sensible, and rise equally happy in devotion and sentiment. But since that awful catastrophe in our history, which has so signally evinced its reality by its ravages, a foreign bias is always soliciting our reason. And some wild passion mixes constantly with our reflexions at the source, and discolours all the current of our opinions. Hence even the piety and devotion of man becomes so generally a system only of soberer

Sect. II. folly, either stained with enthusiasm, the religion of the fancy; or muddled with superstition, the religion of the fears. And, as fear impels more strongly and operates more universally than fancy, the piety of mankind has in all ages been so uniformly mixt with superstition. Even under the influences of Christianity, which have greatly expanded the mind and invigorated the thoughts of man in the former, on a survey of Christendom in ages past and at present, we constantly see the latter the one predominating colour in the texture of its religion. And the Saxons shared in the general disorder, superstition early marking their offices of devotion, and at last sinking into the grossness of positive idolatry.

One of the rankest superstitions in modern Christianity is that palpable absurdity of Romanism, the doctrine of Transubstantiation. This principle of belief, affirming the consecrated elements in our Saviour's hand to be absolutely and literally the very body, and the very blood of that body, in the hand of which he then held the elements, directly asserts a part to be greater than the whole. And, contradicting also the testimony of our senses, it entirely overturns the authority of miracles, and subverts half the pillars of Christianity. The doctrine however is received in a great part of Christendom at present. But it was too gross to be admitted by the Saxons. And a canon of Elfric is pointed directly against it. The housel is Christ's body, it says, not bodily but ghostlily; not the body in which he suffered, but that of which he spoke, when he blessed the loaf and wine into housel the night ere his suffering[s].

The injoined celibacy of the clergy is one of those institutions, which could never have flowed from any suggestions of reason: And it resulted only from the wildest superstition. As mere men, the clergy will share in the common sensations of life, be influenced by the common principles of bodies, and feel the instinctive impulses to matrimony as strongly as the rest of mankind. As beings powerfully informed with a social spirit and naturally melting into social affections, they will equally

with others relish the joys of conversation, the intercourse of civilities, and the reciprocation of amities. And perhaps we may add with strict propriety, that as social beings, whose sensations are polished by religion and sentiments improved by education, they will generally more than others feel the influence of the tenderer passions, and be actuated by all the softer sympathies of friendship; and particularly seek, therefore, the most refined of all social pleasures in the scenes of domestick matrimonial life, where united interests, united affections, and united persons give the largest scope and fairest play to all the powers of affectionate friendship. Yet the clergy, who were allowed to marry during the period of the Britons [3], were discouraged from it even in the time of Augustin; the divines, that were married, being considered as those who could not contain [3]. And, as early as the middle of the eighth century, matrimony was authoritatively forbidden the clergy, and the offence punished with degradation [4]. The nature of this imaginary crime was soon aggravated, and, what strongly marks the fanaticism of the times, cohabitation made equal in guilt to murder [5]. But nearly the whole body of the clergy opposed these innovations. Sensation was superiour to enthusiasm in its impulses, and sentiment could not be extinguished by superstition. And almost all of them, in contradiction to the laws and in contempt of the penalties, continued regularly to marry even below the Conquest. This is little known, but very certain. The provisions, ineffectually made against the practice, are sufficient attestations of the fact. In a letter of pope Pascal to archbishop Anselm, almost the greater and better part of the clergy in England, *pæne major et melior pars clericorum*, is declared even at that late period of time, not merely to have been married, but, what is a much more extensive assertion, to have been actually the sons of priests [6]. And, though in the days of Anselm the laws began to be more vigorously enforced, and were more and more industriously pointed afterwards, against the matrimony of the clergy; yet, even as low as the Reformation, numbers of them continued

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avowedly to marry. This is little suspected, but actually true. About 1173, the canon which had been formerly enacted was published again, and the sons of clergymen were disqualified from succeeding their fathers in their churches [7]. This still proving ineffectual, it was again repeated in 1175 and 1281; and, what is very extraordinary in itself, and marks the strong opposition that was made to the execution of the law, all the power of it was taken away by a limitation in the last repetition, and the sons were allowed to succeed by a papal dispensation [8]. In 1279, even one of the bishops appeared to be a married man; and, as archbishop Peckham observes upon the fact, good and grave rectors, *bonæ et graves personæ*, were reported to be equally so [9]. In 1287 we accordingly find many of the beneficed clergy, in the west, making their wills directly in favour of their wives [10]. And the wives, or in the canonical language of the times the concubines, of presbyters are mentioned as numerous even down to the Reformation [11].

Nor were the discouragements of matrimony, as they have been hitherto supposed, confined entirely to the clergy. They were extended in a lesser degree to the laity. The marriage of first cousins, very reasonably permitted by the institutes of Justinian, was prohibited by the earliest canons of our church; and principally for this impertinent reason, which still retains its hold with the lower rank of our people, that the children of such matches were never known to prosper [12]. The progress of ideas in the mind of man, with regard to the marriages of the nearest collateral relations, is very remarkable. What in the real nature of things could carry no criminality with it, what was fairly allowable in itself, and was absolutely necessary at first from the commencement of mankind in a single pair; this being prohibited afterwards for merely prudential reasons, the impression which the law has made upon the mind has been uncommonly lively, and a positive forbiddal has assumed all the air of a natural inhibition. The spirit of delicacy still looks with an instinctive abhorrence on the practice. And the genius of superstition was formerly at work, and is so yet, we

see,

fe, to extend it from sisters to cousins. The matrimony of second and third cousins, however, was allowed. But even this liberty was afterwards abridged. And in the seventh century that of second cousins was interdicted, and that of third only connived at. The marriage was not regular, but the union was not to be dissolved [14]. And, in the progress of strictness and folly, the conjunctions of third cousins was positively forbidden, and even actually annulled; and was atoned for in life by an injoined penance, or punished at death by exclusion from holy ground [14]. Nor did the folly stop here. The line of prohibition was at last and very early continued to fifth cousins [15], and, still more ridiculously, extended even to merely spiritual relations, the gossips or sponsors in baptism [16]. No layman was permitted to marry more than twice; and he was even subjected to a penance for the second marriage [17]. And women were actually forbidden to approach the altar during the celebration of mass, and required to make their offerings at a distance [18]. Such was the coarse treatment of the more refined and more religious half of the creation, by the hands of superstition. He, that had used his matrimonial liberty, was ordered not to enter the church till he had washed himself; and, even then, not immediately afterwards [19]. And, on the same wild principle, abstinence from the matrimonial act was required of all upon the bridal night, on sunday, wednesday, and friday nights, all Lent, seven days before Whitsunday and fourteen before Christmass-day, and three nights before and one after the sacrament [20]. These rules amounted not indeed to an absolute prohibition of marriage to the laity. But they came very nearly to it. They served strongly to represent the intercourse of the sexes, even under the modest protection of matrimony, as carrying a high degree of pollution with it. And they pointed out matrimony itself, that positive institution of Wisdom and Purity, and that closing addition to the happiness of Paradise, as below the option of the wise and good, and only tolerated by Providence to the weak and sinful.

But

Sect. II. But superstition generated a rich variety of other follies among the Saxons, many of which are triumphantly retained by the members of the Roman communion, and some by individuals of our Protestant churches. Such was the extravagant fondness for relicks, which were placed in all the parish-churches of the kingdom, and carried in all the processions of Rogation-week[1]. Such also was the right of extreme unction, an appointment expressly made at the first for the miraculous recovery of the sick, and impertinently retained afterward when the miraculous powers were withdrawn[2]. And such was that of unction in Baptism, an act of administration in this sacrament, which makes a profane and impious addition to the element of the original institution[3]. Of this nature likewise was the injoined abstinence from blood; a rule originally delivered by God, as he expressly assures us himself, because "it was the "blood that made an atonement for the soul;" and a prescription therefore, that necessarily ended with the bloody sacrifices, and lost all its obligation at our Saviour's death[4]. And equally of this were the hanging a veil in Lent betwixt the people and the priest; the repairing to Rome, for the enhancement of devotion, and as a preparatory for death; the observance of a Jewish Sabbath, from three a-clock in the afternoon of saturday to the dawning of monday morning; the pronouncing the benediction at meals, by making the sign of the cross over the dishes; lay-baptisms, and very consistently lay-eucharists; exorcisms, and prayers and masses for particular dead[5].

But superstition, more emboldened as it proceeded, dared at last to play wilder pranks than these. And even under Christianity it audaciously advanced into idolatry, and paid to angels, to departed saints, and to images the in-communicable honour of the Father of all existence. It first assumed the delusive appearance of humility, justly considering man as unworthy to appear before God the Father, without the intervention of a third being; but forgetting the ordained intervener betwixt the Father and man, HIM, who alone was qualified for the

the office, because he only partook of the nature of both; and vainly multiplying to itself therefore a variety of inferiour and ridiculous mediators. Adoring his Creator alone, says a canon of Theodulf, let man invoke the saints, and beg them to intercede with God, first St. Mary, and then all the others[20]. And, gross as this worship was, it afterwards became much grosser. In 792, Charlemagne sending into England a copy of the synodical determinations, which had been agreed upon by a convention of more than three hundred prelates at Constantinople, and one great article of which asserted the lawfulness, and even the duty, of image-worship; Alcuinus, a learned Northumbrian, and afterwards tutor to Charlemagne, was employed by the church of England to confute the assertion from the warrant of scripture, and sent in the name of the national synod to present his answer to the French king[21]. And this conduct does honour to the good-sense of the nation. But alas! the opposition was soon given up. Adoration had been previously paid even to the rood or cross. And prayers, as might naturally be expected, were authoritatively addressed to it soon afterwards[22].

Sect. II.

[1] P. 159 Leges.—[2] Gildas's Epistle p. 38 Gale. This author, quoting St. Paul's character of a clergyman, and descanting upon the several parts of it, says this in reproof to the clergy of his own age—*Unius uxoris virum.* Quid ita apud nos quoque contemnitur, quasi non audiretur vel idem dicere et virum uxorum?—*Domum suam bene regentem, filias habentem subditos, cum omni castitate.* Ergo imperfecta est patrum castitas, si eidem non et filiorum accumuletur. Sed quid erit, ubi nec pater, nec filius mali genitoris exemplo pravatus, conspicitur castus?—[3] Gregory's first response.—[4] Exc. 160. p. 112, Cnute LL. Eccles. 6. p. 304, and Elfric's canons p. 250, v. 1. Concilia; and Conc. Ænham p. 287.—[5] Edgar's Penit. p. 92. Leges.—[6] P. 378. v. 1. Concilia.—[7] P. 474. v. 1.—[8] P. 477. v. 1. for A. D. 1175, and P. 60. v. 2. for A. D. 1281. [9] See also p. 574 and

Sect. II. and 653. v. 1.—[9] P. 40. v. 2.—[10] Synod. Exon. p. 142. v. 2.—[11] Const. for Prov. of York p. 670. v. 3. about A. D. 1518.—[12] Gregory's fifth response.—[13] See Johnson's notes on the fifth response.—[14] North. Presb. LL. 61 and 62.—[15] Exc. 139.—[16] North. Presb. LL. 61.—[17] Egbert's Penit. p. 131. v. 1. Concilia, and Elfric's Canon 9.—[18] LL. Eccles. 6.—[19] Gregory's eighth response and Egbert's Penit. Canon 26.—[20] Exc. 90 and 108, Egbert's Penit. Canon 21, and Exc. 3.—[21] Exc. 1. and Cealchythe Canon 2. A. D. 806, and Cuthbert at Clovesho Canon 16.—[22] Exc. 21. and Penit. p. 127. v. 1; Edgar Canon 65; and Ep. of St. James, c. 5, "Is any sick among you? Let him call "for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, "anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord, and *the prayer "of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up.*"—[23] Edgar Canon 66.—[24] Edgar Canon 53; and Leviticus ch. 17, "I will set my face against the soul that eateth blood,—for the "life of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given it to you "*upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls, for it is the "blood that maketh an atonement for the soul.*"—[25] Alfred LL. 36, Bede l. 5. c. 7, Edgar LL. 5, Eddius c. 47, Egbert's 5th answer and Exc. 95th (part 2) in Johnson, Exc. 84. Wulfrid's Canons A. D. 816 N° 10, and Egbert's Penit. Canon 36.—[26] Canon 23 and 29. p. 272 and 275. v. 1. Concilia.—[27] Hoveden f. 232, Imagines adorari debere, Malmesbury f. 12 and 13, Franciam veni—ecclesiasticæ causâ necessitatis, and Albinum cognomento Alcuinum p. 117. Eginhart's Charlemagne.—[28] Elfric p. 159 Leges, and Bede p. 301, Adorat crucem.—See also the strange management of Alfred with the second Commandment, in his long and unmeaning preface to his laws.

III.

IN the present excentricity of the human passions, when all the pulsations of the heart are so frequently irregular, when even the more refined breast seldom beats strongly with genuine patriotism, and the grosser affections of the generality are always eager to sacrifice the publick to private advantages; discipline must be the vital and actuating principle of society. It will for ever be necessary, as the presiding genius of government, to keep down the violence of private passions perpetually struggling to be free; to combine the contending and ir-reconcileable impulses of selfishness in the multitude, into a common system of involuntary patriotism; and to call out, encourage, and exalt the principles of publick spirit in others. And it is therefore as essential to the prosperity of the political system, as the circulation is to the welfare of the animal. When the discipline is active and the circulation lively, both systems will be healthful and vigorous. And, when that is remiss and this languid, the society may continue and the animal exist, but both will be diseased and wretched. To promote the ends of the institution is the purport of discipline. And those must be entirely given up, when this is neglected.

The church of Christ is a political society, the whole body of Christians being combined together under one polity; and, as such, will equally with others require the informing influence of discipline. And, as it is a political society constituted by God for the preservation of Christian principles and the promotion of Christian practices, it will therefore need the influence of a discipline, that shall be watchful to preserve such principles, and zealous to promote such practices, in all its members. This the great Father of Christians certainly designed to be exercised among them, when he modelled their society into a

 polity

Sect. III. polity by the institution of a government for it. It has accordingly been practised through all ages, in all the national churches into which the whole is divided, and in the various modes and degrees which the conceptions and inclinations of the governors have suggested, or the conditions and tempers of their subjects required. And it has been particularly exercised by the church of England from the earliest period.

I have already laid open the whole œconomy of church-government existing among us from the first, in the regular presidency of bishops, archdeacons, and rural deans, and in the exact inspection of episcopal, archi-diaconal, and decanal chapters [1]. At these assemblies every priest was obliged to attend, and required to present any man in his parish who was guilty of mortal sin, and whom he either could not reform or was afraid to rebuke [2]. And the person was cited publickly in the church of the district, in which he generally resided. The citations were prudently restrained to such, as already bore an indifferent character. And the accused was tested by a purgatory oath. But if a clergyman was charged with a crime by common report, or, if not charged, was probably guilty of one, he was first admonished to correct his conduct, three times privately by the dean; on perseverance, was re-admonished in the presence of two or three persons, with whom his character was already blemished; and at last was arraigned before the chapter [3]. And, though the discipline of a nation or a church will always appear more vigorous in its constitutions than it ever operated in fact, yet, under the controul of these inspectors and the influence of these regulations, that of the Saxons would prevent those grosser enormities in the laity, which, in the wretched and melancholy condition of our church-discipline at present, have so boldly arisen among us. It would also keep the clergy pretty generally attentive to their duty, and necessarily preclude that undistinguishing inspection of our present governors, under which ingeniousness, studiousness, and devotion are encouraged by no approbations, dullness, idleness, and in-devotion are discountenanced by no animadversions, and

the worſt of the order are claſſed equal in merit with the beſt. And, in the enfeebled ſtate of all manly and clerical principles among us, nothing ſupports the declining intereſts of religion and the clergy, but that the clergy and laity have ſunk equally degenerate together, and that the former are ſtill to appearance as much ſuperiour in piety to the latter, as they ever perhaps were in any of the ſtricter periods of our hiſtory.

[1] B. II. c. ix. ſ. 3.—[2] Edgar canon iv. and vi. p. 225. v. 1. Concilia.—[3] Canon vii. of Meath A. D. 1216. p. 547, and Conc. Ebor. A. D. 1195. canon xviii. p. 502, v. i. Concilia. And ſee B. II. c. ix. ſ. 3 for the rural dean's authority.

IV.

THAT extemporaneous effuſions are preferable to a preſcribed liturgy in the devotions of the church, is one of thoſe ſingular poſitions, by which fanaticiſm has at once encountered the common-ſenſe of mankind and contradicted its own practice. The un-premeditated prayers of the miniſter neceſſarily become a formulary to the congregation, and the enthuſiaſt ſtands condemned by himſelf. And they become one of the worſt ſort. As forms of devotion to the people, they carry with them every diſadvantage that can be objected to forms. And, as iſſuing extemporaneous from the miniſter, they have many diſadvantages peculiar to themſelves. When the congregation ſhould accord to the prayers, they are obliged to examine the nature of them. And, while the underſtanding is employed, the devotion is at a ſtand, and the miniſter has proceeded to ſome other particular. Every whimſy of the ingenious, every errour of the blundering, and every hereſy of the

 miſbelieving,

Sect. IV. misbelieving, must either be implicitly adopted by the people, or the advantages of publick devotion generally lost.

The Britons, like all the national churches of the world, appear to have had a liturgy. They certainly had this, because they had an ordinal. And, that they had the latter, the epistle of Gildas demonstrates. Reproving the follies of the clergy in his own age, he very properly recalls their attention to those scriptural admonitions, which were recited to them in the moments of ordination. I have thought requisite (says he) to recur to the lessons, that were appositely selected from almost every page of scripture, not merely to be read to the ordained, but to inculcate on them a faithful adherence to the principles contained in them[1]. He then immediately cites 1 Pet. i. 3. and 1 Pet. i. 13, as the first lesson in the ordinal. But let us examine (he adds) what is contained in the second of the same service, videamus quid in ejusdem secundâ lectione contineatur, and directly quotes 1 Pet. i. 22. These things are commanded by the apostle, he remarks, and were read to you on the day of your ordination, in die vestræ ordinationis lecta. And soon afterwards he refers to Acts i. 15, i. 18, and Matt. xvi. 16, 17, as recited on the same day, in eôdem die, and 1 Tim. iii. 1, as the second lesson of it[2]. These were the two lessons of the ordinal; the former being composed of various passages, 1 Pet. i. 3 and 13, Acts i. 15, 18, and Matt. xvi. 16, 17; and the latter containing 1 Pet. i. 22. Nor is this all. We find express though incidental mention of a Psalterium or liturgy, used by Columba and his Irish monks of the sixth century, and the same therefore with the British. And this appears to be a liturgy peculiar to the island, as it was very distinct from the Gallican. The latter was published near the close of the last century. And the lessons of the ordinal in it are quite different from those of the British. It had then been lost for no less than nine hundred years, buried in the secret recesses of a library, or unnoticed by the incurious eye of ignorance, when the celebrated Mabillon restored it to the world. The British is still lost, and a second Mabillon is

wante

wanted to raiſe it from the grave of ages. And a proper examination of liturgical manuſcripts would be as ſucceſsful in the iſland, no doubt, as it has already proved upon the continent. To miſs it, is the firſt ſtep. To ſearch for it, muſt be the ſecond. And I have given a mark here, by which it may be readily diſtinguiſhed[2].

When Auguſtin began to ſettle the offices for the church of England, Gregory with a ſenſible moderation permitted him to ſelect ſuch prayers from the ritual of Rome, the formulary of Gaul, or the devotional of any other church, as he ſhould eſteem moſt acceptable to God, and to combine them into a liturgy for the infant eſtabliſhment of the Saxons[3]. But a Roman by birth and by education, and more devoted than even Gregory to the authority of Rome, he declined the uſe of that liberty with which he was indulged, and which, many ages afterward, produced the manly and affectionate liturgy of the preſent times. And he actually adopted the Roman. This appears from the aſſertion of Egbert about 740, that Gregory tranſmitted to us his own antiphonary and miſſal by Auguſtin[4]. And it appears ſtill more from the canons of Cuthbert at Cloveſhoo, the birthdays of the ſaints being ordered by the thirteenth, to be kept according to the martyrology of the Roman church; the congregation being required by the fifteenth, to ſing and read what the cuſtom of the Roman church permitteth; and ſome injunctions being given in the eighteenth, according to the copy of the Roman ritual that was in uſe among them[5].

When the northern barbarians ſettled in Italy, and new-formed the language of the vanquiſhed by the incorporation of their own with it, the original dialect of the country in a ſhort time became unknown to the generality. Their liturgies and bibles, thoſe ſtandards and eſtabliſhers of a language under the influence of ordinary cauſes, naturally loſt their authority in the ſhock of ſuch a commotion, and ſoon became un-intelligible to the people. And, with a ſtrange obſtinacy of ſpirit, the governors of the church never attempted

Sect. IV. to obviate the consequences of the fact; and the bibles and liturgies still remained in the original dialect of the country. By this act of perverseness the scriptures, which were divinely composed for the instruction and exhortation of every individual, were as absolutely locked up from the people as if they had never been translated for them. The people also must either have been banished from the administrations of the church, or have kneeled at them just as much engaged in the devotions, as the monumental supplicants on the tomb-stones around them. And the folly was improved by being transplanted. It was carried with the authority of Rome across the western continent, and wafted with it into England; though the Latin language was much farther removed from the popular in both. And these facts are some of the most astonishing in all the wildly curious history of the human mind, and strongly prove one awful and humbling truth, That folly is congenial to man. During the whole time from the establishment of the English church to its reformation, a period nearly of a thousand years, the code of divine instructions was kept, and the services of publick worship were administered, among us, in the language of antient Italy. In the constitutions of Cuthbert and the canons of Elfric, we have a plain indication of the fact for the Saxon times[6]. And the former exhibit a curious specimen of casuistry with regard to the services. Though a man knows not the Latin words of the chants, says the canon, quamvis psallendo Latina quis nesciat verba, yet he may affix the wishes of his own heart to them, and to the best of his ability pray to God in them[7].

But with all this aggravated absurdity the Saxon church made provisions against it, that prevented some of its dreadful consequences. In the tenth canon of Cloveshoo the presbyters, that were ignorant of the Latin language (for some so ignorant there were even among the presbyters), are required to learn the proper interpretation of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the offices of Eucharist and Baptism, in

their

their native tongue; lest (as the canon subjoins) they be found ignorant in the intercessions and common services of their ministry, as not understanding the import of their own words. And, in the canons of Elfric, the priest is required every sunday and holiday to expound the gospel to the people in English[8].

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[1] P. 37.—[2] P. 37 and 38.—See Colgan's Acta Sanctorum v. 2. p. 344 for Psalterium, and Mabillon de Liturgiâ Gallicanâ, Paris 1685, p. 170 for the Ordinal. Bishop Stillingfleet in his Orig. Brit. p. 216 cites a manuscript in the Cotton library, for Germanus and Lupus bringing the use of the Gallican liturgy into Britain. But the fact is neither probable nor true. The distracted state of Britain in their time must have precluded all innovations of that kind. The previous liturgy of the Provincials could not have been easily superseded, and a foreign one would not have been readily admitted in its room. And I have shewn the British formulary, in the time of Gildas, to have been actually distinct from the Gallican.—[3] Gregory's second response.—[4] P. 85. v. i. Concilia.—[5] P. 96 and 97 v. i, Secundúm exemplar quod juxta ritum Romanæ ecclesiæ descriptum habemus.—[6] Cuthbert at Cloveshoo c. 27. P. 99, and Elfric p. 253, v. i.—[7] Canon 27.—[8] P. 253. v. i, Propriâ linguâ. So also Alfred in the preface to his translation of Gregory's pastoral, Legem Dei primùm in Hebræo sermone fuisse inventam, atque postea Græcos, cum eandem didicissent, *eam universam* et alios insuper omnes libros in suam linguam vertisse, necnon Latinos etiam—per prudentes interpretes suo sermone *eandem* expressisse; eôdemque modo omnem undique Christianam plebem *partem ejus aliquam* in linguam domesticam transtulisse (Asser p. 89).

IN

V.

IN the curious conſtruction of the human ſyſtem, the animal ſpirits are the canals of communication betwixt the body and the ſoul. And partaking ſomething of the nature of both, too material to be of the ſame ſpirituality with the ſoul, and too ſpiritual to be of the ſame materiality with the body, they neceſſarily derive their complexion from the habit of the one, and communicate their tincture and quality to the other. For this reaſon, temperance would have proved a conſiderable inſtrument of religion, even in the original perfection of our nature. And, in it's preſent ſtate of humiliation, occaſional abſtinence is equally an inſtrument with temperance. The original balance of the conſtitution is now reverſed, and the ſenſitive impulſes are more prevalent than the rational. And, as the animal ſcale is made to preponderate ſtill more, and ſenſation becomes ſtill more powerful, by rarer or frequenter acts of intemperance in every individual, faſting will for that reaſon be a uſefuller ſervant of virtue. It has accordingly been conſidered as an inſtrumental act of piety, by all the nations in the world. The heathens univerſally adopted it into the miniſtry of religion, the general darkneſs of their views in divinity being removed in this particular by the infallible light of experience. And the Chriſtians equally practiſed it after them, the experimental theology of man being confirmed by the injunctions of God, and faſting claſſed equally as an exercise of piety with alms-giving and prayer. The Saxons, particularly, had ſeveral periods of abſtinence in the year, every friday unleſs it was a feſtival, the four ember-weeks, the ʒanʒ, proceſſion, or rogation days, and the great ſeaſon of Lent[1].

On

On the first day of this season, the bishop seated himself in his stall at the cathedral, and such of his diocess as had been guilty of extraordinary sins came to him, acknowledged their offences, and were taught the proper mode of penance[1]. But all other persons confessed to their rectors at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas in every year, because they were obliged to communicate on these three festivals at least[2]. The utmost latitude, that was allowed them, was at least to confess once every year[4]. And to this they were compelled by the fear of expulsion from Christian worship, and of exclusion from Christian burial[5]. The rector appointed some common place in his church for a confessional, where, during the execution of his duty, he might be conspicuous to the people in the church; a regulation, which prudently prevented those scandals that will ever attend the private confessions of the other sex[6]. And these and all others were made to the priest, not that he might absolve the offenders from guilt, but that he might direct them into the right way of reconciling Heaven by penitence[7]. The confessor was injoined, not to enquire after the names of those with whom the confessionary had sinned[8]. A wife or a husband was to have such a penance prescribed, that neither should suspect the other of a great crime[9]. And the confessor was to reveal nothing afterwards on pain of degradation[10].

The Eucharist was always ready for the sick, being consecrated every sevennight or fortnight at first and afterwards every sunday[11]. The sponsors in baptism were as they are at present, two males and one female for a boy, and two females and one male for a girl; and, as immersion was then used, they raised the baptized out of the font[12]. Sermons were preached in the churches on all holidays and sundays[13]. And for the night-services the people brought their candles with them[14]. The churches were made into sanctuaries under certain limitations. A capital offender that fled to one of them obtained the favour of his life, but was obliged to make the stated satisfaction to the law. And an

Sect. V. inferiour criminal had all his stripes remitted to him[14]. And, in a just deference to the authority of the state and a true spirit of wisdom for religion and their order, the clergy considered themselves as always obnoxious to the civil judicatures, for criminal offences against laymen. But the civil causes of ecclesiasticks, and all trespasses against the church, were preposterously remitted to the ecclesiastical courts[15]. The monastick vows of the Saxons, as of the Britons before them, were obligatory for life and prohibitory of matrimony. Either the king or bishop, however, could dispense with them among the former[17]. And the thief, the murderer, the self-murderer, and the betrayer of his lord, were all buried without prayer and in a private and solitary place[18].

[1] P. 97, 279, and 288, v. i. Concilia.—[2] Edgar p. 89 Leges.—[3] Conc. Dunelm. A. D. 1220. p. 577. v. i. Concilia, and Exc. 38.—[4] Ibid. and p. 133. v. ii.—[5] Ibid. ibid.—[6] Ut ab omnibus videri poterit in ecclesiâ, Raynold Const. A. D. 1322. p. 513. v. ii. And see also p. 577. v. i.—[7] LL. Ecclef. 30. p. 275. v. i.—[8] Conc. Dunelm. p. 577. v. i.—[9] A. D. 1240. p. 659. v. i.—[10] Conc. Dunelm. ibid.—[11] Exc. 22, Elfric Canon xxxvii. in Johnson, and Synod Westmon. A. D. 1138. Canon ii. p. 415. and Const. about A. D. 1240. p. 657. v. i.—[12] Cloveshoo Canon xi, Cealchythe Canon ii, and Conc. Dunelm. p. 576. v. i.—[13] Exc. 3.—[14] LL. Ecclef. 24. p. 273. v. i.—[15] Ina LL. 5.—[16] Egbert's 8 and 10 answers p. 83 and 84. vol. i, and Exc. 16.—[17] Gildas in Ep. p. 11, Perpetuam Deo viduitatis castimoniam promittentem, p. 12, Perpetuò vovisti, and p. 13, Illicitæ et presumptivæ nuptiæ; and Alfred LL. 8.—[18] Edgar Canon xv. p. 232. v. i.

THE

VI.

THE most striking and prominent quality in the national character of the Romans, is that spirit of ambitious pride, which was raised by the first successes of their arms, and heightened by the extension of their empire afterwards. Under every form of their government and in every change of their manners, this remains the un-varying lineament of their minds. And it continued the actuating passion of the Roman soul, even after their empire of half the globe was again contracted into a few miles about their metropolis, and contained only fragments of the original territories of the Sabines, Latins, and Veientes. The genius of Rome brooding in sullen satisfaction over the stones of the capitol, and thence surveying the relicks of her antient grandeur, the productions of exhausted art and the ornaments of a plundered world; she secretly swelled with the consciousness of her own importance, looked down with disdainful majesty on the rest of mankind, and fancied herself possessed of an hereditary right to rule them. And in the low reduced condition of the empire, and even under the incumbent weight of Christianity, the Roman breast still heaved with the wish of enjoying an extent of authority, and of trampling on the liberties of man. The descendents of the world's conquerours inherited the spirit of their fathers patriotism; and new Mariuses, new Syllas, and new Cæsars in ambition lay disguised under the tonsure of the monk, the red hat of the cardinal, or the purple pall of the prelate. And the effects were nearly the same in both; and fully perhaps as destructive to the world in the modern, as in the antient, inhabitants of Rome. The Romans indeed no longer appeared at the head of their armies, carrying fire and sword through the resisting nations, and by greater firm-

Sect. VI. ness and superiour skill subduing a reluctant world. Their skill was still superiour; but it wore a very different appearance. Their firmness also was still greater; but it operated in a very different manner. And a more refined system of ambition was formed, by which in time, without arms, without discipline, and without power, Rome once more became the capital of the world; by which a little paper and wax carried greater significancy with it, than half the embattled legions of antient Rome; and the papa, and his senate of parish-priests, enjoyed a more absolute authority than the Antoninuses, and presided over a more extensive dominion than the Gordians.

A supremacy over all the bishops of Christendom was first challenged by the patriarch of Constantinople, in the close of the sixth century. But, in the genuine spirit of their fathers, the Romans condemned the claim as the result of Luciferian pride, and a very few years afterward revived it in themselves [1]. The Scriptures were now ransacked to line the pretension with the authority of religion. And, in great distress for better, one or two passages were selected from the code, just as pertinent to the point as the first clause in Genesis or the last in the Apocalypse. Yet such was the native superiority of the Roman genius, that, faced as the claim was with the thinnest shreds of reason, it was gradually admitted by the churches of Europe. The successor of St. Peter was allowed to have derived an authority from him, of which St. Peter was unconscious himself. His commission was better understood at present. And the bishop corrected the mistake of the apostle. The power of the keys, which was promised at one time to St. Peter alone, and communicated at another to the whole college of the apostles together; and the privilege that was indulged him of being the basis of the Christian church, in converting the first Jews and proselyting the first Gentiles; these, grosly mis-understood as they had been by St. Peter and the body of the apostles with him, by all the bishops and all the Christians since both, now plainly ascribed

bed an universal supremacy to the prelate on the Vatican mountain. The Christian world saw clearly, that they implied a precedency in St. Peter over all the apostles, and even one annexed to his see and descending to his successors. And it saw afterwards as clearly, that they gave the bishop of Rome an exorbitant prerogative over the rights and properties of Christendom; even invested him with authority over the departed church of the Jews, to revise its inspired determinations; and add to its scriptural canon; and communicated a power superiour to the very Scriptures which gave it, and subversive of the very principles for which it was given, by the profligate doctrine of Attrition to make repentance un-necessary to guilt, by the insolent one of Merits to make humility superfluous in goodness, to christianize idolatry, sanctify rebellion, and canonize murder. Thus, by the happy dexterity of the Roman intellect, the Empire was again restored. And other Octaviuses, other Neros, and other Domitians presided over it. But it was now established on the groundwork of a divine authority. It was intimately incorporated with Christianity. And the nations of Europe became voluntary subjects to the capital of their faith.

By the constitution of the western churches, the prelate of Rome was invested with a patriarchal authority among them. This however was confined within narrow boundaries, and restrained to a few small provinces in Italy [2]. It was afterwards extended in a rescript of Theodosius and Valentinian, and all the western empire in 445 assigned for the patriarchate of Rome [3]. But, as this alteration in the œconomy of the church was commanded merely by the imperial authority, and was directly contrary to that universal standard of episcopal rights, the sixth canon of the celebrated council of Nice [4]; it seems not to have been carried into execution on the continent. And, the edict being issued only a few months before the departure of the Romans from Britain, it could not possibly have been enforced in the island. No traces of subjection to Rome, I believe, appear in any of the national churches of

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Sect. VI. the west at this period. And the marks of an absolute independence are particularly apparent among our ancestors, in that ready opposition and resolute resistance which the Britons of the sixth century shewed to Augustin, though he came commissioned from the pope to take the spiritual superintendence of them [5].

The original introduction of this patriarchate into Britain was at the crisis so favourable to the views of Roman ambition, the conversion of the Saxons by Roman missionaries. The authority of the pope had been then diffused over Italy, as it had been actually extended into Gaul [6]. And it was now brought into Britain. But it was not settled among us, at first, in the plenitude of its power. And an usurpation established merely by policy always wears the face of modesty in the beginning, and only displays its pretensions as it feels its strength. As the self-created patriarch of the Saxons, the pope immediately fixed the metropolitical church of England at Canterbury, by his own authority [7]. And, as the publickly acknowledged one, he was requested soon afterwards to confirm those immunities of abbeys, which had been previously ratified by the king; and Wiremouth was the first, that received the papal confirmation [7]. As patriarch, he pretended to give Augustin authority over the independent churches of Wales [8]. And, equally as such, the pall of the two Saxon archbishops was required to be received from him for ever [9]. These were considerable acquisitions of power over the infant church of the Saxons. But the principal and essential prerogative of the patriarchate, the right of receiving appeals from the synods of the island, was not yet conceded. And, till it was, the authority of the pope was very imperfectly established in Britain. The right was not allowed, because the power had not been exerted. It was soon exerted however. And the church opposed it with a firmness, that does honour to the spirit of ecclesiastical independency.

In a synod of the Saxons that was held in 678, and at which, as generally at the others, the king and barons of the realm in which

which it was assembled were all present[10]; it was determined to divide the extensive diocess of Northumbria into two, Bernicia and Deira, and to constitute Hexham the capital of the one and York the metropolis of the other[11]. The present prelate of Northumbria was Wilfrid, pious but proud, temperate but magnificent, affable, accomplished, and popular. And, with a low avarice that often marks the spirit of magnificence, he opposed the partition. The pride of becoming a metropolitan by the creation of a subordinate bishoprick, must strongly have inclined him to acquiesce. But the deprivation of half his episcopal revenue was a stronger temptation to oppose. With a haughtiness that was the mingled effort of both those passions, he went to the Northumbrian court, publickly in the presence of the courtiers accused both the king and archbishop of felony, and formally appealed to the see of Rome against them[12]. The novelty of the appeal threw the court into a violent laughter[13]. And the monarch and clergy were so little apprehensive of Wilfrid or of Rome, that, on his departure out of Northumbria to prosecute the suit in person, the king immediately nominated another to his bishoprick, the priest nominated immediately accepted it, and a bishop immediately ordained him to it[14].

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This was a sensible and spirited conduct. And, in the same tenour of behaviour, no farther notice should have been taken either of Rome or Wilfrid. But with the trepidation that is generally shewn where obedience has long been paid, and which always produces an involuntary inconsistency of conduct, Theodore the primate dispatched Kenwald to Italy, to vindicate the proceedings of the synod and nation[15]. By this act of timorous folly the cause was avowedly referred to the Roman see, and the power which was afterwards opposed compleatly acknowledged. The pope formally summoned his little synod, and gravely decreed restitution to Wilfrid and expulsion to the new bishops of Hexham and York. And any prelate, priest, deacon, or sub-deacon, that resisted the execution of the decree, was to be

 deposed

Sect. VI. deposed and anathematized; and any clerk, monk, or layman even though a king, to be excluded from the sacrament[16].

Wilfrid brought the papal mandate into England, and presented it in a full convention of the church[17]. The whole assembly fired immediately on reading it. And, with the concurrence of the prelates and barons, the king directly seized the person of Wilfrid, stript him of all his valuables, and thrust him half-naked into a gloomy dungeon, imprisoned his attendants, dispersed his servants, and strictly prohibited any of his friends to come near him[18]. This conduct was still more sensible and spirited than the other. And had such been the general behaviour of our kings, our parliaments, and our synods afterward, the views of Roman ambition would have been frustrated for ever.

But the strongest minds are frequently obstructed in their fairest contests, by the superstitious fear of offending God or opposing religion, because they happen to encounter claims pretendedly founded on religion or unjustly prosecuted by religious men. By such an influence the king was prevailed upon, nine months afterward, to release the bishop from prison[19]. He ordered him, however, to leave Northumbria immediately[20]. And, as he recovered himself from the bias, he naturally acted with a greater severity, and ferociously pursued him from kingdom to kingdom; forcing him to wander a wretched fugitive, and at last to shelter among the heathens of Sussex[21].

The impressions of that superstitious fear, which I have just now mentioned, are generally felt most by the most religious minds; especially when age has weakened, or sickness relaxed, the once active spring of the understanding. And the strongest and most religious spirits feel them with a double vigour in sickness, if any action signally good in the offender has taken off the edge of the aversion, and a signified submissiveness in him has softened the heart to peace. Wilfrid, during his retreat in Sussex, converted the whole nation of the South-Saxons to Christianity[22]. And he appears from the nature of the immediately

mediately subsequent proceedings (however his flattering panegyrists, the only historians that we have, have grossly disguised the fact) to have made proposals of reconciliation to Theodore, offering to submit to the authority of the synod, and desiring only a partial restoration of his preferments. King Egfrid had proposed to him many years before in the prison, to re-instate him, if he would submit, in a part of his original bishoprick [23]. And Wilfrid now offered to accept it. Theodore, aged and infirm, was inclined to concede terms to the apostle of Sussex, from which the refractory prelate had certainly precluded himself [24]. He prevailed upon Aldfrid the new king of Northumbria, a monarch of equal sense and resolution with Egfrid. And Wilfrid was invited into the country, and a bishoprick granted to him [25]. Aldfrid continued the partition opposed by Wilfrid and condemned by Rome. He did not even instate him in his antient bishoprick of York, stript as it had been of the see of Hexham at first, and curtailed three years afterward of the see of Lindisfarne [26]. And he gave him only a third of his original province, the now contracted diocess of Hexham [27]. The directions of pope Agatho's mandate, confirmed as they had afterwards been by the succeeding Benedict [28], were entirely superseded by the agreement. Wilfrid, wearied with the obstinate resolution of his opponents, resigned up at once his original cause of action with regard to the partition, and betrayed the authority of the two popes, which for his own interest he had introduced into the quarrel, for less, much less, than what he might originally have retained in his own possession. And the independency of the church of England was decisively ascertained [29].

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For five years after his restoration, the prelate peaceably acquiesced in the conditions of the agreement, a traitor to the interests of Rome. But in 692, having recovered the spirit which had been so long depressed before, and lost the more lively sense of his past misfortunes, he renewed the controversy. Stung assuredly to the quick in his pride, whenever he reflected on his late defeat, and feeling sensibly the diminution of

 his

Sect. VI. his magnificence in the defalcation of his income; he threw off his submissive condition of mind, and in a dispute about the monastery of Rippon asserted all his former principles [30]. And the king with equal vigour and good-sense instantly reduced him to his previous condition, depriving him of his bishoprick, and expelling him the kingdom [31]. He retired into Mercia, appealed again to the see of Rome, and obtained a confirmation of his mandate [32]. But that availed him as little as the original grant. He was obliged to continue in Mercia, exiled and proscribed, for the long period of ten years [33].

In 702, on some intimations assuredly that Wilfrid would submit, a national synod was convened. He was invited to appear before it. And he was there called upon to subscribe his positive assent to the decrees, which he had formerly opposed and now again endeavoured to overturn. This peremptoriness and precision he did not expect. He plainly expected to have been admitted, as before, on his mere submission. And his pride would not suffer him to yield on any other conditions. But, his pride and avarice contending together, he offered to subscribe if he might subjoin an exception, that would have reduced the act to nothing; if he might subscribe to the decrees, so far as they were agreeable to the determinations of the popes, to which they were directly and confessedly repugnant [34]. And hearing him on the application of the test thus openly declaring his principles, and finding his submission before to have been merely hypocritical, the synod sentenced him to be deprived of all his preferments equally in Mercia and Northumbria, and put him and his adherents under the ban of a general excommunication [35].

He again appealed from the synod to the see, and again went in person to prosecute the appeal. And though the authority of the papal tribunal was utterly denied, and the determinations of three popes had been absolutely rejected, by the Saxon church; yet, by a repetition still more extraordinary than the original folly, Berctwald, the present primate of England, dispatched his commissioners to Rome to vindicate the acts of the synod.

synod. The church dared to trample on the decrees of the popes, and yet was afraid to deny the authority of the judicature, by neglecting or refusing to appear before it. But in policy, as well as consistency, no vindication should have been attempted. And in a contest, where the dignity of the very judicature was concerned before which the cause was to be tried, the decree would certainly issue in favour of Wilfrid.

In his petition to the pope, complaining that the persons, who had formerly kept him out of the see of Northumbria, had again excited disturbances in the church; he requested him to confirm the determinations of his three predecessors, and required the immediate restitution of all his preferments. But with a peculiar earnestness and a superiour fervency, says he, I humbly demand to be restored to all my preferments in Northumbria; or, if the see of York and the many monasteries cannot be obtained from king Aldfrid, to be re-instated in the monasteries of Hexham and Rippon at least[16]. And thus the petition of Wilfrid was drawn up with that dis-ingenuous cunning, which is ever the wisdom of little minds; claiming all that the three popes had formerly given him, and disguising his own resignation of their gift, and his own betraying of their authority, in his acceptance of the see of Hexham, by the thin artifice of mentioning the original see of Northumbria under the old appellation of that of York, and the new bishoprick of Hexham under its former denomination of a monastery. The papal synod saw the artifice and knew the treachery. But Rome wanted so useful an instrument. And the determination was agreeable to his fondest wishes. The pope observing to the council, that this was the same cause which had been previously referred to the see[17]; and expresly resolving to confirm the decrees of his three predecessors[18], decrees (he artfully adds), which Theodore is never known to have opposed, as he never transmitted any new accusation to Rome, but rather to have obeyed, as appears from his writings; he admonishes Berctwald to convene a synod, to summon Bosa and John (the two bishops of Hexham and York), and settle

Sect. VI. every thing to the satisfaction of Wilfrid, eo suffragante [39]. And this appears sufficiently to have been an absolute vindication of Wilfrid's original claim, and equally with the decree of Agatho which it confirmed, and the petition of Wilfrid which it granted, to have required the restoration of the whole undivided see of Northumbria to Wilfrid. But the purport is artfully shaded by the policy of Rome, fearful of a strenuous opposition in the court of Northumbria, and expecting a second submission to the synod in Wilfrid. And, if the differences were not thus adjusted, Berctwald was required to summon the parties to Rome; and any, that dilatorily neglected or contemptuously refused to come, was to be excommunicated by the pope [40].

With this decree Wilfrid returned to England. Berctwald, a man of less intellectual vigour than Theodore, was immediately inclined to submit [41]. But Aldfrid with a steady magnanimity of spirit refused, positively averring, that he would not give up the determinations of the synod for any papal resolutions whatever [42]. And Wilfrid was once more reduced to the wretched condition of an exile.

Edwulf, the successor of Aldfrid, acted with the same spirit. And Wilfrid presuming on his former acquaintance with him, and immediately on his accession coming into Northumbria without permission, he received a peremptory command from the monarch, to relinquish the kingdom in six days upon pain of having his company put to the sword [43].

But, a new king and a minor succeeding soon afterwards, by the influence of Berctwald with the regent a synod was assembled in 705. The papal mandate was read. And Berctwald absolutely proposed submission. The bishops boldly opposed the motion. And the ministry and barons were for it. But the prelates still refused to give up the dignity of the synod, and betray the independency of the church; thus resolutely standing in the breach, when popery was assailing the nation, and the laity had gone over to the enemy. They separated from the rest of the council, and consulted together. Elfleda, the

 abbess.

abbess, and daughter to the late king Aldfrid, went to them and solicited them to comply. The primate discoursed with them, and pressed them to yield [44]. And yet, with an honourable resolution of spirit, they refused to submit. In this violent struggle of contending opinions, the natural resource was a compromise. And this was the actual expedient [45]. The bishops, securing the principal object, the independence of the church, consented to the restoration of Wilfrid without obliging him to subscribe. And Wilfrid, wearied out a second time with his long exile, was glad to accept the indulgence without requiring any thing farther. He was not restored to the undivided see of Northumbria, as the papal mandates required. And he was not even re-placed in the archi-episcopal chair of York. The former remained partitioned into three diocesses. Bosa was left in possession of the latter [46]. And Wilfrid was instated only in his former bishoprick of Hexham [47].

Such was the gallant opposition which the Saxons made, through a long conflict of twenty-seven years, to the original invasions of the papal supremacy. The whole nation of Northumbria, and the whole church of England, unanimously combined against it. And the clergy continued their opposition even when the laity had deserted the cause, and by their own firmness of spirit saved the sinking independency of the Saxons. The best and worthiest men that were then in the island, men sainted afterwards for their piety, disinterestedness, and devotion, stood forth the foremost in the contest. Bosa and Eata accepted the two bishopricks of Bernicia and Deira, on the first departure of Wilfrid; and retained them afterwards, in contempt of the mandate and in defiance of the authority of Rome [48]. The celebrated Cuthbert took the diocess of Lindisfarne. And John, since known by the appellation of St. John of Beverley, accepted first the see of Hexham and afterwards the mitre of York [49]. Two of these received and all of them retained their bishopricks, even after two of them were commanded by Rome to be expelled as intruders from their sees, and even after all came under the censure of deposition:

and

Sect. VI. and an anathema, as opposers of the mandate. And Malmesbury, the panegyrist of Wilfrid and the advocate of the papacy, is obliged with a sigh to acknowledge, that Theodore, Berctwald, John, Bosa, and abbess Hilda were as much distinguished in their lives by their flaming aversion to Wilfrid, as they have been celebrated since their deaths for their sanctity and devotion of heart [50].

But the active spirit of Rome soon found sufficient resources in itself, to suppress the opposition of the Saxon clergy, and settle the patriarchate in its full vigour. The penance, for the murder of an ecclesiastick or the nearest relation, was authoritatively referred to the immediate judicature of the pope [51]. And the Roman see was as authoritatively declared in the canons for the province of Northumbria, about the middle of the eighth century, to be the court of appeal in all ecclesiastical differences [52]. As the absolute patriarch of England, the pope began to discipline his useful regiment of legates against it; and the first, that were detached into the island, arrived in 785 [53]. He also prepared to open his formidable armoury of interdicts; and the first bolt, that was launched at Britain, was discharged in 905 [54]. But this was all. Under the mild authority of the Saxon government, the Roman usurpation could not rear up its crest so high, or dart out its tongue so far, as it afterwards did in the fostering shade of the Norman tyranny; when the obstinate and selfish Wilfrid was sainted for his conduct, and the heaviest chains of despotism were rivetted for ages on the hands of the refractory clergy [55].

[a] Gregory the Great, in an epistle to John patriarch of Constantinople, thus addresses him on his claim.—Tu quid Christo, universalis scilicet ecclesiæ capiti, in extremi judicii es dicturus examine, qui cuncta ejus membra tibimet conaris, universalis appellatione, supponere? Quis, rogo, in hôc tam perverso vocabulo, nisi ille, ad imitandum proponitur, qui, despectis angelorum legionibus secum socialiter constitutis, ad culmen conatus

natus est singularitatis erumpere, ut et nulli subesse et solus omnibus præesse videretur? Qui etiam dixit, in cœlum conscendam &c. (Gregorii Magni opera, Benedictine Ed., t. ii. c. 742).—And Boniface, the immediate successor of Gregory, set up the claim again in himself.—[2] Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. p. 105, 110, 111, and 114.—[3] Concilia per Labbé, Paris, 1671, t. iii. p. 1401. In this novel, notice is taken that Hilary bishop of Arles had lately attempted to draw off the Transalpine churches from the dominion of the Roman primate; and it therefore decrees, Ne quid tam episcopis Gallicanis quàm aliarum provinciarum, contra consuetudinem veterem, liceat sine —papæ—auctoritate tentare: sed illis omnibusque pro lege sit quicquid sanxit vel sanxerit Apostolicæ sedis auctoritas; ita ut quisquis episcoporum, ad judicium Romani antistitis evocatus, venire neglexerit, per moderatorem ejusdem provinciæ adesse cogatur.—Data 8 Id. Jun. Romæ, Valentiniano Aug. VI. Consule.——It pretends to ground the new privileges on the antient custom. And, by the power which it gave, it surrendered up all the west into the hands of the Roman pontif. But see Stillingfleet above.—And, after all, I strongly suspect the whole to be a forgery; though it is no ways material to our dispute with the church of Rome, as I have shewn in the text, whether it is or not. It pretends to take away the primacy of Arles. And yet we know that this remained for ages afterward.—[4] Stillingfleet p. 106.—[5] Gregory's seventh response, and Bede l. ii. c. 2.—[6] Gregory's seventh response concerning the bishop of Arles.—[7] Bede l. i. c. 29, and Bede l. iv. c. 18.—[8] Gregory's seventh response.—[9] Bede l. i. c. 29.—[10] Eddius's Wilfrid in Gale c. 33 and 58, Bede l. iv. c. 28, and the prefaces to Wihtred's Laws, to the Canons of Cuthbert at Cloveshoo, and to the Constitutions of Wulfrid at Cealchythe.—[11] Eddius c. 29 and 33, Bede l. iv. c. 12, and Malmesbury f. 149.——[12] Eddius c. 24, Prædonum more.—[13] Malmesbury f. 149.—[14] Bede l. iv. c. 12.——[15] Eddius c. 29. And Hilda, the grand niece of king Edwin, and now abbess of Streaneshalch (or Whitby) in Northumbria, joined with Theodore in the act, c. 52.——

Sect. VI. [16] C. 31.—[17] C. 33.—[18] C. 33, 34, and 35.—[19] C. 33 and 38.—[20] C. 39.—[21] Ibid. and c. 40.—[22] C. 40 and Bede l. iv. c. 13.—[23] C. 35.—[24] C. 42.—[25] C. 43, and Bede l. v. c. 14, Secundo anno Aldfridi—sedem suam et episcopatum, ipso rege invitante, recepit.—[26] Bede l. iv. c. 12.—[27] Bede l. v. c. 3, Receptus in episcopatum Hagulstadensis ecclesiæ. This is express. And the authority of the flattering Eddius, asserting him to have recovered York (c. 43), is entirely overthrown.—[28] C. 45 and 52.—[29] In c. 45 Wilfrid says, that the Northumbrians had contemptuously rejected the papal authority for twenty-two years. This number includes the whole period of this agreement.—[30] C. 44 and 45, and Malmesbury f. 151.—[31] C. 44.—[32] C. 45 and 51.—[33] C. 45. Wilfrid, at the council of Ædwinaswathe in 702, says that the Northumbrians had resisted the papal authority twenty-two years.—[34] C. 45 compared with c. 49 and 51.—[35] C. 45 and 47, and Bede l. v. c. 19, Ab eodem ipso rege et plurimis episcopis præsulatu pulsus est.—[36] C. 49, Summoperè, obnixis precibus, humiliter deposco.—Quodsi fortè hoc illi durum pro meâ causâ esse, Eboraicæ civitatis episcopatus, cum cæteris quamplurimis monasteriis, in vestro pendeat arbitrio, cui rectissimum gubernare [ista] censeatis.—[37] C. 50.—[38] C. 51.—[39] For Bosa and John see Bede l. iv. c. 12 and l. v. c. 2 and 3. See a mistake in Mr. Carte p. 253 concerning Bosa's death and John's translation to York, which he places in 687. John, made bishop of Hexham in the first year of Aldfrid (Bede l. v. c. 2), must have resigned his see to Wilfrid the year after (Bede l. v. c. 19). And, on Wilfrid's expulsion five years afterward, he had been re-instated in the see of Hexham.—[40] C. 52.—[41] C. 55. And for Berctwald's character see Bede l. v. c. 8.—[42] C. 56.—[43] C. 57.—[44] C. 58 and Malmesbury f. 152.—[45] Post aliquantum utriusque partis conflictum, tandem, cunctis faventibus, Bede l. v. c. 19.—[46] Bede l. v. c. 3.—[47] Bede l. v. c. 19, In præsulatum—suæ receptus ecclesiæ. John had a second time resigned Hexham to Wilfrid, and soon after the latter resignation was translated to York on the decease of Bosa (see Bede l. v. c. 3).—[48] Bede l. iv. c. 2.—[49] Bede l. iv. c. 27 and 29, and l. v. c. 2 and 3.—[50] F. 152, Digla-

Digladiabile odium.——[ss] Edgar's Penit. Canon 29 and Cnute LL. Sec. 38.——[tt] Exc. 49.——[uu] P. 145. vol. i. Concilia.——[xx] P. 199. vol. i. Concilia.—

[yy] This important historiette is detailed by Mr. Carte with a sensible particularity, as containing the great struggle of the Saxons against the entering supremacy of Rome, and with an honest zeal for the independency of our fathers. And he has thrown light upon several parts of the narrative. But he has also made several mistakes.

P. 238 Wilfrid is said to have been "only bishop of Hexham" from the first. And this is asserted in contradiction to Eddius, upon the authority of Stubbs, Richard of Hexham, and Gervase of Canterbury. These might be sufficient authority, if they were opposed merely by that convicted falsifier Eddius. But they are equally opposed by Bede. He positively asserts Wilfrid to have been the only bishop of Northumbria. This divine, he says l. iv. c. 23, was Eboracensis ecclesiæ—ordinatus episcopus. And Chad, he adds l. v. c. 19, retired to his monastery of Læstingey, accipiente Wilfrido episcopatum totius Nordanhymbrorum provinciæ.

P. 239 Wilfrid is averred to have not been bishop, but only "administrator," of the diocess of York, to have been prelate of Hexham and administrator of York. But I have already shewn him to have been bishop of the latter. And in that sense only does Bede assert him to have been administrator of the see. This appears from his very words, Wilfrido administrante episcopatum Eboracensis ecclesiæ necnon et omnium Nordanhymbrorum (l. iv. c. 3), which plainly deny the diocess of Hexham to have been yet laid out. And it appears still more from his use of the same words in other places, as Bisi bishop of the East-Angles is said to have been disqualified by age and infirmities ab administrando episcopatu (l. iv. c. 5), and John to have been un-fitted by age episcopatui administrando, and therefore to have retired from his see (l. v. c. 6); where the modern idea of administration cannot possibly find a place.

Sect. VI.

P. 238 Northumbria is said, upon the death of Tuda bishop of York, to have been "divided into the two dioceses of Hex-"ham for Bernicia and of York for Deira." And this is equally asserted upon the credit of Stubbs, Richard, and Gervase. But it is equally unjust. Tuda died in 664 (Bede l. iii. c. 27). And in 673 Wilfrid is expressly called Nordanhymbrorum gentis episcopus, in the acts of the synod at Herudford (l. iv. c. 5). The see of Hexham was not founded in fact till the departure of Wilfrid for Rome in 678; pulsus est idem antistes a sede sui episcopatûs, & duo in locum ejus substituti episcopi qui Nordanhymbrorum genti praeessent, Bosa videlicet qui Deirorum, et Eata qui Berniciorum, provinciam gubernaret, hic in civitate Eboraci, ille in Hagulstadensi—ecclesiâ, cathedram habens episcopalem (l. iv. c. 12).

P. 239 Mr. Carte asserts upon the pretended authority of Bede, "that Alchfrid sent Wilfrid into France to be conse-"crated bishop" of Hexham, "sibi suisque, for himself and "the people under his government, i. e. in Bernicia;" and "that Oswi, emulating his zeal, sent Chad to Kent, to be con-"secrated bishop of the church of York, i. e. for Deira." This assertion is full of mistakes. I have before shewn the see of Hexham not to have been yet in being. Wilfrid was therefore sent to be consecrated bishop of York. And Bede plainly asserts him to have been so; he being sent upon the death of Tuda who was bishop of that see (l.iii.c.27 and 28, and l.iii.c.26, pontificatum Nordanhymbrorum), and Chad, who certainly went that Eboracensis ecclesiæ ordinaretur episcopus (c. 28), being sent only Wilfrido adhuc in transmarinis partibus propter ordinationem demorante (c. 28). See also Higden p. 238, who from another authority than Bede's asserts the same positively.—And, besides this, there is not the least authority to make Alchfrid really a king. Mr. Carte fixes him on the throne of Bernicia under his father. And Mr. Smith in his notes on l. iii. c. 28 settles him in the government of Deira. But he enjoyed neither one nor the other. He appears only to have had great influence and authority with his father Oswi, the sole king

of

of Northumbria. Thus in l. iii. c. 24 of Bede the latter gives away some possessions both in Bernicia and Deira, and in l. iii, c. 29 is called Rex—Oswi provinciæ Nordanhymbrorum &c. And the former is called King, as the princes of the blood used to be equally among the Britons and Saxons. So Edwin, breaking into West-Saxony then under Cuichelme, is said to have slain five Cyningas or kings (Sax. Chron. 626). And Mr. Carte, however inconsistently, even makes the same remark in p. 276, and even applies it to Alchfrid himself.

P. 253 Eata bishop of Hexham is said, upon "the first di-"vision of the diocesses," to have been administrator of the see of Lindisfarne. But the see was not erected till three years after the division (l. iv. c. 12). And Eata did not remain bishop of Hexham, and become administrator of Lindisfarne. He was actually translated to the latter, and actually succeeded by Tunberct at the former (l. iv. c. 12).

P. 254. "It may be gathered from Eddius himself, that "he [Wilfrid] did not recover Rippon, till about five years be-"fore his decease."—Eddius's words relate to the distance of time, not betwixt Wilfrid's recovery of Rippon and his death, but betwixt the first reconciliation and the second rupture. What he says is this, Monasterium in Hrypis,—quod tantùm quinque annis in gaudio subjectorum suorum, *de exilio rediens*, securè possedit. Nam antiquæ amicitiæ suasores—facem dissensionis extinctam resuscitavêre (c. 43 and 44).

So far for Mr. Carte's mistakes. Mr. Hume has made only one. But that is fatal to the whole. With a carelessness that is in-excusable, he has grossly mis-stated the story and absolutely reversed the fact. Though Wilfrid was so utterly defeated in both his attempts to subject the church of England to Rome, the historian asserts him to have given "the finishing stroke to this "subjection," and to have "finally prevailed in the contest" (p. 64). But neither accuracy nor authenticity are the distinguishing excellencies of Mr. Hume's work. The *philosophy of history*, in his hands, seems to supersede the requisite attentions to the one, and so preclude all possibility of the other.

THE

CONCLUSION.

WE have now profecuted the hiftory of Manchefter to that important period in the annals of the Saxons, the combination of their feven kingdoms into one empire, and the defcent of the Danes upon the whole. And here let us paufe awhile, and review the progrefs that we have made already.

We found the large extent of the parifh a wild and unfrequented tract of woodland, inhabited merely by the boar, the bull, and the wolf, the hereditary proprietors of the domain, and traverfed only by the Britons of the neighbouring country in their occafional purfuits after them. And we faw it felected by the monarch of Lancafhire for the feat of a fort in the woods, and a fort actually fettled about the middle of it. This was the remarkable origin of the population of the parifh, and the curious commencement of a town within it. And the rude outlines of the one were firft laid out, and the faint principle of the other began to operate, about fifty years before the Chriftian æra. They were both confined to the Caftle-field on the Medlock. And this ground became therefore the moft diftinguifhed fpot in the parifh, the attracting caufe of its cultivation, the happy occafion of its towns, and the ftoried fcene of various adventures itfelf.

The foreft affumes a new life and colouring from the fact. The folitude that had hitherto prevailed, and thrown a deeper fhade upon the gloom, is now interrupted by the frequent refort of foldiers to the fortrefs and the ready excurfions of hunters

ters from it. And the silence is equally invaded by the busy talk of men, rising loudly every day on the banks of the Medlock, and sinking as it spreads in fainter and fainter murmurs through the woods.

But a great revolution is approaching. And time is labouring with wonderful events. A small assemblage of outlaws on the heights of the Tiber have amazingly shot up into a tribe of warriours and a nation of heroes, and are even become the lords of Italy, the masters of Gaul, and the conquerours of half the globe. They land on the island. They reduce the little kingdoms of the Britons. And they advance into Lancashire. They penetrate into our woods. They introduce the tumults of war into our parish. And they take our original Manchester.

Happiness however results from the misfortune. And the most dreadful of political evils becomes the greatest of publick blessings. Civility smooths the brow of Conquest. The muses wreathe his armour with flowers. And the outlaws of Italy, refined by the literature of their conquered nations, become the refiners and the friends of Britain.

A new spirit now actuates the woodland. A Roman station is constructed on the Castle-field. Another is established about a mile to the north of it. And the site of the present town is begun to be cleared of its woods, and for the first time receives a colony of inhabitants upon it. This is fixed upon the ground at the confluence of the Irke and Irwell. But it is merely transitory in its nature, and exists only for the summer. The most northwesterly part of the forest is appropriated to the feeding of the Roman cattle, and four little stations are placed for their protection there. And the whole woodland is intersected with large roads on every side, all ranging in right lines through the thickets, and converging to a point at the Castle-field.

One addition more compleats the change in the aspect of the whole. A regular town is begun for the first time in the parish. And a neighbouring baron and his clan are settled within it. This is placed about the center of the forest, and

in the immediate vicinity of the Caſtle-field. The ſtation there becomes the citadel of the new Mancheſter. And both are founded together in the memorable autumn of 79.

Under the auſpices of the Roman genius, that principle of population, which had faintly quickened before at the heart of the woodland, now becomes active and vigorous, and diffuſes its influence on every ſide. The beaſts are diſlodged to a greater diſtance from the town. The receding foreſt curves in a larger amphitheater of woods around it. And all the mechanical arts are tranſplanted into the wild. Civility, literature, and politeneſs follow. And Chriſtianity cloſes the rear.

In this ſtate of intellectual and ſpiritual refinement, the natural inſecurity of happineſs begins to operate. War unfolds its wildeſt horrours to the Britons. Ruin marks its advance. And incivility, ignorance, and barbariſm attend its triumphs. A tribe of idolatrous ſavages make their way from the ſhores of Germany. They reach, they reduce, Mancheſter. They ſettle in the caſtellated fortreſs on the Medlock. And they tyrannize over the inhabitants with a ſanguinary ſeverity. But the illuſtrious Arthur advances to reſcue them. He fights. He conquers. He delivers. And the yoke of barbarian deſpotiſm is raiſed from the necks of our fathers.

It is raiſed, to be ſpeedily replaced there. Arthur dies. The enemy returns. The ſword of the Saxons is edged by the vices of the Britons. Victory attends their battles. Submiſſion waits upon their invaſions. And they fix themſelves for ever in the pariſh of Mancheſter.

To form a ſettlement for this new colony, the woods are again invaded and the beaſts again diſlodged. The central opening in the foreſt is conſiderably enlarged. And no leſs than eleven townſhips are won from the waſte.

The new baron does not ſettle in the town. He fixes his reſidence about a mile to the north of it, in the ſummer-camp of the Romans. And Fate is preparing to lay the foundations of the preſent Mancheſter.

TANTÆ MOLIS ERAT ROMANAM CONDERE GENTEM!

The

The polity of the town and the discipline of the country are established as they remained to these later ages. The parish was a barony before. It is now constituted a manour and a tything. And the township of Manchester becomes pre-eminent over her sisters, being invested with a judicial authority, and dispensing law and justice to them.

But the Saxons, who had subdued the Britons by their arms, are soon reduced by their religion. The idolater, associating with the Christian, grows ashamed of his folly. He recognizes the dread Father of all existence, who has been lost to his inquiries so long. He sees the vivifying sun of the universe rising behind the cloud of paganism, and hastening to salute him with all the radiance of the mildest majesty. He sees. He turns. He adores. And Christianity is restored to her throne in the woodland.

At the original establishment of this religion, the whole barony of Manchester had been formed into a parish. And a church had been constructed for it in the town. A new one is now added. It is built by the baron. It is therefore fixed near his house and the summer-camp. And it is raised on the site of the present town. It is accompanied by a mansion for the rector, the first house that is built upon the ground. Both are the beginning and the NUCLEUS of a new borough. And the present Manchester is founded in 627.

Two lanes are laid out along the site. One of them stretches away from the old town and the baronial mansion at the extremities to the rector's house in the middle, and is therefore denominated the Dean's-Gate. And the other reaches from it to the new church, and is entitled St. Mary's-Gate. These are soon lined with houses in part or in whole. And the town becomes divided into Aldporton or the Roman city and Manchester or the Saxon borough. A large field, adjoining to St. Marysgate and the church, is formed into a market-place. The streets of Smithydoor and Millgate open directly from it, run parallel with the Deansgate, and terminate in a smithy and a mill at the bottom. And the daughter-town upon the Irwell

becomes

becomes nearly equal in dimensions and dignity to its parent on the Medlock.

But a new and greater scene of sorrow arises. Another tribe of savages is hastening from Germany. And the destruction of Manchester approaches.

The histories of a town, of a nation, and of man are only records of human calamities and registers of human woes. These however are generally provoked by vices, and are naturally productive of virtues. By the task of trials they re-invigorate that tone of the mind, which had been previously weakened by inactivity. And, in forcible appeals to the thoughtfulness of the soul, they assert those powers of religion that were sinking before in the sensualities of peace. The convulsions of nature and the enormities of man, the war of elements and the subversion of empires, are all directed by the controuling influence of the Deity to the purposes of supporting the moral interests of the world, and impressing the heart with the truths of religion.

APPENDIX:

N°. I.

I Now proceed to thoſe remarks upon Meſſrs. Carte and Hume, which I begun in the preceding volume and propoſed to continue in this. The very nature of an Appendix, however, will not allow me to extend them to any great length. And, in a foreſight of this, I have deſignedly anticipated many of them already, by the little intimations and reaſonings which I have inſerted in the notes. That period of our annals, which commences with the Roman departure, being at once the firſt and the moſt perplexed of any; I ſhall confine my preſent obſervations to it. And I will endeavour to improve the good ſervices, that I hope I have already done to this portion of our hiſtory, by unravelling the confuſed and illuminating the obſcure in it.

CARTE.

V. 1. p. 173. "The Romans—returned home;—having "firſt adviſed the Britains to rebuild the wall of Antoninus "between the friths of Forth and Cluyd, for thither (Bede "aſſures us) the Roman dominion extended; though the "Romans themſelves lived only on the ſouth of that of "Severus, all the country between the two walls being in-"habited entirely by the Britains. We ſee on this occaſion, "how ill qualified the Britains were to defend their country;

N° I. " and we need not wonder at the advantages which their " enemies had over them, when the natives did not under-" stand either how to make arms, or to erect a fortification. " —The Britains repaired the wall, as they built their own " cabbins, with sods and turf, for want of workmen that " understood how to build with stone; so that it proved a " very weak defence, especially when the defendants were " liable to be attacked behind as well as before, upon the " enemy's passing the Friths in their boats and curroghs. " The Scots and Picts, having surmounted this obstacle to " their incursions, over-ran the country."

I have sufficiently shewn already the general contradictoriness of these and the collateral notices to reason, to records, and to facts. But as the opinions, here thrown out by Mr. Carte, have uniformly prevailed for twelve or thirteen ages, and the dye that appears on the face of his work has sunk deep into all our histories, and tinctured them even to the grain; it may be useful to dwell upon the subject again, and point out the falseness of the colouring with greater particularity, than I could do in the body of the book itself.

The Romans are here said to have advised the Britons to re-build the wall of Antoninus. But the only authority for this and the other absurdities, Gildas, asserts them to have merely advised the construction of it. And this work of the Provincials, according to him, was not an erection upon the Roman foundations, but the first and original raising of the rampart. Quos jussit, says he of the Romans counselling the Britons, *constituere* inter duo maria trans insulam murum, ut esset arcendis hostibus, turbâ instructus, terrori, civibusque tutamini (c. 12). Mr. Carte therefore has varied from his original, and given us a fact for which he has not even the authority of Gildas.

He varied from it in order to reconcile the assertion with the fact, and avoid the absurdity which he saw in his author, of ascribing the construction of Antoninus's rampart

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to the Britons of the fifth century. Obliged, as he thought, to incorporate Gildas's incidents into the history, and knowing what the other was ignorant of, that the Romans of the second century originally raised the rampart; he compounded the notices together as well as he could, and gave the Britons of the fifth only a re-edification of it. But even in this mode of representing the case, and even supposing it to be consistent with the accounts of Gildas, the fact and the assertion still continue at variance. And the natural discordancy of truth with falshood appears manifest in the work. This qualified representation supposes what is historically false, that the wall of Antoninus was destroyed in the period betwixt the Roman construction and the British re-building of it. And we have the fullest evidence of the falsity of the supposition, that a point is capable of having. A few years only preceding this imaginary re-edification of the Britons, and at the time when the wall of Antoninus, if ever it had been dismantled, would appear in its most ruinous condition, we see it by the sure light of the Notitia as perfect as it was originally, lined with all its stations, and guarded by a large body of troops (See B. 1. c. xii. s. 5).

So absurd does the great incident, recorded by Gildas and repeated by all our historians, appear either as an original construction or a mere re-edification of the wall of Antoninus. And so incongruous is it, either way, with the authenticated facts of history. Yet, to the disgrace of the national understanding and the shame of all historical criticism among us, the fact has kept its place in the front of our history for more than a thousand years, being enshrined there by those high-priests of our annals, Gildas and Bede, and made more and more venerable by the accumulated reverence of ages.

The Roman dominion at this time, says Mr. Carte, appears from Bede to have extended up to the wall of Antoninus, though the Romans lived up to Severus's only. He ought to have said that it appears from Gildas, who is the original historian of these facts, and the author whom Bede implicitly fol-

N° I. followed. But neither Bede nor Gildas countenance the assertion of Mr. Carte, that the Romans inhabited only to the south of Severus's rampart. And their authority would have been of no weight, if they had.' This notion, which diffuses itself over 'many parts of Mr. Carte's history, p. 137, 142, 164, and 179, I have fully refuted in my former volume (c. xii. s. 5). And the suggestions of common sense are all up in arms against it. If the Romans maintained no garrisons in Valentia at this period, the Caledonians must instantly have seized it.

But it is very observable, that Mr. Carte induces the Romans to leave the protection of Valentia to the Provincials, when from his own account it was physically impossible for the latter to protect it at all. He has ruined the great barrier of the province, the wall of Antoninus. He has carried off all the Roman garrisons from the country. And he has left the inhabitants without skill to erect a fortification, or even to fabricate a weapon. The Romans therefore resigned up the safe-guard of Valentia, which was intended for their own frontier, in such circumstances as precluded all possibility of keeping the enemy out of it, and to such soldiers as had only their naked bodies to oppose to them, when they had broken in. And what is still more wonderful, under all these strong invitations to the Caledonians to invade, to plunder, and to seize, these northern savages still remained inactive on the borders, would not step over the un-guarded limit, and declined either to pick up the booty that lay at their feet, or take possession of the country that crouched before them. The Roman dominion, Mr. Carte says, still extended to the wall of Antoninus.' But how long this amazing infatuation of the Romans with regard to the Provincials, and this astonishing interposition of Providence in their favour, continued, Mr. Carte is not pleased to inform us. Both continued however for some time. And the latter especially, by its suspension of the strongest activities of our nature, its keeping the up-lifted arm of Caledonia, like that of some giant in old tapestry,

tapestry, hung in the air, and unable to descend on the devoted victim below, forms one of the most signal epochas in history, and was left to be discovered by the sagacity and suggested by the pen of Mr. Carte.

It is but justice, however to Mr. Carte to acknowledge, that in the mistakes censured under the former paragraph he was led away, as all our historians before him and since have been, by the legitimated and authorized absurdities of Gildas; and that, in those of the latter, he was carried off by the universal opinion of our antiquaries concerning the bounds of the Roman empire here. He saw indeed, what few had seen before him, the inconsistency of Gildas's account (literally taken) with the Roman relations, and the contrariety of the antiquarian opinions to the declarations of Bede. But he had not vigour of mind sufficient to doubt the authenticity of the general assertions of either, to reprobate them as directly contrary to authority, and to reject them as impossible to be true. In this he failed only as thousands had done before him. And he has the merit of attempting to remove the embarrassment, which had hung almost unperceived upon the history, and to prevent the inconsistency of the relations by a laxer interpretation of the words.

The Britons are said by Mr. Carte to re-edify Antoninus's wall, as they built their cabins, with sods and turf. But, in the hot scent of himself and all our writers after Gildas, he has forgotten his own accounts before, and involved himself in gross contradictions. In the long period betwixt their original rudeness and present distress, they had, according to Mr. Carte himself p. 123, "built houses answerable to the "dignity of their chiefs,—erected temples, courts, market-"places, and other publick buildings;—and fallen by degrees "into all the softness, delicacy, and vices of their conquer-"ors, the use of warm baths, the sumptuousness of porti-"co's," &c. And even in their state of original rudeness, when they built their cabins of sods and turf, Mr. Carte has already told us p. 31, that they also erected, and "we have

"still,

N° I. " still, several stupendous monuments of their skill, as applied " to mechanism, remaining in their temples of Stonehenge, " and the like prodigious structures in other places of these " British isles." So astonishingly inconsistent are these notices of Gildas with all the truths of history and all the remains of antiquity! And in such gross and palpable contradictions have our writers involved themselves, by the credulity with which they have believed his narration, and the unthinkingness with which they have copied it from him.

Thus re-edified however, "the wall of Antoninus is said to have " proved a very weak defence." And Gildas says, that factus non tam lapidibus quàm cespitibus non profuit (c. 12); and his echo repeats the words after him, non tam lapidibus quàm cespitibus—ad nihil utilem statuunt (Bede l. 1. c. 12). But, when we come to examine the succeeding facts of Gildas and of Bede, we find the observation infinitely impertinent in both. Their account here plainly implies, that the wall was attacked by the enemy, that its slight materials soon gave way to the assault, and that the Caledonians burst through it into the province. And yet, according to their own representation, this was not the case even in the smallest article of fact. The succeeding inroads of the Caledonians were not made through the rampart at all. And this barrier of the province never gave way, because it was never attacked. The only two irruptions, that are noticed by them afterwards, are both described as made *across the Friths*. The Scots and Picts, says Gildas, alis remorum, remigumque brachiis, ac velis vento sinuatis, vecti, terminos rumpunt cæduntque omnia (c. 12); and, curicis—trans Tithicam vallem vecti,—omnem—terræ partem—muro tenus capessunt (c. 15). And the same enemies, says Bede, advecti navibus, irrumpunt terminos, cæduntque omnia (c. 12). Both these writers therefore are guilty of making an observation, that refers to facts immediately following in their histories for its own propriety, when those very facts, and even in their own accounts of them, carry not the smallest relation to it. And into such absurdities

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have they neceſſarily plunged themſelves, by taking up a fabulous ſyſtem of hiſtory, and throwing out the obſervations that the general aſpect of it naturally provoked from them.—With theſe abſurdities however Mr. Carte is not chargeable, though he is with others. He has copied indeed the obſervation. But he ſaw its inconſiſtency with the ſucceeding events. And entangled in a net, from which he had not ſpirit enough to extricate himſelf at once, by burſting the threads and deſtroying the whole, he has done violence to the hiſtory and accommodated the facts to the remark. But he has done it with all the diffidence of a conſcious alterer of records. He has *indirectly intimated,* that the Caledonians attacked the wall and broke through it. "It proved a very weak defence," he ſays, "eſpecially when the defendants were *liable* to be attacked behind as well as before, upon the enemies croſſing the friths in their boats and curroghs. The Scots and Picts, *having ſurmounted this obſtacle to their incurſions,* over-ran the country". And thus Mr. Carte being afraid to deſert the guidance of Gildas and of Bede, and yet reſolved to avoid the abſurdity and eſcape the contradiction which he ſaw in them, he has been obliged to change the courſe of the hiſtory and falſify the nature of the facts.

—"To do them [the Britons] ſtill another ſervice before their departure, they directed and aſſiſted the natives in repairing the wall of Severus, which was built of ſtone, and lined with cities all the way between ſea and ſea.—They erected likewiſe on the coaſt of the ocean, to the ſouth of the wall, ſeveral exploratory turrets, affording a large proſpect of the ſea, at proper diſtances from each other; and leaving the Britains ſamples of arms, with inſtructions how to make them for their defence, quitted the iſland."

In the extract before, Mr. Carte had called the work of the Britons at the wall of Antoninus, at one time a *re-building*, and at another a *reparation*, of the rampart. And he now calls the

N° I. work at Severus's wall, we see, equally a *reparation* of it. That he has ascribed before, and this he attributes now, to the Britons of the fifth century. But the real historian of these events has made both of them to be the original erections. And they were neither built nor re-built by the Britons of this period. I have already quoted Gildas's words concerning Antoninus's wall. And what he says of Severus's is this. The Romans, suadentes, quia et hoc putabant aliquid derelinquendo populo commodi accrescere, murum, non ut alterum, sumptu publico privatoque, adjunctis secum miserabilibus indigenis, solito structuræ more, tramite a mari usque ad mare, inter urbes, quæ ibidem fortè ob metum hostium collocatæ fuerant, directo librant (c. 14). And Bede follows him closely, but with more knowledge, and therefore with some variation. Quin et, quód et hoc sociis quos derelinquere cogebantur aliquid commodi adlaturum putabant, murum a mari ad mare recto tramite inter urbes, quæ ibidem ob metum hostium factæ fuerant, *ubi et Severus quondam vallum fecerat*, firmo de lapide conlocarunt; quem videlicet murum, hactenus famosum atque conspicuum, sumptu publico privatoque, adjunctâ secum Britannorum manu, construebant octo pedes latum et duodecim altum, rectâ ab oriente in occasum lineâ (c. 12). Gildas, it is plain, considered this as the original erection of Severus's wall. He knew nothing either of Adrian's or Antonine's ramparts of turf, as he here declares the Romans to have never built with any other materials than stone. And being equally ignorant of Severus's erecting a stone wall, while his co-temporary Nennius was well acquainted with the fact, though he mistook the scene of it (c. 19); he has brought down the date of a building, which was made in the beginning of the third century, nearly to the middle of the fifth. But Bede, who had access to some of the Roman historians, knew better than to follow him through all this maze of ignorance. The latter indeed knew as little as the former, of either Antonine's or Adrian's fences. But he did of Severus's. And, in reconciling this fact with Gildas's, he has been forced to fall into absurdities.

surdities. Imposed upon by the confidence of the Briton, in his attributing the stone rampart betwixt the Solway and Tyne to the later Provincials; he found himself obliged to encounter the just sentiments of the scholars in his time, and insist upon it that Severus's construction was only of turf (c. 5), thus confounding it with Adrian's. And, under the influence of the same deluding spirit, he has referred the real rampart of Severus to Gildas's builders, causing them to erect it, as Severus erected his, in the line that Adrian's had described before. Having done this, he has been implicitly followed by almost all our historians, and transmitted the united absurdities of Gildas and himself through a long course of ages. At length Mr. Carte succeeds to the task of writing this portion of our history. And, being possest of more knowledge than Bede, he is forced to make a greater variation from Gildas. Never once imagining, any more than Bede had done, that Gildas could possibly be so totally deceived, as he appears to have been, in facts which are fixed only a century before his birth; he adopts the incident that Bede had adopted, but applies it very differently from both. Gildas had fixed his stone rampart as the first that crossed from the Tyne to the Solway. Bede had made his only the second in time, though the first in stone. And Mr. Carte makes his to be the second in stone, and even the third in time. Knowing Adrian to have raised one of turf, and Severus another of stone, across the heart of the island; he was constrained to turn Bede's and Gildas's original erection into a mere re-edification or repairing. This he did, though he knew Severus's wall to be described in the Notitia, a few years only before this supposed re-edification of it, as in all its original perfection, defended by eighteen stations, and guarded by the main body of the Roman forces in the island; and though he knew both it and Antonine's to have come down nearly in their original perfection to the days of Bede (c. 12), and to have been mistakenly attributed by him, not in the general ignorance of the Roman history at that time, but from his strong prepossession in favour of Gildas's veracity, to the

N° I. Britons of the fifth century. And neither Bede nor Mr. Carte could do any thing else, if they were obliged, as the unanimous concurrence of ages obliged the latter particularly, to take both Gildas's and the Roman accounts together, and compound the repugnant particles into one mass.

In describing the last wall of the Britons or the rampart of Severus, Gildas remarks, that it was carried inter urbes quæ ibidem *forte* ob metum hostium collocatæ fuerant, along a line of cities, which had been built there perhaps as a barrier against the enemy. From the general form of his expression it is plain, that by cities he means stations; referring to the great chain of forts, which was carried from the Tyne to the Solway before the reign of Adrian (B. I. c. xii. s. 5), and comprehending in the idea the towns, that had long since risen in the immediate vicinity of them. But, not acquainted even with the rudiments of the Roman-British history, he knew not with any assurance for what they were intended. And he only imagined from their direction across the island, that they were designed to prevent the incursions of the barbarians from the north. To whom indeed he could ascribe them, or any of the forts and towns in the kingdom, upon his own principles, it is very difficult to say. And, in all probability, his unthinking spirit was never troubled with the question. Bede however with more knowledge was less cautious, leaves out Gildas's hesitating expression, and asserts the cities (as he still calls them, though he knew them to be forts) to have been actually built for that purpose; inter urbes quæ ibidem ob metum hostium factæ fuerant. And Mr. Carte follows him so closely, as still to denominate them cities after him. Severus's wall, he says, "was "lined with *cities* all the way". All three give us this account of the second wall, in contradistinction to the first. And, that Gildas should, is not to be wondered at. But that Bede does, who speaks of Antoninus's wall as remaining very lofty and very broad in his time, and still more, that Mr. Carte does, who knew the wall to have been lately surveyed, measured, and described by several writers, is very surprizing.

There

There is well known to be a chain of forts equally along this bullwark and the other. And those of Antonine's are no less than thirteen in number, were probably eighteen, and were set twice as close as Severus's (Horseley p. 173).

Mr. Carte proceeds, and adds from Gildas and his faithful interpreter Bede, That just before their departure the Romans erected also for the Britons "several exploratory turrets upon "the coast of the ocean, to the south of the wall, at proper "distances from each other." And here he has been led astray again, partly by the suggestions of his authors, and partly by the seductions of his own sagacity. Gildas says thus; in litore —oceani, ad meridianam plagam, quà naves eorum habebantur, et inde barbariæ feræ bestiæ timebantur, turres per intervalla ad prospectum maris collocant. Bede speak the same language; in litore oceani ad meridiem, quò naves eorum habebantur, quia et inde barbarorum inruptio timebatur, turres per intervalla ad prospectum maris collocant. And Mr. Carte appears to have differed a little from his authorities, in order to give their assertions a more authentick air. Gildas affirms the Romans to have built these exploratory turrets on the coast, not in general "to the south of the wall," but much more confinedly, on the southern shore of the island. And he has even contracted this confined disposition of them, by a few attendant words that have not been remarked. He says that the Romans built their towers on the southern coast of the country, quà naves eorum habebantur, where the Roman navy was stationed; pointing evidently to the harbour of Rhutupis, and the station of the fleet that awed the northern seas. Rhutupi, says Richard, —portus—classi Romanorum, quæ oceano septentrionali dominabatur, recipiendæ factus idoneus (p. 17). And, having thus cleared the way to Gildas's general meaning, we can discern what are the objects to which he alludes, and how he came to apply them as he has done. In his wild and desultory way of relating the facts that he has mistaken, he asserts the Romans to have built exploratory towers about the south-eastern point of the island, where their navy was stationed,

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No I. because of the apprehensions which were entertained, that some barbarians, whom he has never noticed before and does not name at present, but who were certainly Saxons, might infest those seas with their ships. These towers were placed at certain distances along the shore, in order to keep a good look-out to sea, and readily apprize the admiral at Richborough of any Saxon vessels upon it. And immediately on the notice, no doubt, he was to detach some of his cruizers in quest of them. In this view of things, the exploratory turrets were very useful constructions; from their situation along the great angle of the island, commanding both the eastern and southern seas, and conveying immediate intelligence of every Saxon ship that offered to come round into the channel. This is plainly the object which Gildas had in his eye when he wrote. And it informs us of a circumstance in the Roman mode of guarding the narrow seas from pirates, which was totally unknown to us before. In his passage to and from France, which was from that harbour in the days of the Romans, and continued to be so even in the seventh century (Eddius's Wilfrid c. 13); he had seen these turrets on the shore, and at stated distances from the harbour of Rhutupis, and found them all referred to the Romans. He could not ascribe them to the earlier Romans residing in the island, because he wildly fancied them to have never resided in it at all. He could not attribute them to the Britons, because this would be to oppose the tradition, which must then have been infinitely lively, and he imagined them to be incapable even of erecting a wall of stone. And he therefore consigned them to the departing Romans, though the very position of them, about the station of the Roman navy, shewed them to the most unthinking mind, to have been erected there when the navy was stationed in the neighbourhood, and to have been only an accompaniment of it. Mr. Carte saw the folly of this, and corrected it. "Instead of a few turrets at the south-eastern point of the island, which could be but of little utility when the Roman navy was gone, and without their relation to that must appear very ridiculously

louſly confined to ſo ſmall a part of the ſhore; he has fixed them all round the provincial parts of the iſland. And he has improved the ſenſe of his author by extending his obſervation. But he has totally altered the fact. And Gildas ſays one thing and Mr. Carte another.

Mr. Carte ſubjoins, "That the Romans left the Provincials "ſamples of arms, with inſtructions how to make them." Gildas's words are theſe, exemplaria inſtituendorum armorum relinquunt, and Bede's theſe, præbebant inſtituendorum exemplaria armorum. The inſtructions for making the arms were ſurely as neceſſary as the models themſelves, to a people ſo rude, ignorant, and ſtupid as the Britons are repreſented to have been; and yet were firſt given by Mr. Carte himſelf. Bede and Gildas only leave them the patterns. And I note it, merely to ſhew how Mr. Carte is obliged, even in the moſt trifling ſtrokes of hiſtory, to add to his author and eke out his ſentiments, in order to make him ſpeak the language of common ſenſe.— When we conſider the real ſtate of the provinces in the time of Gildas, adorned (as he himſelf ſays) with twenty-eight ſuperiour towns and ſome lofty caſtles of ſtone, and in fact repleniſhed with great towns from end to end, and protected by an infinite number of ſtrong ſtations and handſome caſtles; one cannot conceive it poſſible for any degree of unthinkingneſs to overlook the obvious inference ariſing from this, and not to ſee, that either the Romans had reſided regularly in the iſland, or that the provincials were a people highly poliſhed and powerful; and that, if the former was the caſe, all his own hiſtory of the Roman tranſactions in the country muſt be falſe, or, if the latter, all his imputations upon the Britons abſurd. And when we further reflect, that in his time the remains of the Roman legionaries continued ſtill in their colonies, and that thoſe of Camboritum, Lindum, Aquæ Solis, Iſca Silurum, and Deva, at leaſt, had never yet been reduced by the Saxons; one is equally amazed at the folly, which could deſcribe the Britons at the Roman departure, as without ſkill even to make a common weapon of war, till the Romans gave them inſtruc-

N° I. tions and left them models. The armourers of the colonies must have been as well acquainted with their business as ever they had been, and as ready to practise their profession. The armouries also in the colonies and stations, all over the kingdom, must have been well replenished with the necessary weapons of war. And in all probability Gildas had seen some of these magazines, and observed there what is usual in armouries, some specimens of arms that were highly finished and particularly shewn; and full of what he had read concerning the ignorance and feebleness of the Provincials at the Roman departure, and, like a weak man and a young historian, believing rather what he had read than what he saw, and accommodating the latter to the former, he supposed the specimens to be merely samples, and imagined the Romans to have left only these as models, and the Britons to have fabricated the rest after them. But it it difficult to trace the wildling aberrations of unthinkingness and ignorance. And it is not worth the trouble perhaps, if we could. We need only to observe at present, in addition to what we have remarked already, That Gildas's representation is as contradictory as it is absurd, and that he describes the Romans as under the necessity of leaving models of arms for the Britons, when a little before this event he intimates the Britons to have been actually provided with arms, and makes the Romans exhort them to use their targets, their swords, and their spears, and to fight the enemy gallantly with them; consuescendo armis ac viriliter dimicando, and instructas peltis ensibus, hastis, et ad caedem promptas protenderet manus (c. 14.)

P. 174—176. "The time of the Romans quitting Britain "is not so well ascertained, as the year of the last application, "which the Britains made to Ætius for succours.—It was A.D. "448, when that general was for the third time consul with "Symmachus.—The enemies which now invaded them were "the Picts and Scots.—The Picts encouraged by the succours "of these new allies [the Scots from Ireland], were ever after

"[from

"from the reign of Constantine] in a state of war with the Ro-
"mans and Britains—: till at last, about A.D. 432—, upon hear-
"ing that the Romans had resolved to send no more succours to
"Britain, they left off the practice of carrying home the booty,
"which they had got in their incursions, and took possession
"of all the eastern part of the country that lay between the
"two walls; settling themselves with their families in Lothian
"and Northumberland."

I have noted this passage, to point out two mistakes in it. A slight errour in chronology here is attended by a great one in fact.—Aetius was consul for the third time, and had Symmachus for his colleague, in 446. In 448 Zeno and Posthumianus were consuls. And, as I have observed in the body of the work, this equally fixes the date of the other transactions, the departure of the Romans, the invasion of the Caledonians, the attack upon them by the Britons, and their retreat into the north again; incidents all, that immediately preceded or immediately followed the address to Aetius.—But Mr. Carte has made a much more important errour, which extends itself over several pages here, 176, 177, and 178, and lies in settling the Caledonians by conquest along the northern shore of Valentia, and that as early as 432. Valentia was not possessed by them till ages after this period. And we have decisive evidence of their not being established there, so late as the year of the Roman departure, 446. Illis [Romanis] ad sua revertentibus, says Gildas, emergunt certatim de curicis, quibus sunt trans Tithicam vallem vecti, Scotorum Pictorumque greges; et omnem aquilonalem extremamque terræ partem pro indigenis muro tenus capessunt (c. 15). The Picts of this period, we see, were equally settled with the Scots beyond the Friths. And from thence it was that they sallied out with the others, broke into Valentia, and over-ran it to Severus's wall.

N° I.

P. 178. "The Romans had left them [the Britons] forts
"enough for their security, where they might rendezvous in
"numbers, and be ready to cut off the straggling parties of
"the enemy, as opportunities offered; but it was incompat-
"ible with their humour, to fill them with garrisons. The
"Britains—in all ages—could not bear to be cooped up within
"walls; they hated sieges, and slighted all manner of fortifi-
"cations; their woods serving them instead of castles, and
"morasses being the only entrenchments and ramparts to
"which they trusted.—They were—unexperienced in war,
"destitute of arms, ignorant as well of the fabrick as the use
"of weapons."

From the description that is here given of the Britons at present, one must suppose the Provincials, who for three or four centuries had been improving under the accumulated refinements of Rome, to have been in an instant, as by the stroke of a magical wand, divested of all their acquired graces, and from a polished people transformed into a nation of savages. Their knowledge even of the mechanick arts, those inferiour instruments of civilization, which the conveniences and necessities of life will always cause to be retained where they are once learned, and which successive ages of barbarism have never been able to exterminate in any other country; all this was erazed at once from the minds of all the artificers in the kingdom, and merely by the shock of the Roman departure from it. And, even before the Caledonians had yet broke in upon them, we see a most miraculous alteration in the aspect of the island, the general perspective entirely inverted, and the un-lettered barbarians of Britain raised again upon the stage, instead of the refined Provincials. But this legerdemain of ignorance and folly is carried still further. The Britons are not only stript of all their improvements under the Romans, but even of those which they were possessed of before the Romans came among them. From the heights of civility and

4 politeness

politeneſs reduced to their original rudeneſs, they are even made to deſcend ſome ages lower, and deſcribed as more ignorant, brutal, and ſavage than even their forefathers at their firſt population of the iſland perhaps. " They were deſtitute of " arms," and " ignorant as well of the fabrick as the uſe of " weapons." This is ſuch a monſtrous account of a nation, ſomething ſo infinitely extravagant, ridiculous, and abſurd, that to be expoſed it needs only to be recited. And the credulity of ages, that have ſo long received theſe opinions, is truly amazing; eſpecially of ſome, that have affected the moſt unlimited ſcepticiſm in matters demonſtrably true, while they implicitly believed in others that were ſo palpably falſe.

But half this abſurdity is not ſtrictly chargeable upon Gildas, though it has been always ſuppoſed to be ſo. He ſays not that the Provincials were totally deſtitute of arms, and entirely ignorant of the uſe of them. He intimates, as I have obſerved before, that they had arms, particularly targets, ſwords, and ſpears (c. 14). And he deſcribes them immediately afterwards lining Severus's wall with their troops (c. 15), not ſurely with an unarmed multitude, but with forces properly accoutered.

Mr. Carte's deſcription of the provinces at this period, indeed, is ſuch as was never given of a nation before, and will, it is to be hoped, never be given again. From the Friths to the Channel there was not a weapon in the iſland, except a few patterns that were left by the Romans, and of which we muſt ſuppoſe the rude artiſts of Britain now beginning to make awkward imitations. And even, if there had been any, the Provincials were ſuch abſolute barbarians and fools, that they did not know how to handle them. Yet, to ſhew the contradictorineſs, that muſt heighten (if any thing can) the abſurdity, of the notices, theſe are the perſons whom Mr. Carte deſcribes at the ſame inſtant, as " employing their ſwords againſt one " another" (p. 179), and as afterwards " ſallying from the " faſtneſſes, falling upon the invaders that were deſtroying their " country, and routing them in ſeveral engagements" (p. 180).

 Thus

No I. Thus men destitute of arms appear with their swords in their hands, and persons, ignorant of the use of their weapons, are found handling them with skill and wielding them with spirit.

> A painted vest prince Vortigern had on,
> Which from a naked Pict his grandsire won.

——— But let us proceed.

The Britons in all ages, it is said, could not bear to be cooped up in walls, and therefore slighted every kind of fortification, their woods serving them instead of castles, and morasses being their only entrenchments and ramparts. The falsity of this account I have shewn sufficiently in the first Book. And Mr. Carte himself shall shew it here again. On the original advance of the Romans into the country, he says the Britons "retired into the woods, to a place exceedingly well fortified "by art and nature, all the avenues to it being shut up by "a great number of large trees, felled and laid across; and "kept themselves within this fastness, which seemed to have "been prepared long before for some such purpose" (p. 90). On their coming to the north of the Thames, Mr. Carte observes that "Cassivelaun's town (so the Britons called a "thick grove with a lawn in the middle of it, surrounded "with a ditch and rampart—) —Cæsar found very strongly for-"tified both by art and nature: he stormed it however in "two places" (p. 94). It is also said by him of Claudius, that "advancing into the country of the Trinovantes [he] "took Camulodunum, the royal seat of Cunobeline" (p. 101). And Suetonius tells us of Vespasian, he adds, "that he "took above twenty towns" in reducing only "two nations "of Britain" (p. 102). Yet these are the people, that "in "all ages had slighted all manner of fortifications." And these are the warriours, who never had any thing but "woods "for their castles and morasses for their entrenchments."

P. 179. "They [the Britons] were not only unexperienced "in war, destitute of arms, ignorant as well of the fabrick "as the use of weapons, but (what was still worse) divided "among themselves; without any common or regular chief- "tain established among them, or any settled method of "forming an union, so as to be able to act with a proper "concert. By the Romans withdrawing their officers and "forces, the usual government of Britain was dissolved; and "the power of the nation naturally reverted to the heirs of "the British chieftains, who had enjoyed it before the Roman "conquest. It was difficult to distinguish these, at the di- "stance of so many ages, as had passed since that conquest; "at least in the countries, where the Roman laws and cus- "toms had universally prevailed, and the Britains had lived "intermixed and intermarrying with the Romans. The pre- "tensions of various persons to the headship of particular "clans and nations could not fail of producing intestine "broils, and of opening a terrible scene of disorder and con- "fusion."

All this proceeds upon the mistaken principle which I have sufficiently refuted, I think, in the preceding volume, That the royalties of the provinciated Britons were destroyed by the Romans, and all the kings reduced to private persons. I have shewn the British sovereigns to have continued in pos- session of their crowns, as much after the Roman conquest as before it. And all, that is requisite to be done at present, is to mark the strange contradictoriness of these assertions to the facts in Mr. Carte and his authors. "There was at this "time," says Mr. Carte p. 188—189, "but one kingdom "of any considerable force among the Britains—: the rest of "Britain was filled with an inconceivable number of little "princes;—thus Melvas was king of the marshy parts of "Somerset &c.;—and I take the famous Ambrosius to have "been prince of Wilts &c.;—and the kings of Gwent or

No. I. "Monmouthshire are mentioned on various occasions." Can any accounts be conceived more directly repugnant to each other, than these are? The country, which before had not a single prince, chief, or sovereign within it, we find by some strange and unnoticed revolution to be filled with an inconceivable number of them. And in page 191 Vortigern calls "a general council of all the princes and chieftains "in Britain." But let us leave Mr. Carte and go to his authors. And there we find every thing as I have represented it, the whole country, as before, cantoned into kingdoms and governed by monarchs. The parents of Ambrosius, says Gildas, were sovereigns, and slain soon after the commencement of the Saxon hostilities, occisis in eâdem parentibus, purpurâ nimirum indutis (c. 25). And Vortigern he calls the chief monarch of the Britons, cum superbo tyranno Gurthrigerno Brittannorum duce (c. 23). Nennius also speaks equally of king Vortigern, rex Vortigernus (c. 35), and says that he held the monarchy of Britain, regnabat in Britanniâ (c. 28). He speaks likewise of Guoirrangon king of Kent, Guoirrangono rege regnante in Cantiâ (c. 36), and even of the kings of the Britons in general, cum regibus Britonum (c. 61). And the Saxon chronicle notices Vortigern expressly as a king, calls him actually the monarch of the Britons, and asserts him, as such, to have called the Saxons into the island (A. D. 455 and 449).

So little was the whole compass of Roman Britain without kings in it, at the departure of the Romans. And so little was this the case with it, even according to Mr. Carte's own representations in other parts of his history. Indeed, if it had been so, the provinces would have been in such a situation, as no region was ever in since the creation. The whole face of the country being broke into a variety of distinct and independent sovereignties, and the old line of their princes extinct or forgotten in each, ample license would be given to all the horrours of dissension. The tempting object of so many vacant thrones must have called out all the wildest activities

vities of the human mind. And the furies of civil war would be let loose upon the whole, in all their most sanguinary violence; the more alarming in their commencement, because there could be no end of a contest, where every man might be a claimant and none had a right; and the more dreadful in their continuance, because there must have been as many civil wars as there were kingdoms, and every part of the provinces would be the immediate scene of battles, slaughter, and destruction. But, happily for the feelings of the Britons, this was not the case. Mr. Carte indeed so far pursues his argument, as to think that it was. But the whole tenour of history, his own as well as that of others, opposes the notion. There, as I have shewn immediately above, kings appear in every quarter of the island, even before the coming of the Saxons, all firmly seated on their thrones, all uniting to chuse a general monarch, and all assembling to consult for the general good.

But Mr. Carte alledges here, that this must have been the case "at least in the countries where the Roman laws and "customs had universally prevailed, and the Britains had "lived intermixed and intermarrying with the Romans." The distinction is impertinent, and the exception ridiculous. Yet Mr. Carte dwells upon the subject repeatedly, assuring us that "all Wales, in a manner, was still [to the reign of "Constantine], and had ever been, in the sole possession of "the Silures" (p. 163); that all Valentia was equally in the possession of the natives there (p. 137, 163, 168, and 179); and that the Dumnonii had "been less intermixed with the "Romans, and suffered fewer alterations in their original "customs and constitution by the laws and police of the "Empire, than any other people of this island" (p. 188-189). This is nothing, however, but the dreams of fancy and the visions of wildness. All parts of Britain were provinciated as they were conquered. And all up to Antoninus's wall remained so to the days of the Notitia; as we had Britannia Prima, Britannia

Nº I. tannia Secunda, Flavia, Maxima, and Valentia, all expresly reckoned there for the present provinces of Britain.

—" It is not unlikely, but the old animosity between the
" Belgic and the antient Britons might revive in this state of
" anarchy, and hinder them from taking measures in concert
" for their common defence: there will be soon occasion to
" mention some passages which favour this notion."

And the passages are these p. 190. Vortigern " was pro-
" bably jealous of the Belgic Britains, as seems insinuated by
" Nennius, in representing him jealous of the Roman in-
" terest; which at this time could be only that of the Bri-
" tains [*it should be* Belgæ] ever attached to the Romans."
And to this is added the following note. " Prosper calls Bri-
" tain Romania insula; those parts of it, which spake the
" language of the Romans (which perhaps had in some
" places extinguished the British) and conformed to their
" customs, were called Romania, those which did not were
" termed Barbaria; in which sense these words are used by
" Venantius Fortunatus. So Gildas, n. 5. solo nomen Ro-
" manæ servitutis hæsit, ita ut non Britannia sed Romania
" censeretur. And n. 10. Insula nomen Romanum tenens.
" A law is said to be made by Antoninus Caracalla, to oblige
" all the subjects of the Empire to be called Romans. The
" Roman language was not spoke, nor did their laws and
" usages prevail either in Wales or Scotland, nor probably in
" some of the wild, mountainous, and marshy parts of Eng-
" land; where there was no commerce, and the people lived
" after the old British fashion: but about London, and all
" over the West, where the Belgic colonies, ever employed in
" trade, inhabited, the Roman language and manners were
" universally adopted; and these Belgic Britains might well
" enough be taken by Nennius for the gens Romana, men-
" tioned by Gildas. I take this to be the ordinary language
" of that age, in the like cases. Thus when Clovis entered
" France

" France A. D. 486, ten years after the Roman western
" empire had been destroyed, and Rome itself had been in the
" possession of the Heruli; the Gauls, who having not been
" subdued by the Goths and Burgundians, had set up for
" themselves under Ægidius and Syagrius, their countrymen,
" and not of Roman race, are styled Romans: and in Armo-
" rica, the old Gaulic inhabitants,—which had so long with-
" drawn themselves from the imperial dominion, that proba-
" bly there was not a Roman amongst them, are yet called Ro-
" mans, so late as the second council of Tours;—ne quis
" Britannum aut Romanum in Armorica &c.—So in the laws
" of the Visigoths, l. x. tit. viii. the Gauls that inhabited the
" provinces south of the Loire are called Romans: and by the
" same in Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 26, 33, Bede, I am persuaded,
" means the Britains, because Martin not dying till A. D. 400,
" it is not likely that a church should be built and dedicated
" to him before the Roman forces were withdrawn from
" Britain."

That the old animosity between the Belgæ and Aborigines should revive at the distance of 400 years, is a most unreasonable supposition. And the evidences produced for it are almost as much so. Nennius speaks of Vortigern's fear of the Romans. And Mr. Carte, not knowing that there were then many myriads of Romans in the island, applies the appellation to the Belgæ. That he did not know the fact, will readily be forgiven him by the candid. It was first noted in the present work. Yet that he should make the application is very surprizing. The Belgæ were not more romanized than the Aborigines, and therefore had no more title to the appellation of Romans.—But let us observe the strange confusion and contradictoriness, that reign in this part of Mr. Carte's history.

The assertion of the text appropriates the name of Romans to the Belgæ, and the note is given in confirmation of it. And yet the latter is in direct opposition to the former, shewing the name, in its way of shewing, to be equally applicable to all

Nº I. the inhabitants of the level and cultivated parts of Flavia and Maxima. The proofs also from Prosper, Gildas, the law of Caracalla, the language of the Franks, Gauls, and Visigoths, and the diction of Bede, are still more directly opposed to the position of the text. And, while this confines the appellation to the Belgæ, those extend it to all the Provincials.—Nor is this all. The note is in a state of hostility, not only with the text, but with itself also. The proofs from Prosper and the others carried the name over all the provinces. The argument from Venantius Fortunatus restrains it to "those parts—"which spake the language of the Romans." And the progress of the reasoning specifies the parts to be Wales, Scotland, and some of the wild, mountainous, and marshy parts of England.—This is a very extraordinary specimen of inaccuracy of thought and indistinctness of expression. And it will appear still more so, if we only mark the regular interchange of ideas that runs through the text and note.—To prove the Belgæ to have been peculiarly called Romans, Mr. Carte quotes Prosper calling the whole island Roman. This latitude however he contracts at the next step, and confines the name, not (as in the text) to the Belgæ, but to such parts of the island as spoke the Roman language. So far advancing, therefore, we have three positions, That the name was appropriated to the Belgæ, that it was not appropriated to any part of the provinces but extended over the whole, and yet that it was appropriated and to such parts as spoke Latin. The next argument is from Gildas, and carries us back again from the last assertion, and fixes us once more in the second. And this is confirmed by reference to a law of Caracalla. But all this is again dashed to pieces by the succeeding argument, which brings us down again to the third position, and at once unites it to and overthrows the first; attributing the name only to such parts as spoke Latin, supposing this to be the case with the Belgick kingdoms, and yet allowing it to be also with the greatest part of Maxima and Flavia. And the whole is once more subverted by recurring again to the second

position

position, and proving the Provincials of France and Britain to have been all called Romans. This is such an instance of tergiversation and versatility in reasoning, as perhaps was never paralleled.

But this passage, so replete with mistakes, still affords further game for criticism. "To cry havock and let slip "the dogs of war," indeed, is not my design. I only mark the follies as they arise, for the sake of general good to history.—Mr. Carte supposes the Belgæ to have adopted the Roman language and laws in so singular a degree, as to have been peculiarly denominated Romans for it. And yet in p. 205 he describes all the Old Britons of Flavia, all between the Humber and the Thames, as having equally adopted the same language and laws, and therefore entitled equally to the same appellation; they, as he says, having "been so long inured "to the customs of the Romans, that they retained very lit-"tle of the British;—being thoroughly intermixed with them "for several ages," and having therefore, "it is not unlikely, "—lost the use of their ancient language." He has thus, in the most express terms, made the Old Britons and the Belgæ equal adopters of the Roman customs. And yet, with that spirit of wanton contradiction which seems to be intailed upon this set of ideas, in another place he has positively confronted his own testimony, not, as before, by re-calling his excursive assertion, and retreating into the country of the Belgæ again, but by denying a considerable part even of the Belgæ themselves to have adopted the Roman manners. The Dumnonii, who were a powerful nation of the Belgæ, and whom, as such, in p. 103—104 he peculiarly supposes to have readily submitted to the Romans, he describes in p. 188—189 as having been "less intermixed with the Romans, and suf-"fered fewer alterations in their original customs and con-"stitution by the laws and police of the empire, than any "other people of this island." What was attributed to all the Belgæ in contradistinction to the Aborigines, and afterwards communicated to a considerable part of the latter also, is

N° I. is now taken away again from a large division even of the former. And the Belgæ "all over the West" were so far from "universally adopting the Roman language and manners," that, according to Mr. Carte's own account, Cornwall, Devon, and a part of Somerset (p. 189), had received "fewer alterations in their original customs than any other "people of this island."—Mr. Carte also asserts the inhabitants of those parts of Roman Britain, which did not adopt the Roman manners, Wales, Scotland, and almost all England except London and the West, to have lived to this time "after the old British fashion." I need not refute the extravagant opinion. Mr. Carte shall do it for me. And in p. 123 he assures us, at a time when the Roman empire was carried certainly to Solway frith, and, as he thinks, extended over the Ottadini of Valentia (p. 122), That "the old natives of this island—Agricola endeavoured to render—more "polite—; he pressed their chiefs—to erect temples, courts, "market-places, and other publick buildings—; hence—the "Roman garb came soon to be in fashion, and *their customs to "be generally adopted by the Britains*." The inhabitants therefore of all Wales, and of almost all England to the north of the Thames, were so far from living in their old fashion during the whole period of the Romans, as Mr. Carte has alledged, that even so early as the days of Agricola, or very soon afterwards, he himself shews them to have generally adopted the Roman customs.

All Mr. Carte's arguments then, for appropriating the name of Romans to the Belgæ, appear to be impertinent in themselves, confused in their direction, and contradictory in their tendency. And Nennius could not have any such meaning as Mr. Carte has given him. Nor could Bede. Though St. Martin died only in the year 400, as our author affirms, it is much more probable that a church should be dedicated to him in the forty six years preceding the Roman departure, than in the one or two only betwixt that event and the Saxon invasion. And the whole of Mr. Carte's opinion, concerning

cerning a revival of the old animosity between the Belgæ and the Aborigines, appears on examination of the parts to resolve into nothing. I have entered the more fully into the subject, because it was of considerable moment to the history, and the assertion was supported by a striking appearance of learning and argument. And the reader cannot but observe at the close, that what seemed to be "confirmations strong as "proofs of holy writ," have been found to be only "trifles "light as air" upon trial.

—"There was only one kingdom, of any considerable "force, still subsisting among the old natives, viz. that of the "Strath-cluyd Britains, called generally the kingdom of Cumbria, after the inhabitants of Cumberland and Westmoreland had, upon the Romans quitting the island, put themselves under the protection of the princes of the race of Coil; "who possessed not only that kingdom (which originally comprehended all the western lowlands of Scotland, from Dunbriton to Carlisle) but also the principality of North Wales, "called Guynedh, from Cynedda, grandson to Coil."

I have noted this passage to demolish a visionary kingdom, that has spread itself to so great an extent, and makes such a considerable figure, in Mr. Carte's history. See p. 137, 139, 140, 147, and 163—164. No such kingdom ever existed. And the whole rests upon the feeble authority of the Welsh genealogies. These indeed, we are told in p. 138 and 163, do certainly deserve credit in such points as they all agree in, and as are posteriour to the introduction of letters; especially since they clash in no respect with authentick history. This seems a fair test. But the genealogies cannot stand the trial by it. And of this we shall immediately be convinced, when we find there, that Mr. Carte's celebrated Coil, or (as the genealogies call him) Coel Godhebog, is expresly declared to have been *king of Britain* about the close of the third century, and even *chosen king by the Britons* (Mona p. 163, 164, and 165). This is a fact

 in

N° I. in which they all agree, and which is posteriour to the introduction of letters. Yet it clashes with every intimation of authentick history. And indeed it is of a nature so highly absurd, and so truly ridiculous, that it destroys all their credit at once, and shews them to be merely a transcript from the lying history of Geoffry, or the work of the same spirit that produced it. It is almost superfluous therefore to add, that Asclepiodotus, who slew Allectus, is made in these pedigrees *duke of Cornwall by descent* (p. 164); that Cenau, the son of Coel, is called the *right heir* of the kingdom of Britain, though it is declared to have been only an *elective* one, and is said to have *given up his right of sovereignty over Britain* to his sister Helen, who married Constantius (p. 164); that Asclepiodotus, who on the murder of Allectus became master of all the Roman forces in the island, and consequently lord of all the provinces, is affirmed to have been *chosen by the Britons to be their crowned king and emperour* (p. 164); and that one Octavius a *native*, being *made governor of Britain by Constantine*, and being *duke of Cornwall by descent*, was bold enough to *assume the sovereignty to himself*, and was *crowned by his countrymen king of Britain* (p. 165). And the eastern tradition of Alexander's invasion of India, which makes him waft his troops across the Indus mounted on the backs of a million of wild-geese, is scarcely more romantick than these Welsh accounts of Roman Britain.

—" The rest of Britain [all but the kingdom of Coil], rent " by intestine factions, which employed their swords against " one another, lay exposed an easy prey to the incursions of " the Picts from the north, and of the Scots from Ireland " (Gildas) who made such terrible havock in the country, that " the Britains flying to their forests, mountains, and marshes " for shelter, the ground remained untilled, and an horrible " famine ensued."

We

We have been hitherto engaged in settling the state of the provinces at the Roman departure. And never surely was any period of history so distorted by inattention, and disfigured by folly, before. We now begin to move forward on the current of transactions. But we shall be stopt in our descent, I fear, at every turn of the channel. And we are so here, at the very outset.

There is no authority for asserting either all the provinces, or all but the kingdom of Coil, to have been rent with factions at this period. The dissensions are as imaginary as the kingdom that accompanies them. And the only ground-work of the assertion has been already taken away. The whole country was too much under the settled government of its kings, to need to enter into any disputes about their sovereignties. And the amazing alteration wrought in their state, and the astonishing revolution made in all this part of the globe, by the declension of the Roman empire, had left too sorrowful an impression upon their spirits at present, to allow them wantonly to provoke a civil war.

This inroad of the Caledonians is so strangely described by Mr. Carte, that at first sight one hardly knows what the irruption is of which he is speaking. And the reason for his conduct is the mistake that he has made, in formerly giving up all the eastern parts of Valentia to the Picts (p. 176), and in bringing the Scots out of Ireland into the provinces at present. These came from the north of the Cluyd, as those did from the north of the Forth. And Gildas's account, that I have so often quoted before, shews it decisively. Emergunt certatim de curicis, quibus sunt trans Tithicam vallem vecti,—tetri Scotorum Pictorumque greges [Scotorum a circione, Pictorum ab aquilone, c. xi],—et omnem aquilonalem extremamque terræ partem pro indigenis muro tenus capessunt (c. 15).

The consequences of the inroad, also, are greatly aggravated. Gildas writes with all the exaggerating spirit, that a boy's genius and a coward's timorousness could concur to give him.

N° I. And his accounts have not only been copied, but improved in folly and heightened in terrour, by ſucceeding writers.

The incurſion in 446 was made acroſs Valentia, and through the wall into Maxima, and in all probability was carried no farther than the ſouth of Durham or the north of Yorkſhire. The invaſion, that followed in 448, was made with a formidable army, deliberately raiſed and reſolved on conqueſt; and yet reached only to the ſouth of Lincolnſhire. And the terrible havock, which here and in Gildas is indirectly repreſented as carried over all the provinces, was confined to Yorkſhire, Durham, Northumberland, and the Lothians, to a narrow tract in the three laſt, and to a very ſmall part of the firſt.—Nor was it half ſo dreadful, even within this compaſs, as it is deſcribed to have been. It was only attended with the uſual effects of ſuch an inroad. Several of the people fled before the enemy, and ſheltered in the woods and mountains. And there fright and famine cauſed ſome of the more timorous among them, the women probably, in that cowardly ſpirit of ſuicide which has been ſo often the ſcandal of this country, to cut their own throats. One or two inſtances of the kind would be ſufficient to call out the declamatory ſtrain of Gildas. And the reſt, who were poſſeſſed of greater reſolution, deſcended privately to the plains, and carried off by ſtealth the proviſions of the country. Laniabant et ſeipſos mutuò, nec pro exigui victûs brevi ſuſtentaculo miſerrimorum civium *latrocinando* temperabant; et augebantur extraneæ clades domeſticis motibus, quò et hujuſmodi tam crebris *direptionibus* vacuaretur omnis regio totius cibi baculo, excepto venatoriæ artis ſolatio. ——And the horrid famine, that enſued from the ground remaining untilled, is all a groſs miſtake in Mr. Carte. He has here, by his unlimited mode of ſpeaking, extended it over all the provinces. But in p. 183 he *has outdone his own outdoings*, and diffuſed it "all over the Roman empire probably." And yet, after all, it did not even ſpread over the narrow circuit, within which I have previouſly confined the ravages. It affected only the Britiſh fugitives in the woods and mountains. Famis

dira

dira ac famosissima *vagis ac nutabundis* haeret, quae multos eorum cruentis compellit praedonibus sine dilatione victas dare manus. And even with them it was not so bad as Gildas's swelling words would lead one to apprehend. Though some of them were compelled to leave their retreats for want of food, and surrender themselves to the enemy; yet others still continued in their fastnesses, and still sallied from them into the cultivated country in quest of provisions: alios verò nusquam, quin potiùs de ipsis montibus, speluncis, ac saltibus, dumis consertis, continuè rebellabant.—So much have even the absurdities of Gildas been embellished, and his follies multiplied, by the hands of carelessness and inaccuracy. An inroad, that could affect only a small line of the eastern coast, has been extended over all the country. The common incidents, that attend all such incursions, have been described as circumstances of peculiar horrour. And a want of food, which affected a few rovers in the woods of the North-riding, has been raised into a famine that resulted from the general neglect of tillage, that extended over all the provinces, and even spread probably over all the empire.

—"Taught, by sad experience, the mischiefs of disunion, "they made various essays to unite under a common chieftain, "setting up several one after another, to whom Gildas gives "the style of kings,—and choosing them not so much for their "goodness and virtue, as for their cruel (so perhaps he terms "their warlike) disposition. But the heat of parties, and the "lust of sovereignty, baffled all these endeavours for an union: "scarce was one advanced to the supreme command, but he "was either assassinated or deposed.—Forced at last by unavoidable necessity, the Britains sallied out of their fastnesses, "fell upon the invaders that were destroying their country, "and routed them in several engagements."

We have not yet gone through the 179th page of this history. It is perhaps the most replete with mistakes and mis-

 reasonings,

N° I. reaſonings, of any that ever was written.* And indeed all this part of our annals is drawn up by all our writers, with an aſtoniſhing ignorance, wildneſs, and abſurdity.

We are here told, in proſecution of Mr. Carte's previous errour concerning the diſſenſions of the Britons, that ſad experience taught them to wiſh for an union. But, as they had no diſſenſions, they could not experience their bad effects or have a wiſh for their removal. How frequently does the overthrow of one falſehood, like the falling of a nine-pin, ſerve to beat down ſeveral others.—But this wiſh for an union, it ſeems, was not what from the preceding picture of the Provincials one would naturally expect it to be, for their agreeing to fill their vacant thrones, and ſo once more acting together under the command of their reſpective ſovereigns. It was for electing one general monarch to preſide over the whole. And Mr. Carte has forgotten the picture that he has given us above, and ſuppoſes the Provincials to be now in a ſituation the very reverſe of what he himſelf has deſcribed them in, capable of chooſing a general monarch, and conſequently under particular ſovereigns.—They choſe ſeveral of theſe general monarchs, ſays Mr. Carte, who were continually aſſaſſinated or depoſed. And this is repreſented as happening while the Caledonians were yet in the country. But it is all the wild account of Gildas, made ten times wilder. Revertuntur—impudentes graſſatores, ſays that author: quieſcente autem vaſtatione,—ungebantur reges et non per Deum, ſed qui cæteris crudeliores extarent, et paulò poſt ab unctoribus non pro veri examinatione trucidabantur,—aliis electis trucioribus. Mr. Carte makes theſe kings to be general monarchs, though Gildas only ranks them as private ſovereigns. And Mr. Carte fixes the facts during the invaſion, but Gildas after it. So inaccurate is the one, even in tranſcribing ſimple notices from the other. Nor, for my part, do I believe the notices that Gildas himſelf has here given us. It is very remarkable, that Bede, who copies ſo cloſely his other particulars, has totally omitted theſe. And the facts could never have happened in the manner

ner and to the degree, in which they are represented by Gildas. One or two incidents, as I have observed before on another point, would be sufficient ground-work for such a writer as Gildas. And the whole appears as contrary to the state of the times and the nature of the exigency, as the erection of the two walls by the Britons of the fifth century is to positive history.

Mr. Carte has told this whole story of the Caledonian incursion very ill. We have none of the picturesque circumstances that are given us by Gildas, almost the only things for which Gildas deserves the smallest praise, in the beginning of the account. And we have not the one striking fact, that marks the conclusion of it. We see not the Caledonians hastily crossing the friths in their curroghs, landing in Valentia, and traversing the country to Severus's wall. We see not the Provincials mounted on the wall, timorous and trembling, and disabled equally from fighting and from flying by their fears; and the Caledonians below plying their long hooks, grappling many of them, and pulling them to the ground. We see not the Provincials deserting the wall, the savages breaking through it, the country flying before them, and death and slaughter dispensed around. And we do not observe the Britons in this distress applying to Aetius for succour, Aetius refusing them, and the Britons boldly carving out their deliverance without it. Scarcely one of these circumstances is noted by Mr. Carte. None of them are related with their proper accompaniments. And, instead of this regular consecution of facts, we have a mere huddle of incidents and a chaos of history, equally without form and without light.—This has led Mr. Carte into some strange ideas concerning the chronology. Though these events plainly speak their near relation to each other, though they could not have taken up many weeks, and though they actually appear from history to have all happened in the summer or autumn of 446; yet Mr. Carte, deceived by his own rambling mode of writing the history, and measuring the time by the course of his ideas only, vainly fancies years to have past while he has been spending moments. Thus the eastern prince imagined he had gone

 through

No I. through many fcenes, and fuffered a variety of diftreffes, while he dipt his head in a tub of water, and took it out again.—How foon after the Roman departure he brings the Caledonians into the provinces, he has not thought proper to mark. But betwixt their coming and their retreat he has placed an interval of "feveral years" (p. 180), and noted it by the election of a general monarch, his depofition or affaffination, and the fucceffive elections, affaffinations, or depofitions of others. He found a void of incidents, from his method of reprefenting the hiftory. And he filled it up with fome facts that he met with in Gildas, altered their general nature to accommodate them to their new fituation, and fixed them in a period in which Gildas exprefsly forbad them to be placed.

The Britons therefore did not attack the Caledonians after many efforts for a general union, and forced by unavoidable neceffity at laft. The time, that this ravaging party lay in the country, feems to have been very fhort, about a fortnight or three weeks only. And from the nature of the incurfion, made inftantly and in a hurry upon the news of the Roman departure, it could not well be longer. As foon as ever, the Romans were known to be embarked, the Picts and Scots would launch their fkiffs and waft over into Valentia. In the north of the province they united their forces, and then pufhed along the Roman road to the wall. The attack of this probably lafted fome days. And then they entered a country, that was in a great meafure new to their plundering parties. On their breaking through the wall probably, difpatches were fent to Aetius for affiftance. This meffage would take up eight or ten days perhaps. And, on the return of the anfwer, the enemy would be come to the fartheft extent of their irruption fouthwards. There they lay, pillaging and ravaging the country in all the wantonnefs of barbarian infolence; afraid to advance farther left their retreat fhould be cut off, and ready to retire as foon as any formidable oppofition fhould be made againft them. Such was preparing in the fouthern parts of the kingdom, to join with the Romans if they re-

turned,

turned, and to check the advance of the enemy if they did not. And these troops (as I shall shew at full length in the notes upon Mr. Hume) now marched up towards the enemy, and defeated them with great slaughter.

P. 180. "This—peace [after the retreat of the Caledonians] "they [the Britons] did not so much enjoy as abuse; for "the ground being now tilled, after lying waste for several "years, yielded such extraordinary crops of corn, and so ama-"zing a plenty of all things, that the Britains abandoned "themselves to luxury and riot; minding nothing but the gra-"tifying of their passions and indulging of the vices, with "which all orders of men among them were infected."

The strange infatuation, that has so invariably prevailed, of transplanting Gildas's absurdities into our annals, has thrown such an air of extravagance and frenzy over this part of the history, that it requires no small portion of phlegm to correct the blunders and expose the follies of it. And yet it is surely time to vindicate the Britons from the aspersions, that have so liberally been thrown upon them for these twelve ages. They suffered from the Saxons all the inflictions of a savage war and a barbarous conquest. But they have suffered more from their own countryman since; having been transmitted by him to posterity as a race of barbarians and a nation of ideots, with all the wild delineations that melancholy, terrour, and puritanism could concur to make of them. And the present passage is one amongst a thousand instances of this.

The invasion was represented before as affecting the whole country. The famine was described as extending over the same compass at least. And the plenty here has its influence as diffusive as either. The famine had arisen, according to Mr. Carte, from the general omission of tillage, and the plenty resulted from the renewal of it. And the latter therefore must have been equally as confined as the former, and have reached only over a small portion of the north. This appears to have

N° I. been the case, from the manner in which Gildas himself represents it: *quiescente vastatione*, tantis abundantiarum copiis insula affluebat &c. And it appears still more so from what is at least equal in weight to the authority of Gildas, the whole tenour and direction of the narrative.—Confined then to the eastern coast of Valentia and a small part of Maxima, how could any plenty affect the inhabitants of Flavia, the Britons of Britannia Secunda, or the Belgæ of Britannia Prima? It could affect them just as much as the ravages had done before, or the famine that was occasioned by them.

This famine was only on the fugitives in the woods, as I have shewn before. It did not reach to the settled inhabitants or the cultivated country. It could not. A famine, produced by an irruption of two or three weeks, could only be upon some distrest individuals, and within their solitary places of shelter. The inroad, as is plain from Gildas's expression for the retreat afterwards, revertuntur grassatores ad hibernas domos, was made after the harvest and just before the winter. And the abundance, which Gildas talks of, could not result from the return of the people to their lands, and the renovation of the arts of agriculture. Nor can it refer to any harvest at all, though it has been always supposed to do so. The words of Gildas do not necessarily imply any such thing: quiescente—vastatione, tantis abundantiarum copiis insula affluebat, ut nulla haberi tales retrò ætas meminisset. And the course of the history shews, that, however exaggerated they are by the ignorance and declamatoriness of the author, they have no relation to it. No harvest had been destroyed by the Caledonians. No labours of agriculture had been suspended by their invasion. And if there be any consistency of ideas, any consecution of incidents, in Gildas, his words can relate only to the plenty, to which the half-starved refugees of the woods and mountains now found themselves restored by the retreat of the enemy. So considered, all is right and proper, and requisite allowance made for the amplifying spirit of Gildas. And the invasion, the famine, and the plenty are all in the same strain carried equally

over

over the island by him, when they were really confined to a small part of the north of it; and the plenty and famine, particularly, are made to correspond with each other precisely, extending over the provinces when they related only to a few refugees, and the one naturally succeeding to the other.

This strange fact then, of a plentiful harvest after the Caledonian invasion, appears to be all a chimæra, arising from Gildas's extravagant manner of relating these facts, and from the wild style that he uses, so congenial to his manner; and is contrary to the whole tenour of the history. And the influence, that it is supposed to have had, is infinitely more romantick than the thing itself. One copious harvest, it seems, overturned all the religion, morality, and sobriety of the nation, and of a nation too, that was under the strongest impressions of terrour, from the falling of the Roman empire and the expected invasion of the Caledonians. This is such a stroke of a madman's genius in writing history, that, in the eyes of every judicious foreigner, the un-interrupted appearance of it in our annals for so many hundred years must almost convict the nation itself of insanity. The gloomy fanaticism of Gildas has been the occasion of all this. It was that, which first declaimed against the luxury and impiety prevailing in consequence of the plenty. What the impiety was, it is not very easy to discern through the mist that Gildas continually raises about him by his style. That in the fat ages of plenty, peace, and refinement, which had passed under the Roman government, the Britons had fallen into many modes of living which a Gildas would condemn for luxury, we may be very certain. That, after their first fervours for Christianity were over, religion had not so strong a hold upon their hearts, and their morals had become less pure and holy, we may be equally certain. And Gildas, too ignorant to know the real state of the facts, and too weak to have marked the usual operations of the mind, ascribes (as he had ascribed before) antient incidents to modern causes, and refers the luxury and immorality —to a plentiful season. That the fugitives, after their return

from

N° I. from the woods, should eat a little more freely for their long abstinence, and make their Easter more joyous for the preceding Lent, must naturally be expected; but cannot be alluded to by Gildas, unless we suppose his language, which was before in the clouds, to have mounted all at once to the moon. It refers only, I apprehend, to the growing luxury of ages, which his ignorance supposed to be all recent, and his folly attributed to an occasional plenty. The country, which had been polished for centuries by the mistress of the world, and bred up as it were in the lap of luxury, was now enervated by a temptation that would hardly have seduced a fasting monk. And the provinces, that had been so lately one of the principal granaries of the empire, were reduced into absolute viciousness by —a few plentiful meals.

—"In the midst of all this jollity and security, they were "alarmed with a report as if their old enemies were preparing "for another invasion, with the design of extirpating the na-"tives, and making an entire conquest of their country, in "order to settle in it themselves. The Britons, ever hasty in "their resolutions, and never considering the consequences of "any measures proposed for the removing of a present evil, "were seized with such a panick, upon hearing this uncertain "rumour (for which there appeared no rational grounds, nor "was there any author produced), that, being denied succours "by the Romans, they resolved, with an imprudence not to be "matched in history, to call in the Saxons to their assistance."

Mr. Carte's supposition here, that the report concerning the intended return of the Caledonians was groundless, is very extraordinary in itself and directly contrary to his author. Gildas fully assures us of the truth of the report, and of the actual return of the enemy. Speaking of the retreat before, he says that they desisted for a while, *quievit parumper inimicorum audacia*, and that they retired soon to return again, *revertuntur—post non multum temporis reversuri*. And speaking

ing of the report he adds, that in this interval of peace a well-known rumour was ſpread over the nation, of their ſpeedy coming again; *in talibus—induciis*—non *ignoti rumoris*—volatus —arrectas omnium penetrat aures, jam jamque adventus, &c.— Mr. Carte however had a reaſon for thus modelling his account, and making it to differ from Gildas's. In page 186 before, on the retreat of the Picts and Scots, he had made "the Scots to return to Ireland, whence they ſoon after renewed their incurſions, and the Picts to betake themſelves to "their homes, where they continued afterwards generally "quiet." I have ſhewn his errour before, in making the invading Scots to come from Ireland inſtead of Argyleſhire. And the other miſtakes here, concerning the Scots renewing their incurſions and the Picts being quiet, reſult from a miſ-apprehenſion of a paſſage in Gildas. Revertuntur, ſays this author, impudentes graſſatores ad hibernas domos, poſt non multum temporis reverſuri; and Mr. Carte has read the words as Bede did, Hiberni domum. But, as this reading would be improper in itſelf for the reaſons aſſigned in the notes to the ſecond ſection, ſo is it contrary to the beſt manuſcripts, and, what is more, contradictory (as I have already ſhewn) to the accounts that we have of the coming of the Scots before. They came with the Picts acroſs the friths. And with the Picts therefore they returned acroſs them again. But Mr. Carte has here made an equal miſtake concerning the Picts. Picti, ſays Gildas, in extremâ parte inſulæ tunc primùm et deinceps requieverunt, prædas et contritiones nonnunquam facientes; meaning clearly, though with ſome of his uſual laxity and indiſcriminateneſs of expreſſion, that the Picts continued ever afterwards quiet in Caledonia, making only a ſingle incurſion more into the province. And they could make no more than one, before the days of Gildas; the Saxons immediately after that being planted upon their frontiers, and all power of invaſion taken from them by it. But Mr. Carte, without conſidering the fact, and without making this to explain the expreſſions of Gildas, attributes ſuch a pacifickneſs to them as

 was

N° I. was totally inconsistent with any idea of their speedy return. And therefore he treats the intelligence, which the Provincials received of their design to re-invade the country immediately, as all fabulous and chimerical; so grafting one mistake upon another, and warping history to disguise blunders.—The Caledonians certainly returned. And this fact, one would think, should have been sufficient to vindicate the truth of the rumours and justify the Britons for acting upon the intelligence. But it is remarkable that Mr. Carte, who immediately before asserts the Scots to have soon renewed their incursions, should here assert neither them nor the Picts to have had any intention of doing it, as far as appeared; that he, who in page 180 affirms the Picts to have never more made any invasions of the country, in p. 192 should speak of the Picts by name as actually invading it; and that, when he had expresly precluded a Pictish inroad and explicitly prepared us for a Scotish one, he should omit the Scotish invasion and give us a Pictish one. It serves strongly to shew the strange disunion that reigns among the members of Mr. Carte's history, the want of attention with which they have been formed, and the want of accuracy with which they have been put together

—" The Frisians composed (as Ubo Emmius Rerum Fris. " Hist. L. 3. maintains) the greatest part of those adventurers " that followed Hengist and Horsa into Britain; as appears " from the greater affinity of the English language with the " Frisian, than with the Saxon, or any other German dialect. " Bede (L. 5. c. 9) reckons the Frisians among the nations " from whom the English are descended; Procopius (De Bell. " Goth. L. 4) puts them among the inhabitants of Britain; " and it is certain, that Wilfrid, Suidbert, Willibord, and " other English, who preached the gospel in Frizeland, and " converted the inhabitants to Christianity, spake the Frisian " language, as if they had been natives of the country. Mar- " cellinus, cotemporary with Bede, in his life of Suidbert, the

" first

"first bishop of Utrecht, and the annals of Leyden attesting
"this fact, ascribe the original of the English equally to the
"Frisians and Saxons. To this argument, drawn from the
"language, may be added another, insisted on by Sir William
"Temple (Observ. on the United Provinces), and derived from
"the peculiar constitution and representation of the people of
"Frizeland in their states, so different from what he observed
"in all other parts of the United Provinces, and so agreeable
"to the methods and customs of England, that he made from
"thence the same conclusion, being fully persuaded, that the
"Frisians, from whose ports the passage to Britain was easier
"than from any other belonging to the Old Saxons, made a
"principal part of the Saxon colonies settled in England."

I have quoted this passage, to mark the impropriety of its assertions and the inconclusiveness of its references. The Frisians formed no part of the German adventurers that came into Britain. And Bede's testimony is decisive against it. The Germans, that settled in the island, were composed only of Jutes, Angles, and Proper Saxons. Advenerant—de tribus Germaniæ populis fortioribus, id est, Saxonibus, Anglis, Jutis. And we might as well add any other nation of maritime Germany to them, as the Frisians.

Against such an authority as this, the assertions of Ubo Emmius and Procopius are equally feeble. Emmius is too late a writer to know any thing of the matter. The secretary of the Emperour Justinian also lay at too great a distance, half the globe interposing between Britain and Constantinople, to know any thing distinctly concerning it. And the wildness of his account confirms the assertion, as he informs us of what we know to be absolutely false, that in his time there were three very numerous nations in Britain, each governed by its own sovereign, and called Angles, Frisians, and Britons.

But Mr. Carte remarks, that Bede himself reckons the Frisians among the nations from whom the English are descended. So he does several others, that must therefore be equally reckoned for our progenitors. Ecgbert, he says, resolved verbum

No I. Dei aliquibus earum, quæ nondum audierant, gentibus evangelizando committere, quarum in Germaniâ plurimas noverat esse nationes, a quibus Angli vel Saxones qui nunc Britanniam incolunt genus et originem duxisse noscuntur: unde hactenus a vicinâ gente Brittonum corruptè Garmani nuncupantur. Sunt autem Fresones, Rugini, Danai, Hunni, Antiqui Saxones, Boructuarii. According to Mr. Carte's interpretation of the passage, the Rugini, the Danes, the Hunns, and the Boructuarii were equally our anceſtors with the Frisians. But, as this is too absurd to be affirmed, we must look out for some other construction of the words. And the only true one is what is most obvious, and this, That there were several nations in Germany still professing heathenism, which, as Germans, were of the same general lineage with our anceſtors. There is no exception made in favour of the Frisians. Nor are they marked as more allied to the English than any of the others. And indeed our peculiar anceſtors in Germany, the Old Saxons, are expresly differenced by Bede here from the Frisians and all the rest.

In the same sense also is Marcellinus to be understood, who is quoted from Emmius by Mr. Carte. And, however he may seem at first to speak to the purpose for which he is cited by both, yet on a fair examination of his account and a collation of it with other notices of history, he appears only to mean the same that Bede has been shewn to mean before him. His words, as they appear in Emmius (p. 41), are these. Speaking of Suidbert, who went from England to convert the Pagan Germans, he says; Ipse Suidbertus sitiebat salutem omnium hominum, et præcipuè paganorum Frisiorum et Saxonum, eò quòd Angli ex ipsis propagati sint. And, speaking of Suidbert and the accompanying apostles, he adds that, quoniam sancti doctores propagati fuerunt in Angliâ de stirpe Frisonicâ et Saxonicâ, ideò convenienter sitierunt eis prædicare evangelium Christi linguâ Germanicâ. Here the Frisians and Saxons seem to be made by Marcellinus the parents of the English. And so, as we have just now seen, are the Frisians, Danes, Hunns,

 Old

Old Saxons, Rugini, and Boructuarii by Bede; nationes, a quibus Angli vel Saxones qui nunc Britanniam incolunt genus et originem duxisse noscuntur,—sunt Fresones, Rugini, &c. All these are as explicitly declared the founders of the English nation by the one, as two of them are by the other. And yet the very author, who has attributed our origin to all, has expressly affirmed us to be descended only from the Jutes, the Angles, and the Saxons. As Germans in general, we are descended from all. As English in particular, we are the derivatives of these three nations only.

As to the English saints, Suidbert and the others that preached the gospel in Frizeland, speaking the language as if they had been natives; the case was the same with the Boructuarii also, the same Suidbert preaching equally unto them as the Frisians, and equally speaking the language as a native (Bede l. 5. c. xi). They spoke to them, as is specified by Marcellinus above, linguâ Germanicâ, in the one dialect that prevailed over all the German continent. And, in this view of the argument, it would carry still farther than the former did, and make any or all of the nations there our peculiar ancestors.

But Sir W. Temple's reason is still more frivolous. This author, who has been ridiculously considered as an historian because he was a politician, and an antiquary of some consequence because he trifled with our earlier history, from the similarity of the Frisian and English constitutions contends for the Frisians coming over with the Saxons. And he particularly fetches his argument from that part of the constitution in both, by which the people are represented in their states; thus contending for an original descent from a fact, that took place amongst ourselves some hundreds of years afterward, the representation of the people in parliament.

Ubo Emmius maintains, that "the greatest part of the men under Hengist and Horsa were Frisians, as appears from the greater affinity of the English language with the Frisian, than with the Saxon or any other German dialect. An inference

N° I. rence from the common language of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, in favour of any number of Frisians being mixed with the Jutes at their landing, is truly curious. If the argument could carry any weight with it, it should have been a conclusion from the language of that part of England, which was peculiarly planted by Hengist. He brought nothing but Jutes with him: de Jutarum origine sunt Cantuarii, says Bede. And if he had, as Mr. Carte and his author affirm, chiefly brought Frisians with him, the dialect of Kent would have had a strong and peculiar tincture of Frisian in it. This I say, supposing that any of the dialects of maritime Germany were so much discriminated, that we could discern the vestiges of them at present. But they were not, as is plain to a demonstration from those of the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, though the tribes settled in separate parts of the island and continued separate for ages, being all melted down into one undistinguishable mass at present.

It may be useful to observe, at the close, the progress of presumption in the course of the argument. It is at first asserted only, that "the greatest part" of the troops, which Hengist landed in Kent, were Frisians. It is next argued, that the Frisians formed a considerable part of the adventurers in every quarter of the island. And it is finally affirmed, that the Frisians made "a *principal* part of the Saxon colonies "settled in England." Thus have the Frizelanders privately mixed with the other adventurers at first, then impudently shouldered their brethren, and at last made themselves superiour to them all. And, when one reflects a moment upon the case, the mind is struck with amazement at it. The knowing Bede has totally overlooked these adventurers of Frizeland, that came in such great numbers under Hengist, and has even declared that they were all Jutes. He has also omitted all the other considerable bodies of them, that came in we do not know when or where. And, instead of confessing the Frisians to have been the principal part of the Saxon colonies, he has explicitly declared them to have been none at all.

So much it was proper to ſay upon a ſubject, that was obſcured by the dazzling luſtre which injudicious learning had thrown about it. Mr. Carte's reading often ſerves only to make him go more ſplendidly aſtray. And accordingly, in the very paragraph from which I have taken my extract, and only a few lines before it, ſettling the general poſition of the Saxons in the iſland, he aſſigns their reſpective ſhares to the Angles, the Jutes, and the Saxons, but pretends not to find a place in it even for " the principal part" of the whole, the Friſians.

P. 190. "Vortigern—was a chieftain among the Silures, " and his clan ſeems to have inhabited the country now " called Radnorſhire. Here it is, that Nennius placeth the " territory called Guortiger-maur [*it ſhould be*, Guortiger-" man]; here ſtood the city called from him Caer-Guortigern, " out of the ruins of which aroſe the caſtle of Gurthremion—; " and here likewiſe, as is generally agreed, Paſcentius, after " his father's death, poſſeſſed the regions of Buelt and Guor-" thigurniaun [Guortiger-man]. Theſe ſeem to have been all " the territories which originally belonged to Vortigern."

All this is already refuted in the notes, that are ſubjoined to c. 1. ſ. 2. in order to prove the poſitions of the text. Vortigern there appears to have been a king of the Dimetæ. And the preſent Buelt is within the bounds of that kingdom.

—Vortigern " was choſen commander in chief of all the " forces in Britain. The chronology, at the end of Nennius, " dates the commencement of his authority about A. D. 427—, " but, whenever he entered upon the charge—, he had learned, " by the unhappy fate of ſeveral of his predeceſſors—, who " had been murdered or depoſed, that the enjoyment of this " poſt was very precarious.—He was probably jealous of the " Belgic Britains—. To guard againſt any danger from that

" quarter,

N° I. "quarter, and to have an army of auxiliaries ready to support "him on all occasions, he resolved to invite over a body of "foreign forces," and got "all the princes and chieftains of "Britain" to agree to it.

Mr. Carte's ideas concerning the succession of facts, at this period, I have already shewn to be very confused. The general monarchs, that he deposes or murders, I have equally shewn to have been neither murdered nor deposed. And his adopted chronology from Nennius is as erroneous as the rest. Vortigern could not be chosen the general monarch of Britain, till the Roman departure in 446.—The motives assigned to Vortigern, for calling in the Saxons, form a most ridiculous piece of refinement, originally thought of by Stillingfleet (Orig. Brit. p. 318—319), and the hint of it borrowed from him by our author. The reason, derived from the frequent depositions or murders of the pendragons before him; I have shewn to be false in the fact. The jealousy also, which he is here surmised to have entertained of the Belgæ, I have shewn to be groundless either in probability or history. And he had therefore as little reason for calling in the Saxons, as any other of the kings. Candour however will make allowances for the refinement, when we reflect, that attributing such principles of policy to the great actors of history is the fashionable humour of all our English annalists at present. Being a nation of politicians, we carry the impertinence with us into our studies, and suffer the folly to colour over our histories.

And how absurd is it to suppose, as Mr. Carte does, that Vortigern, if he had any private reasons for calling in the Saxons, could persuade the other monarchs to embrace his plan and execute his measures. Craftiness makes up no part of his character, though Mr. Carte has been pleased to assign it a distinguished place there. He has been severely handled by Nennius, all his faults have been laid open, and many attributed to him assuredly to which he had no claim. But a crafty or over-reaching spirit is never ascribed to him once. On the contrary, his great abuser has marked him with a ductility

a ductility of genius, that bordered nearly on simplicity and folly (c. 36 and 37). And, had he been never so cunning, how was it possible for him to influence the whole assembly of British sovereigns, and make them conspire unanimously to destroy themselves? But there was no refinement in the matter. There was much of the aukward timorousness, which would naturally attend a people that had now been so long protected by others, that saw their invincible guardians by a strange revolution of affairs sinking every day in credit and in power, and were therefore called upon to defend themselves for the first time during three or four ages. They had certain intelligence, that the enemy was returning with a formed resolution of reducing all the provinces. Vortigern and the kings consulted quid optimum, quidve saluberrimum, ad repellendas tam crebras et tam ferales—irruptiones. And they all agreed in the necessities of the crisis and in the application of the remedy; omnes consiliarii unà cum superbo tyranno Britannorum duce,—ut—Saxones—intromitterentur.

P. 191—192. " They could not have resolved on any more " fatal—than they did, in agreeing to call over the Saxons—. " Various are the sentiments of different authors—with re- " gard to the year in which the Saxons first came over to " settle in Thanet." And Mr. Carte takes much pains to fix the fact, but leaves it not absolutely determined, and only seems inclined to settle it in 452 or 454. Then " Hengist and Horsa, " —bringing with them a number of their vassals—, landed— " in the isle of Thanet."

In this passage Mr. Carte has fallen into the notion which is entertained by almost all our historians, that the Saxons were invited over from Germany *. I have taken another route, and affirmed the Saxons to have been accidentally hovering upon the coast, and so to have been invited. But, as Mr.

* Mr. Guthry p. 81 notices and slightly vindicates the opposite opinion.

No. I. Carte's opinion has many authorities in its favour, it merits a particular consideration.

Gildas very plainly intimates, that the Saxons came on purpose from Germany. Omnes consiliarii unà cum—Gurthrigerno—, ut—Saxones—intromitterentur:—tum erumpens grex catulorum de cubili leænæ barbariæ, tribus—cuylis—, secundis velis, secundo omine auguriisque; quibus vaticinabatur —quod ter centum annis—terram, cui proras libraret, insideret. And Bede says after him, that placuit omnibus cum suo rege Vortigerno, ut Saxonum gentem *de trasmarinis partibus* in auxilium vocarent. But Nennius, whose authority in this period is at least equivalent to Gildas's, represents the matter as I have done. Guorthigernus, says he, regnâvit in Britanniâ, et dum ipse regnabat urgebatur a metu Pictorum Scotorumque—; *interea*, in the very midst of these fears, venerunt tres chiulæ a Germaniâ in exilio pulsæ, sent out upon a piratical expedition, in quibus erant Hors et Hengist. Guorthrigernus autem suscepit eos benignè. Here then we have the testimony of Gildas opposed by that of Nennius. And, authority balancing authority, the matter must be decided by the suggestions of reason. These, I think, are all in favour of Nennius. Let us examine them. And the examination will serve at the same time to settle the disputed chronology.

It was at the advance of the winter in 446, that the Caledonians retired out of Maxima. The period that followed is marked by Gildas with a general dissolution of manners, and particularly with the successive appointments and successive murders of kings; and must therefore be supposed, whatever we think of the facts, to have taken up some months. This carries us a good way into the year 447. And this is the least that can be allowed. The Provincials then received intelligence of the enemy's design, the kings assembled, and a grand consultation was held. It was there resolved to call in the Saxons to their assistance. The invaders were expected in the year 448; and, as they were coming with a formed design to reduce the whole country, would be expected very early in

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it. And surely the Saxons in Germany lay too far off to be applied to in this sudden emergency. The sending embassadors there, settling the stipulations, mustering the troops, and preparing the vessels, the embarkation, the passage, and the landing, would take up so much time, that the Britons could not hope for their arrival early enough to oppose the Caledonians. The Caledonians themselves, who were to be opposed by them and lay so much nearer to the scene of action, were obliged, as we have seen before, to spend the whole year 447 in preparations for it. It would at least be winter, therefore, before the Saxons could possibly arrive. And the winter, as we see by the history of Cæsar's expedition before and of the Danish invasions afterward, put an end to all embarkations on our rough and turbulent seas. Not to come before winter, would be to leave the country to be over-run before their arrival. But they did arrive before it, as they were here before the Caledonians invaded the country, and encamped for some time in the isle of Thanet. Evectus primùm in orientali parte insulæ, jubente infausto tyranno, terribiles infixit ungues, quasi pro patriâ pugnaturus, sed eam certius impugnaturus (Gildas 23). Postquam castra metati sunt Saxones in insulâ Taneth, promisit rex—dari illis victum;—et placuit illis, et ipsi promiserunt pugnare inimicos ejus fortiter (Nennius c. 35). They were plainly here all the winter before the Caledonians returned in 448. And Nennius accordingly fixes their landing in 447 (c. 28). In 447 they certainly landed, from all the circumstances. And therefore they could not have been sent for out of Germany. The time would not possibly allow it. And all suppositions of a formal embassage to the continent, and a solemn invitation of the Saxons, appear precluded by the plain tenour of the facts. Nennius's account of the Saxon coming, which has been so entirely overlooked by our historians, is the only one that is reconcileable to the circumstances. It falls into its place in the narrative with every chronological propriety. And we should additionally remark, what has never been attended to, That

Nº I. That in ſuch an amazing exigence as this was, of which the Britons had not a ſingle parallel in the whole hiſtory of mankind, they would never probably have thought of the expedient, if it had not been ſuggeſted to them by accident, and never had a notion of calling in the Saxons to their help, if a ſmall ſquadron had not been hovering upon the coaſt. The troops alſo on board the veſſels might be a conſiderable aſſiſtance to their own forces, by mingling with the men, and communicating the contagion of their bravery to them, and yet could never become formidable to their maſters; while a deputation to the continent would have been, what Witikind and others have actually made it, an immediate ſurrendery of themſelves and the provinces into the hands of the Germans.

—" Hengiſt and Horſa,—bringing with them a number of " their vaſſals—, landed—in the iſle of Thanet, and were " ſoon obliged to march to the northern parts of Britain, be- " yond the Humber; where they routed the Picts, who had " made incurſions into the bordering provinces."

I have previouſly obſerved the inconſiſtency of this paſſage with the aſſertion in p. 180, that makes the Picts after the former retreat to have continued generally quiet in their own country. And here Mr. Carte appears to act with a ſecret conſciouſneſs of the contradiction. Inſtead of repreſenting this incurſion as indeed it was, as a formal invaſion with a deſign of abſolute conqueſt, which would have oppoſed equally his declaration concerning the Picts and his account of the rumour before; he deſcribes it merely as a plundering inroad. And inſtead of conducting the enemy as he ought to have done, even as low as Flavia, he juſt brings them into the " northern parts of Britain beyond the Humber." He endeavours to conceal the extent of the invaſion by the wild generality of his expreſſions. And he falſifies the hiſtory to proſecute his purpoſes. The Caledonians in this irruption, very probably, broke through the wall of Antoninus for the firſt time, as tradition ſays that they

they once did under the command of an officer who was denominated Graham. Their victorious troops then swept by the great road of the Romans across Valentia, broke through the repaired wall of Severus again, and entered Maxima. They advanced into the Bishoprick. They pushed into Yorkshire. They crossed the Humber, and invaded Flavia. And they had reached the southern border of Lincolnshire, when the combined army of Provincials and Saxons (for such I doubt not but it was) faced them in the field. Inierunt—certamen contra Pictos et Scottos, says the only author that has preserved this curious part of our history, qui jam venerunt usque Stanfordiam, quæ sita est in australi parte Lincolniæ, distans ab eâ quadraginta milliariis (Huntingdon fol. 178). This therefore was not as Mr. Carte states it, a mere inroad, or, as he rather intimates, a variety of petty incursions, somewhere he knows not where in Northumbria; but a serious and formal invasion, that was prosecuted even to the borders of Rutlandshire, and carried into the heart of the kingdom. And it was not executed merely by the Picts, as Mr. Carte imagines, but, as the former was, by the Picts and Scots in conjunction.

Having thus conducted the reader to the second repulse of the Caledonians and the commencement of the Saxon hostilities, I must here leave him. This little portion of history has cost me much trouble and time, in freeing it from the embarrassments with which inaccuracy had entangled it, and in clearing it from the clouds that ignorance had raised about it. And the reader will readily discern from the specimen, how strangely the best historian of this period; for such with all his faults I may safely pronounce Mr. Carte to be, has misrepresented the tenour of the Saxon history; and how impossible it would be in this place to carry the criticisms over the whole. Here therefore I shall close them, and only go over Mr. Hume for the same period.

HUME.

HUME.

Octavo p. 13. "That they might leave the island with a "better grace, the Romans assisted them [the Britons] in erect- "ing anew the wall of Severus, which was built entirely of "stone, and which the Britains had not at that time artizans "skilfull enough to repair (Bede lib. i. cap. 12. Ann. Beverl. "p. 44)".

In all the earlier parts of our history Mr. Hume is merely the copier of Mr. Carte, escaping many of his amplified absurdities from the contracted nature of his plan, passing by some perhaps from a sense of their dangerousness, and possibly avoiding others from a conviction of their folly; but giving us, after all, the general air and features of his work in miniature. This is an observation, that forces itself upon the mind on every examination of their respective histories. And it is particularly striking in the present passage.

The wall of Antoninus, which Gildas had so ignorantly ascribed to the Britons of the fifth century, and of which Mr. Carte had more discreetly given only the reparation to them, Mr. Hume has with greater discretion or better fortune left entirely unnoticed. Candour would attribute the act to the former, if justice did not plead for the latter, by suggesting that, had discretion been the operating principle, it would equally have dropt all notice of the wall of Severus. The marvellous relation of Gildas concerning this is all adopted by Mr. Hume, though he has rejected his account of that; and, what is remarkable, has adopted it exactly in Mr. Carte's manner. Like him, he has changed the original erection into a re-edification, in order to reconcile the assertion of Gildas with history and remains. And I have sufficiently exposed the impropriety of the

the change before, its contradictorineſs to the only authority for the general fact itſelf, and its perſiſting ir-reconcileableneſs to remains and to hiſtory.

Mr. Hume indeed does not refer to Gildas at all for the incident. He appeals to Bede, whoſe hiſtory in all this period is only a reflection from Gildas's, and to Alured of Beverley, whoſe annals are only the ſame reflection at ſecond hand; two mock-ſuns, ſucceſſively produced from a third. And he quotes both, when Mr. Carte is evidently his author.

> Euphelia ſerves to grace his meaſure,
> But Chloe is his real flame.

This appears from the obvious circumſtance, That Mr. Hume makes his wall to be Severus's, when Bede expreſsly diſtinguiſhes his own from it. Mr. Hume aſſerts his to be compoſed of ſtone, and Bede affirms Severus's to have been of turf. Murum—, *ubi et Severus quondam vallum fecerat*, firmo de lapide conlocarunt: and Severus, he obſerves, non muro, ut quidam æſtimant, ſed vallo diſtinguendam [Britanniam] putavit; murus etenim de lapidibus, vallum verò—fit de ceſpitibus. And Alured has nearly the ſame words and abſolutely the ſame meaning. But though Alured and Bede, to whom Mr. Hume appeals, ſo ſtrikingly diſagree with him in the fact, Mr. Carte, to whom he does not appeal, agrees with him exactly. "To "do them ſtill another ſervice before their departure," he ſays, "they [the Romans] directed and aſſiſted the natives in repair-"ing the wall of Severus, which was built of ſtone."

—"And, having done this laſt good office to the inhabitants, "they [the Romans] bid a final adieu to Britain, about the "year 448." And in page 14 he fixes the addreſs to Aetius for ſuccours "A. D. 448".

I have brought this paſſage before the reader, not to enter into any diſcuſſion of its merits, but merely to mark the humble ſpirit that I have noticed in Mr. Hume before. To do the former, is wholly unneceſſary; as I have already ſhewn the

N° I. the falseness of the chronology, in my observations on Mr. Carte. And to do the latter is requisite, in order to be just to Mr. Carte and Mr. Hume, and to ascertain, so far as these remarks can, the rank which the latter should hold in the scale of our national history. Mr. Carte had fixed the application to Aetius in 448, by a mistake for 446. And Mr. Hume, insensible of the errour in his author, and too indolent to consult the Fasti Consulares himself, follows him implicitly. Mr. Carte had not settled the Roman departure in the same year, but vainly fancied it to be at some distance of time before. And Mr. Hume dates the Roman departure, not *in* 448, but *about* it. So exactly does he tread in his steps, copying his accounts without examining them, and adopting his errours without knowing them.

—" The Picts and Scots, finding that the Romans had finally " relinquished Britain, now regarded the whole as their prize, " and attacked the northern wall with redoubled forces."

Mr. Hume's whole account of these important transactions is so lean, meager, and unmeaning, that it scarcely seems worthy of a critical examination. And I can hardly command a proper degree of attention for the purpose. The narration in Gildas, which is uncommonly lively and useful in these moments, is given us again by Mr. Hume divested of every lively particularity, and stript of every useful accompaniment. The boundaries of the empire at this period are no longer marked. The manner, in which the Caledonians invaded the province, is no longer noticed. And the real wall, which they attacked, is no longer pointed out by the circumstances. All is wrapt up in one thick mist, which now and then opens, and gives us faint and erroneous views of the objects around us, and then, closing, involves us in impenetrable darkness again.

Mr. Hume leaving the wall of Antoninus, as he supposes, ruined and dismantled many years before, and having omitted Gildas's account of its erection and Mr. Carte's of its re-edification;

cation; he found it impossible to reconcile his own ideas of the matter with the description in Gildas, of the Caledonians passing the friths into Valentia, instead of coming into it by the unguarded isthmus. And indeed apprehending with all our historians and antiquaries, that Valentia was at this time in the possession of the Picts, he found himself still more embarrassed to reconcile the whole with Gildas's general account of the Caledonians crossing the friths, landing in Valentia, and seizing all the country quite up to the wall. Illis [Romanis] ad sua revertentibus, emergunt certatim de curicis, quibus sunt trans Tithicam vallem vecti,—tetri Scotorum Pictorumque greges,—et—omnem aquilonalem extremamque terræ partem pro indigenis muro tenus capessunt. In this state of doubt and distraction, not having strength of mind enough to throw off the incumbering load, and to reject the common opinions with disdain, because of their plain contrariety to Gildas's testimony; he resolved to omit what he did not understand, and to leave out all that would obstruct his progress in the history. And he has accordingly given us a description —that describes nothing, telling us not from whence the Caledonians came, and whether they were settled in Valentia or to the north of the friths; or, if to the north, how they got into the province; and, if to the south, how the wall could have been re-edified a little before. And yet, with all his cautious treading upon the embers, he has actually burnt himself. He has done it, in leaving his history embarrassed by this questionable mode of registering transactions. And he has also done it, by the use of a term and the introduction of an idea, that actually mislead his readers. He points the attack of the Caledonians at the "northern wall," when he really means the southerly one. And, in a style of boyish amplification, he gives them "redoubled forces" for the attack, equally without authority and without reason.

Nº I.

P. 14. "The Britains, thus rejected [by Aetius], were re-"duced to despair, deserted their habitations, abandoned til-"lage, and flying for protection to the forests and mountains, "suffered equally from hunger and from the enemy."

Here are several errours crouded into this short passage, some of Mr. Carte's repeated again, and others added to them by Mr. Hume.

The *Britains*, as Mr. Hume writes the name after his original Mr. Carte, are here said in general and without any limitations to have deserted their habitations, abandoned their tillage, and fled to the woods and mountains. But the inroad, as I have already shewn, was confined to a very small portion of the country. And even within the real sphere of its influence, as I have equally shewn, the effects of it are greatly exaggerated. But Mr. Carte had previously used all this wild extensiveness of expression. And Mr. Hume either did not discern the absurdity of it, or, with the blind spirit of historical orthodoxy, thought himself obliged to embrace what the other had adopted, and take implicitly the creed of his master.

Even in the countries immediately affected by the inroad, the number of Britons that fled to the woods and mountains could not have been very great. To suppose, that in the very line of the incursion all the inhabitants took refuge there, is truly ridiculous. And the number of the fugitives, upon such occasions, is generally in no proportion to the remaining residents. A few of the wealthier or more timorous families, and a variety of children and women, almost always constitute the bulk of the flyers. But in an invasion, so rapidly executed as this appears to have been, many could have had no time to remove. These invaders, like genuine Highlanders, carrying their tents in their mantles, their provisions in their knapsacks, and their artillery in their hands; being incumbered with none of the clogging appendages of a modern army, and

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able to march forty or fifty miles a day; the inhabitants, all along the course of their progress, would find the enemy upon them nearly as soon as they received the alarm of their coming. This would be evidently the case in Valentia. And the flying to the wilds would be almost confined entirely to Maxima. There the inhabitants would have time for their removal, because of the wall that restrained the progress of the Caledonians for a few days; and be more strongly stimulated to fly, because any invasion of Maxima had been very uncommon, and would carry the greater terrour from its novelty. And Gildas accordingly confines his account of the flying to the country south of Severus's wall: relictis civitatibus muroque celso, iterum quibus [illis] fugæ, iterum dispersiones solito desperabiliores &c. The only fugitives therefore were among the Brigantes. Even of these, a few hundreds are all that we can imagine to have fled to the wilder parts of the country. And even such would be principally derived from the course of the great road to the north. So plainly does Mr. Hume's giant appear upon examination to be only a pigmy. The whole collective body of the Provincials, that he had huddled together in the forests and hills, is dwindled away into the Provincials north of the Humber, is reduced into the inhabitants of East-Valentia and East-Maxima, and is even shrunk into a few hundreds along the great road in Durham and the North-riding.

Mr. Hume says, that all this happened *because* the suit of the Britons had been rejected by Aetius. But the position is grossly absurd. It is evidently so in its consequences. The effect being necessarily as extensive as the cause, it makes the flying as national as the suit, and consequently drives again all the inhabitants of all parts of the provinces to the wilds. And it is equally absurd in itself. If people run away upon an invasion of the country, it is as the invaders are advancing. The general consternation excited by their approach is more alarming to the spirits, than the actual feeling of their insolence. And the inhabitants therefore fly before the storm, and retire as

N° I. they see it gathering behind them. But Mr. Hume inverts the order entirely. He supposes the Britons to have staid as the Caledonians came on, to have stood patient while they "exerted "to the utmost their native ferocity, which was not mitigated "by the helpless condition and submissive behaviour of the "inhabitants" (p. 14); and then to have all run away from them, when they found the Romans resolved not to send them assistance. And the position is as false as it is absurd. The Britons, that "deserted their habitations, abandoned tillage, "and fled for protection to the forests and mountains," are expressly declared by the only historian of the transactions to have done all this *before* the application to Aetius. They did it, as the enemy advanced upon them when they had broken through the wall. Relictis civitatibus muroque celso, iterum quibus [illis] fugæ, iterum dispersiones solito desperabiliores, item ab hoste insectationes. After this, the application was made to Aetius. *Igitur* rursum miseræ reliquiæ mittentes epistolas ad Agitium &c. So plainly was the flying antecedent to the application, that it was partly the cause of it. And the despair, into which the refusal of Aetius threw the Britons, operated in a manner just the reverse of what Mr. Hume has described. This it will be proper to shew at full length, as there has been a great mistake made by all our writers concerning Gildas's meaning in this point.

In the time preceding the address to Aetius, Gildas says of the starving refugees in the wilds, That they came into the cultivated country by stealth, and carried off privately all the provisions that they could meet with there. Nec pro—victûs—sustentaculo miserrimorum civium latrocinando temperabant. And in the interval of the application he says, That though some of them were impelled by the want of food to go back, and throw themselves upon the mercy of the enemy, yet others still continued in the woods and mountains, and persisted the more in their practice of plundering the neighbouring inhabitants. *Inter ea*—famis dira—multos eorum cruentis compellit prædonibus sine dilatione victas dare manus,—alios verò nusquam, quin potiùs

potiùs de ipsis montibus, speluncis, ac saltibus, dumis consertis, continuè rebellabant. Such is plainly the import of this quotation. Its relation to the preceding one directly ascertains its meaning. And the tenour of its own narration decisively confirms it. Yet, in opposition to both these reasons, the passage has been universally understood in a much higher acceptation, and the word *rebellabant* applied to some imaginary attacks of the fugitives upon the enemy. This word, however, has, obviously no peculiar significancy here, and is only equivalent to the *latrocinando*, the *direptionibus*, and the *domesticis motibus* of the passage before: Nec pro—victûs—sustentaculo miserrimorum civium *latrocinando* temperabant, et augebantur extraneæ clades *domesticis motibus*, quò et hujusmodi tam crebris *direptionibus* vacuaretur omnis regio totius cibi baculo. And, in reading Gildas or any injudicious author, we must always attend more to the course of the ideas than the precision of the words.

But, concerning the time immediately after the application to Aetius, Gildas speaks in a manner that has never been noticed, and yet acquaints us with a remarkable fact. The division of chapters in this author, and the titles prefixed to them, are as authentick as any part of his work. And his title to the 18th runs thus, DE VICTORIA, plainly referring to some considerable defeat given the Caledonians, and spoken of in the body of the chapter. There also the defeat is described in the following terms: et *tum*, after the application to Aetius, his refusal, and the other co-temporary facts recorded in the chapter preceding, *primùm* inimicis—*strages dabant*, non confidentes in homine sed in Deo, secundùm illud exemplum Philonis, "necesse est adesse divinum ubi humanum cessat auxilium." The Britons, he says, being deprived of all assistance from man by the refusal of the Romans, applied themselves to God for help; and, supported by their confidence in him, attacked the enemy, gained the first battle that they had ever obtained over them without the aid of the Romans, and made a considerable slaughter of them. This is very plainly the account of an important engagement, though it has been so utterly unnoticed

N° I. unnoticed by all our writers; of the first that was gained by the Britons alone; and of the great slaughter of the Caledonians in it. And the natural consequences of the victory are expressed immediately afterwards: quievit—inimicorum audacia—; recesserunt hostes. The insolence of the Caledonians was checked by the blow. And they instantly fled out of the provinces.

So far then were the Britons from flying to the woods and mountains, as Mr. Hume represents them, on the refusal of the Romans; that the army which had been raised before, in order probably to join with the Romans, now ventured to advance without them, and boldly faced the enemy in the field. And the very people, that Mr. Hume describes deserting their houses, abandoning their tillage, and flying to the hills and forests, we find actually engaging the enemy, actually defeating and slaughtering them, and actually driving them out of the kingdom.

—" The barbarians themselves began to feel the pressures of
" famine in a country which they had ravaged; and being
" harrassed by the dispersed Britains, who had not dared to
" resist them in a body, they retreated with their spoils into
" their own country (Ann. Beverl. p. 45)."

This is a continuation of the preceding errours, and an addition to them.

That the Caledonians by any ravages should be able to lay the whole country waste, and diffuse a famine through every part of the provinces, is one of those monstrous incredibilities on the face of the British history, which shew both the writers and the readers to have never *thought* about it. If they had, the common principles of scepticism, that every mind is obliged to carry about with it, must ages since have revolted at the extravagance of the assertion. And it appears the more astonishing to an examiner, when he finds even the wild historian of all these events not running into the wildness of his copiers, and expresly appropriating the famine to the refugees in the woods.

Interea,

Interea, says he, while application was making to Aetius, famis dira ac famosissima *vagis ac nutabundis* hæret. The Caledonians therefore could not possibly feel the effects of it. And Gildas very explicitly declares that they did not, as he describes several of the fugitives quitting their retirements, and surrendering themselves to the enemy, in order to be relieved from the distress. Interea famis dira ac famosissima vagis ac nutabundis hæret, quæ multos eorum cruentis compellit prædonibus sine dilatione victas dare manus, *ut pauxillum ad refocillandam animam cibi caperent*.

Nor did the Britons harrass the enemy in dispersed parties. Nor were they afraid to face them in a body. Nor did they suffer them to retire with their spoils into their own country. All these assertions are absolutely untrue. This I have already shewn with regard to the two first, in the remark immediately preceding. And the Britons appear there to have not only not harrassed the Caledonians in little bodies, but to have actually encountered them with an army. The passage of Gildas, upon which all our writers have rested, I have decisively proved, I think, to have been grossly misunderstood by them, and to speak the very reverse of the language attributed to it. Bede appears to have been the original author of the construction, who has thus confounded the order of Gildas's words and the arrangement of his ideas. Interea Britones fames sua—multos eorum coegit victas infestis prædonibus dare manus, alios verò nunquam, quin potiùs, confidentes in divinum ubi humanum cessabat auxilium, de ipsis montibus, speluncis, ac saltibus continuè rebellabant; et tum primùm inimicis—strages dare cœperunt. And he has been followed in this, as he is most implicitly in every thing, by the ridiculous historian that is cited by Mr. Hume, the weak and unthinking Alured. Only the spoils, which the Caledonians are here said to carry home with them, are the donation of Mr. Hume. And an army that is routed and flying never takes its plunder along with it.

P. 15.

P. 15. "The Britains, taking advantage of this interval, "returned to their usual occupations; and the favourable "seasons, which succeeded, seconding their industry, made "them soon forget all their past miseries, and restored to "them great plenty of all the necessaries of life. No more "can be imagined to have been possessed by a people so rude, "who had not, without the assistance of the Romans, art "of masonry sufficient to raise a stone rampart for their "own defence: yet the monkish historians (Gildas, Bede lib. "1. cap. 14), who treat of those events, complain of the "luxury of the Britains during this period, and ascribe to this "vice, not to their cowardice or improvident councils, all their "subsequent calamities."

Here is a gleam of thought, such as one naturally expects from an intellect like our author's, suddenly shooting across the darkness of the history, and throwing a faint light upon it. But it is as momentary as it is faint, and serves principally to make us regret the want of the same irradiation in a thousand parts of the work besides. And his thinking but indolent mind, fatigued by this little exertion, soon retires back into her cell, and reposes as soundly as she did before.

The plenty here is made commensurate in extent with the preceding famine, and carried over all the provinces. And the one is supposed to be caused by the progress of the invasion, and the other by the termination of it. But all this has been amply refuted before. And even the plenty here spoken of has been shewn, not to relate to the Provincials in general, but to a few of the Brigantes only, not to mean any exuberant harvests, that followed even in Brigantia upon the expulsion of the Caledonians, and merely to point out the abundance, to which the starving fugitives of the wilds were now restored.

But Mr. Hume, who so justly reprobates the declamations of Gildas and of Bede against the luxury of the Provincials, has

has here aſcribed to them an opinion, which even their folly was incapable of admitting. He makes them refer all the ſubſequent calamities to the luxury of the Britons, inſtead of charging them upon their cowardice or improvidence. And yet they are not referred to the luxury by either, and are expreſsly attributed to their improvidence or infatuation by both. Omnes conſiliarii, ſays Gildas of the great and radical occaſion of their miſeries, unà cum—Gurthrigerno Britanorum duce *cæcantur*, ut—Saxones—intromitterentur. And placuit omnibus, ſays Bede with all a Mr. Hume's adherence to his author, cum ſuo rege Vortigerno, ut Saxonum gentem—in auxilium vocarent; quod Domini nutu diſpoſitum eſſe conſtat, ut veniret contra improbos malum.

—" We are not exactly informed what ſpecies of civil go-
" vernment the Romans on their departure had left among
" them [the Britons]; but it appears probable, that the great
" men in the different diſtricts aſſumed a kind of regal, though
" precarious, authority; and lived in a great meaſure indepen-
" dent of each other. To this diſunion of councils were alſo
" added, &c."

What idea Mr. Hume had of the provinciating ſpirit of the Romans in Britain, we cannot pretend to ſay, becauſe he has not thought proper to inform us. But, as in p. 3 of his work he has fixed a variety of monarchical governments among the original Britons, the conſiſtency of hiſtory required him either to notice their removal or to find their continuance. Mr. Hume's mode of writing hiſtory, however, is very different. He deſcribes the iſland partitioned into a multiplicity of kingdoms, at the Roman arrival. He ſpeaks of no alteration made in this œconomy by the Romans. And yet, at their departure, he finds not a ſingle king in the provinces. This ſhews evidently the careleſſneſs, with which he wrote his few pages of our earlier hiſtory, and the inattentiveneſs with which he reviſed them afterwards.

N° I. But, though Mr. Hume discovers no kings where only twelve pages before he had left so many, he finds something like it in appearance and yet very unlike in reality, "the "great men in the different districts assuming a kind of regal "authority." These were evidently the lords of the clans, the seigniors or Uchelwyrs of the states, the only nobles within them. And Mr. Hume has borrowed the thought from Mr. Carte, and added to its original impropriety by mistaking it. Throughout his whole account of the Britons, and in this part of it especially, Mr. Carte has confounded a clan and a kingdom together, and a chief of the one with a sovereign of the other. So in page 179 he observes, that "the power of the nation naturally reverted to the heirs of "the British *chieftains*, who had enjoyed it before the Roman "conquest—; but the pretensions of various persons to the "*headship* of particular *clans and nations* could not fail of "producing broils." And the same confusion appears in p. 77, 78, 80, 87, 93, &c. 189, 190, &c. A nation is an aggregate of clans. And a king is the sovereign over many chieftains. Mr. Carte however, as appears plain in the quotation above, means a kingdom by a clan and a monarch by the chief of it. But Mr. Hume in copying him has interpreted his words literally, and supposed them to mean a mere clan and a mere chieftain. And this has induced him to plant the provinces with seigniories instead of kingdoms, and to stock them with lords instead of monarchs; though the tenour of his own history before, his declarations hereafter, and the suggestions of good sense, all concurred to warn him of his errour, and should have induced him to leave the country as he found it, under a variety of distinct sovereigns.

In following the course of Mr. Carte's ideas with regard to the internal regimen of the provinces at this period, Mr. Hume falls into all the gross contradictoriness about it, that I have previously noted in his author. And, though he supposes the country not to have a single monarch within it at present, and imagines every old kingdom to be broken into a variety of seigniories,

ſeignories, and to have entirely loſt its authority over them all; yet in the courſe of a few lines, with an amazing abſence of thought, he talks of "Vortigern the prince of Dumnonium," as in p. 24 he does of "Arthur prince of the Silures," when the Silures and the Dumnonii were each of them a multiplicity of clans united under one ſovereign. According to this repreſentation, there was not a ſingle king in the provinces, and yet Vortigern was one and Arthur another. There were nothing but ſeigniories in the country, and yet the Silures and Dumnonii were both under monarchies. And, to compleat the abſurdity, theſe lords, who had no ſuperiour over them, were in ſome meaſure dependent on each other. "The great men in the different diſtricts aſſumed a kind of regal —authority, and lived in a great meaſure independent of each other."

But we muſt leave this game, in order to fly at ſtill greater. And if we examine our author's ideas more at large, concerning the preſent polity of the provinces, we ſhall ſee his contradictions riſing upon us equally in magnitude and in number. Here in p. 15 he ſays, that the Britons were diſunited, and had no other government than what the great men aſſumed in their different diſtricts. But, in the page immediately following, he affirms "Vortigern, prince of Dumnonium," to have "poſſeſſed the chief authority among them." Thoſe, who had no government over any of their numerous tribes in the provinces, by the creative power of contradiction are immediately poſſeſt of a general one over the whole. But this is not all. In p. 19 Mr. Hume cancels this cancelling declaration, and raiſes again his ſubverted opinion of p. 15; by aſſerting even after the coming of the Saxons, that the Britons "had not yet acquired any union among themſelves." And yet in the page directly ſucceeding he does as he did before, and again encounters his preceding declaration. He contradicts his own contradiction, and condemns his own condemnation, by recurring to the opinion that he has twice oppoſed, and again aſſerting Vortigern to be "the Britiſh leader." And

 from

N° I. from this office he affirms him to have been afterwards "de-"posed" (p. 20), but on the death of Vortimer "restored "to the throne" (p. 21), and to have been followed in it by Ambrosius (p. 21), Nazan-leod (p. 24), and Arthur (p. 24); and all this in a country, in which he has told us there was no authority higher than that of the seignior of a clan.

—"Menaced with a foreign invasion, the Britains attended "only to the suggestions of their present fears, and fol-"lowing the councils of Vortigern prince of Dumnonium, "who, though stained with every vice, possessed the chief "authority among them, they sent into Germany a deputa-"tion to invite over the Saxons for their protection and as-"sistance."

The two great assertions here have been fully refuted before, in the criticisms upon Mr. Carte. Mr. Hume paces so exactly at the heels of his master, that one well-urged thrust pierces them both at once. And I have shewn Vortigern not to have counselled the calling in of the Saxons, more than any other of the sovereigns, and a formal deputation to Germany to be all the dream of visionary history. Mr. Hume's asserting Vortigern to be prince of Dumnonium is a singular exertion of boldness in him, in so widely departing from the line of his director, who makes him the lord of a clan among the Silures. But Mr. Hume had better have followed Mr. Carte, mistaken as he is in this particular, than have left him for the company to which he has joined himself, the impertinent fabulists and chronologers of Wales and Cornwall. He would have been much nearer to the truth, if he had; since Vortigern was not prince of Dumnonium, as those writers sometimes denominate the kingdom of the Dumnonii, but, as I have shewn in the body of the work, the sovereign of the Dimetæ, a tribe adjoining to the Silures and immediately subject to them.

This

This prince, who was so unfortunate in his life, has been infinitely more so in the representations that have been made of him since. He has been highly abused by each succeeding historian. And all the woes of the Provincials, which were only the result of their own situation, the general disposition of affairs in Europe, and the natural timorousness of inexperience, have been wantonly ascribed to the conduct of Vortigern. That the Provincials themselves should do this, in the agony of their own sufferings at first should be unable to discern the true cause of them, and in their ignorance of incidents afterward should refer them to an imaginary Rowena, a visionary massacre at Stonehenge, and the weakness and wickedness of Vortigern, as the cause of both; is not to be wondered at. But how comes the later historian to be agitated with their passions, and to deal in their virulence? It arises from a principle, I fear, of which we have too many proofs in the recenter parts of our history especially *, not to be well acquainted with its tendency and ashamed of its operations. The spirit of vulgarity has often stained the pages of our national annals. And the insolence of meanness is frequently discharging itself in rancour upon the heads of our unfortunate sovereigns. With both, the miserable are always guilty. But it is time for history to vindicate her own dignity, to rise superiour to the passions of the populace, and generously interpose in protection of abused innocence. And let us extend the favour even to Vortigern, and candidly examine the charges against him. Gildas is too much lost in his generalities, to be very specifick upon any point; yet, incidentally mentioning Vortigern in the course of his petty work, he calls him a superbus tyrannus, which in his embossed style, I apprehend, may mean either a proud tyrant or a great king. But Nennius or his enlarger is more particular and more rancorous. He represents him as under the immediate influence of the devil, and therefore falling in love with the fair daughter of Hengist, giving Kent as the marriage-present for her, and

* In Mrs. Macaulay, &c.

N° I. actually marrying and bedding her (c. 36). He also represents him afterwards as marrying his own daughter, having a son by her, and being excommunicated for the fact (c. 38). And he finally describes him siding with the Saxons (c. 45), and even practising magick (c. 40—43). Such are the charges produced even by the hand of malignity against him. They sufficiently bespeak their own absurdity. And yet Mr. Hume has been thoughtless enough to listen with Malmesbury (fol. 3) to these ridiculous surmises, credulous enough to adopt them in their full amount, and even so unfair as to improve upon them, and describe Vortigern as "stained with every vice."

P. 19. Hengist and Horsa "embarked their troops in three "vessels, and about the years 449 or 450 carried over "1600 men, who landed in the isle of Thanet, and immedi-"ately marched to the defence of the Britains against the "northern invaders."

Mr. Carte states the number of men, as *computed by some* to be 1500 (p. 192). Mr. Hume more decisively asserts it to be actually so, and by mistake puts 1600 for it. But there is no authority for either, that is worthy our attention. Mr. Hume also, like Mr. Carte (p. 193), afterwards brings over 5000 more (p. 20) with as little authority. And, if three ships contained 1500 men, eighteen, as Mr. Carte numbers them, or seventeen, to which Mr. Hume has justly reduced them, should upon every principle of proportion contain no less than 8 or 9000.

As to the Saxons marching immediately after their arrival against the enemy, I have already shewn it to be untrue. They appear to have landed before the winter, and to have marched against the Caledonians the spring or summer following; and, though I love not to quote a secondary authority upon a point that is sufficiently spoken to by a primary one, and to produce Bede, Malmesbury, or Huntingdon when Gildas or Nennius are the original historians; yet it is worth while to observe,

how

how strikingly Malmesbury's account agrees with mine before. Venientibus Anglis, undique occursum; a rege impertitæ gratiæ, a populo effusus favor, datâ fide acceptâque, et traditâ Thanatos insulâ incolatui eorum subventum. Accessit et pactum, ut illi invictis umbonibus sudores suos patriæ impenderent, recepturi emolumenta militiæ ab his quorum saluti vigilias prætenderent. Paululum in medio moræ, et ecce Scotos, &c.

P. 27. "The Britains under the Roman dominion, had "made such advances towards arts and civil manners, that they "had built twenty-eight considerable cities within their pro-"vinces, besides a great number of villages and country seats "(Gildas, Bede lib. 1.). But the fierce conquerors, by "whom they were now subdued, threw every thing back into "antient barbarity."

To give a compleat view of Mr. Hume's ideas of the state of the provinces under the Romans, let us go back three or four centuries in the history, and see what he has observed concerning the well-known conduct of Agricola before. And he says thus of him: "He introduced laws and civility among "the Britains, taught them to desire and raise all the conve-"niences of life," and "instructed them in letters and sci-"ence" (p. 9—10).

These are the only parts of Mr. Hume's history, which give us any ideas concerning the introduction and the progress of civility in the provinces. So inattentive has he been throughout the whole of the British annals, to the first great business of an historian. And the distinct though general description, which he has here given us, is at once trifling in its amount, inaccurate in its narration, and contradictory to his own account before. So unjust has he been equally to himself and the truth.

I have already shewn Nennius and Gildas to be actually contemporary authors, the one writing about 550 and the other about 564. And it appears upon a collation of their notices,

 so

N° I. so far as they relate to the same transactions, that they both copied several parts of their accounts from one and the same original. Thus Nennius says of Britain, sunt—duo flumina præclariora cæteris fluminibus, Tamisia et Severna, quæ duo brachia Britanniæ, per quæ olim rates vehebantur ad deportandas divitias causâ negotiationis (c. 2); and Gildas, that it is vallata duum ostiis nobilium, Thamesis ac Sabrinæ, fluminum, per quæ eidem olim transmarinæ delitiæ ratibus vehebantur (c. 1). So all the wild account of Gildas in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th chapters, is told also in the 27th and 28th of Nennius. And chapter the 1st of the latter has these words, In eâ sunt 28 civitates—cum innumeris castellis, and chapter the second of the former these, Bis denis bisque quaternis civitatibus ac nonnullis castellis—decorata. These towns, we see, are expressly denominated civitates by both, and were therefore cities or towns of superiour rank, in contradistinction to many others, which are plainly supposed to exist, and are only omitted as inferiour. And Mr. Hume has accordingly called them "considerable cities." But he has precluded himself from the interpretation that so evidently lies for his authors, by mentioning the construction of so many cities "besides villages and country seats." And he has thus fixed twenty-eight to be the number of all the real towns in the provinces. How trifling this number is in comparison with the true one, the reader will readily perceive, when he reflects on what I have observed in the preceding Book, ch. 8. sect. 1, that at the close of the first century there were no less than a hundred and forty towns betwixt the Friths and the Channel. Of these there were ninety-two pre-eminent over the rest, and thirty-three that ranked superiour to the whole (Richard p. 36). And this representation gives us some adequate idea of the great civilization of the Britons and the high cultivation of their country, while Mr. Hume's appears petty, poor, and unjust.

Mr. Hume, however, has added a number of villages and country-seats. But of these neither Gildas nor Nennius knew any thing, whatever Mr. Hume might. The former speaks of

 twenty-

twenty-eight towns cum nonnullis castellis, and the latter, cum innumeris castellis. And Bede, who copies Gildas here with his usual obsequiousness, has also transcribed one particular of his account from Nennius, an author whom he has been hitherto supposed not to have known. Erat et civitatibus quondam viginti et octo nobilissimis insignita, præter castella innumera (c. i). Mr. Hume has translated the *innumera* of Nennius and Bede, and the *nonnulla* of Gildas, in a kind of middle way betwixt both, by the words *a great number*. And he has changed the castles of all three into villages and country-seats.

But this inaccuracy, gross as it is, is exceeded by a much grosser. And our author's declarations, concerning the state of civility among the Britons, appear in an absolute contradiction to each other. He says expressly here, that "the Britains, under the Roman dominion, had made such advances "towards arts and civil manners, that they had built twenty-"eight considerable cities within their province, besides a great "number of villages and country-seats," when the Saxons came and threw all back into antient barbarity. And in p. 9 he observes, that Agricola "taught them to desire and raise all "the conveniencies of life;" by which he means, as his author expressly specifies, the erection of temples, the construction of market-places, and the building of porticos, baths, and private houses. But he tells us in p. 15, betwixt and in equal opposition to both, that at the departure of the Romans, and *before* the Saxons came into the island, the Provincials were "a people so rude, that they had not, without the assistance "of the Romans, art of masonry sufficient to raise a stone "rampart for their own defence." How are these positions to be received? Shall we take the two extremes, and leave unnoticed the middle? Or shall we take the middle, which has so many facts appendant to it, and reject the others, which have none? Or shall we rather, with Mr. Hume, unite them all together and form them into one system? But this is impossible to be done. For how could *they* build country-seats, who were

N° I. too ignorant to erect even a wall of stone? Or could they, notwithstanding this, do more? Could they even construct villages, when they were so uncivilized as not to know the common principles of masonry? And could they yet do infinitely more than all this? Could they rear a great number of both, even adorn their country with eight and twenty considerable cities, and even embellish these with "all the conveniences of life," temples, market-places, baths, and porticos, and yet be incapable of making a rampart of any other materials than turf?

It gives me pain to lay open such glaring inconsistencies as these, the natural effusion of unsettled principles and inattentive spirits. And it pains me the more, as Mr. Hume deserves so well from the historical world, and stands so respectable there for that first of all literary qualities, the power of thought. But there is a justice that every writer owes to himself, to the publick, and to truth. And Mr. Hume owes it to all, I think, to revise these early parts of his history immediately; by a more diligent attention to the old historians, to rectify the errours which now mislead his readers; by a more manly consideration of the course of the history, to remove the unmeaningness, the equal child of ignorance and fear, which sheds a sleepy insipidity over it; and, by a more rigorous examination of his own ideas, to reconcile the contradictions which perplex his narrative and entangle his reflections; that he, who has been ranked for years at the head of our national historians, may not seem to be placed there by the momentary wantonness of fashion; that the man, who in the regions of theology has shewn a bold activity of spirit and a wild originality of sentiment, should not meanly truckle to be the copyer of Mr. Carte in history; and that the writer, who in many parts of our annals has no superiour and in some no equal, should not be content to appear in others, appear even to the eye of friendship, too hasty to be accurate, too indolent to be authentick, and too unthinking to be even consistent.

Nº II.

DOOMSDAY-BOOK for LANCASHIRE South of the RIBBLE.

INTER RIPAM ET MERSHAM. Fol. 269. b.

TERRAM INFRA SCRIPTAM TENUIT ROGERIUS PICTAVENSIS INTER RIPAM ET MERSHAM.

In DERBEI HUNDRET. Derby Hundred.

IBI habuit rex Edwardus unum manerium DERBEI nominatum cum 6 Bereuuichis. Ibi 4 hidæ. Terra est 15 carucatæ. Foresta 2 leucis longa & unâ lata; & aira accipitris. (West-Derby. Raby or Roby. Cuerdley, called Cenulsley in some recenter records. Kirkby. Crosby.)

Uctredus tenebat 6 maneria, Rabil, Chenulueslei, Cherchebi, Crosebi, Magele, Achetun. Ibi 2 hidæ.

Silvæ 2 leuuis longæ & latæ, & 2 airæ accipitrum.

Dot tenebat Hitune & Torboc. Ibi 1 hida quieta ab omni consuetudine præter geldum. Terra est 4 carucatæ. Valebat 20 solidos. (Augton. Hyton. Torbuck.)

Bernulf tenebat Stochestede. Ibi 1 virgata terræ & dimidia carucata terræ. Reddebant 4 solidos.

Stainulf tenebat Stochestede. Ibi 1 virgata terræ & dimidia carucata terræ. Valebant 4 solidos.

Quinque taini tenebant Sextone. Ibi 1 hida. Valebat 16 solidos. (Sephton, called Cefton in a record No. 4.)

Uctredus tenebat Chirchedele. Ibi dimidia hida quieta ab omni consuetudine præter geldum. Valebat 10 solidos. (Kirkdale.)

Winestan tenebat Waletone. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ & 3 bovatæ. Valebant 8 solidos. (Walton.)

Nº II. Litherland.	Elmær tenebat Liderlant. Ibi dimidia hida. Valebat 8 solidos.
Ince perhaps near Formby.	Tres taini tenebant Hinne pro 3 maneriis. Ibi dimidia hida. Valebat 8 solidos.
Tarleton probably.	Ascha tenebat Torentun. Ibi dimidia hida. Valebat 8 solidos.
Meales.	Tres taini tenebant Mele pro 3 maneriis. Ibi dimidia hida. Valebat 8 solidos.
- - - -	Uctredus tenebat Uluentune. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ & dimidia leuua silvæ. Valebant 64 denarios.
- - - -	Edelmundus tenebat Esmedune. Ibi una carucata terræ. Valebat 32 denarios.
Allerton.	Tres taini tenebant Alretune pro 3 maneriis. Ibi dimidia hida. Valebat 8 solidos.
Speak.	Uctredus tenebat Spec. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ. Valebant 64 denarios.
Childwall.	Quattuor radmans tenebant Cildeuvelle pro 4 maneriis. Ibi dimidia hida. Valebat 8 solidos. Ibi presbyter erat habens dimidiam carucatam terræ in elemosinam.
- - - -	Ulbert tenebat Wibaldeslie. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ. Valebant 64 denarios.
Wooton.	Duo taini tenebant Uuetone pro 2 maneriis. Ibi 1 carucata terræ. Valebat 30 denarios.
Wartree.	Leuingus tenebat Waretreu. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ. Valebant 64 denarios.
- - - - Walton church.	Quatuor taini tenebant Boltelai pro 4 maneriis. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ. Valebant 64 denarios. Presbyter habebat 1 carucatam terræ ad ecclesiam Waletone.
Aughton.	Uctred tenebat Achetun. Ibi 1 carucata terræ. Valebat 32 denarios.
Formby.	Tres taini tenebant Fornebei pro 3 maneriis. Ibi 4 carucatæ terræ. Valebant 10 solidos.
- - - -	Tres taini tenebant Emuluesdel. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ. Valebant 64 denarios.
Holland.	Stemulf tenebat Hoiland. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ. Valebant 64 denarios.

Uctred

N° II.

Uctred tenebat Daltone. Ibi 1 carucata terræ. Valebat 32 denarios. — Dalton.

Isdem Uctred [tenebat] Schelmeresdele. Ibi 1 carucata terræ. Valebat 32 denarios. — Shelmersdale.

Isdem Uctred tenebat Literland. Ibi 1 carucata terræ. Valebat 32 denarios. — Litherland.

Wibertus tenebat Erengermeles. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ. Valebat 8 solidos. Hæc terra quieta fuit præter geldum.

Quinque taini tenebant Otegrimele. Ibi dimidia hida. Valebat 10 solidos.

Uctredus tenebat Latone cum 1 bereuuichâ. Ibi dimidia hida. Silva 1 leuvâ longa & dimidiâ lata. Valebat 10 solidos & 8 denarios. — Latham perhaps.

Uctred tenebat Hirletun & dimidium Merritun. Ibi dimidia hida. Valebat 10 solidos & 8 denarios. — Hurleston, Marton.

Godeue tenebat Melinge. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ. Silva 1 leuvâ longa & dimidiâ leuvâ lata. Valebat 10 solidos. — Melling.

Uctred tenebat Leiate. Ibi 6 bovatæ terræ. Silva 1 leuvâ longa & 2 quarentenis lata. Valebat 64 denarios. — Lydiate perhaps.

Duo taini tenebant 6 bovatas terræ pro 2 maneriis in Holand. Valebant 2 solidos. — Holland.

Uctred tenebat Acrer. Ibi dimidia carucata terræ. Wasta fuit. — Alker, probably.

Teos tenebat Bartune. Ibi 1 carucata terræ. Valebat 32 denarios. — Barton.

Chetel tenebat Heleshale. Ibi 2 carucatæ tterræ. Valebant 8 solidos. — Halsall.

Omnis hæc terrâ geldabilis; & 15 maneria nil reddebant nisi geldum regi Edwardo.

Hoc manerium Derbei cum his supradictis hidis reddebant regi Edwardo de firmâ 26 libras & 2 solidos. Ex his 3 hidæ erant liberæ, quarum censum perdonavit teinis qui eas tenebant. Istæ reddebant 4 libras & 14 solidos & 8 denarios.

Omnes isti taini habuerunt consuetudinem reddendi 2 oras denariorum de unaquâque carucatâ terræ; & faciebant per consuetudinem domos regis, & quæ ibi pertinebant, sicut villani, & piscarias, & in silvâ haias & stabilituras; & qui ad hæc

Nº II. hæc non ibat quando debebat 2 solidis emendabat, & postea ad opus veniebat, & operabatur donec perfectum erat. Unusquisque eorum uno die in augusto mittebat messores suos secare segetes regis. Si non, per 2 solidos emendabat.

Si quis liber homo faceret furtum aut forestel aut heinfara, aut pacem regis infringebat, 40 solidis emendabat.

Si quis faciebat sanguinem aut raptum de feminâ, vel qui remanebat de siremot sine rationabili excusatione, per 10 solidos emendabat. Si de hundreto remanebat, aut non ibat ad placitum ubi præpositus jubebat, per 5 solidos emendabat.

Si cui jubebat in suum servitium ire, & non ibat, 4 solidis emendabat.

Si quis de terrâ regis recedere volebat, dabat 40 solidos, & ibat quò volebat.

Si quis terram patris sui mortui habere volebat, 40 solidis relevabat.

Qui nolebat, & terram & omnem pecuniam patris mortui rex habebat.

Crosby. Kirkdale.

Uctredus tenuit Crosebi & Chirchedele pro 1 hidâ; & erat quieta ab omni consuetudine præter has 6, pace infractâ, forestel, heinfara, & pugnâ quæ post sacramentum factum remanebat, & si constrictus justiciâ præpositi alicui debitum solvebat, & si terminum a præposito datum non attendebat. Hæc per 40 solidos emendabat. Geldum verò regis, sicut homines patriæ, solvebant.

- - - - Halsall probably. Everton, or Ereton.

In Otringemele & Herleshala & Hiretun erant 3 hidæ quietæ a geldo carucatarum terræ, & a forisfacturâ sanguinis, & feminæ violentiâ. Alias vero consuetudines reddebant omnes.

De isto manerio DERBEI tenent modò, dono Rogeri Pictavensis, hi homines terram, Goisfridus 2 hidas & dimidiam carucatam, Rogerus 1 hidam & dimidiam, Willelmus unam hidam & dimidiam, Warinus dimidiam hidam, Goisfridus 1 hidam, Tetbaldus hidam & dimidiam, Robertus 2 carucatas terræ, Gillebertus 1 carucatam terræ.

Hi

Hi habent in dominio 4 carucatas, & 46 villanos & 1 radman, & 62 bordarios, & 2 servos, & 3 ancillas. Inter omnes habent 24 carucatas.

N° II.

Silva eorum 3 leuvis & dimidiâ longa, & 1 leuva & dimidia & 40 perticæ latitudine; & ibi 3 airæ accipitrum.

Totum valet 8 libras & 12 solidos. In unaquâque hidâ sunt 6 carucatæ terræ.

Dominium verò hujus manerii, quod tenebat Rogerius, valebat 8 libras. Sunt ibi modò in dominio 3 carucatæ, & 6 bovarii, & unus radman, & 7 villani.

In NEWETON HUNDRET.

Newton Hundred.

In Neweton tempore regis Edwardi fuerunt 5 hidæ.

Ex his una erat in dominio. Ecclesia ipsius manerii habebat 1 carucatam terræ, & sanctus Osuuoldus de ipsâ villâ 2 carucatas terræ habebat quietas per omnia.

Winwick church dedicated to St. Oswald.

Hujus manerii aliam terram 15 homines, quos drenchs vocabant, pro 15 maneriis tenebant; sed hujus manerii bereuuicltæ erant, & inter omnes 30 solidos reddebant.

Silva ibi 10 leuvis longa & 6 leuvis & 2 quarentenis lata; & ibi airæ accipitrum.

Hujus hundredi homines liberi preter duos erant in eâdem consuetudine quâ homines Derberiæ, & plus illis 2 diebus in augusto metebant in culturis regis.

Illi duo habebant 5 carucatas terræ, & forisfacturam sanguinis, & feminæ violentiam passæ, & pasnagium suorum hominum. Alias habebat rex.

Totum hoc manerium reddebat de firmâ regi 10 libras & 10 solidos. Modò sunt ibi 6 drenghs & 12 villani & 4 bordarii. Inter omnes 9 carucatas habent. Valet 4 libras hoc dominium.

No II.

Warrington Hundred.

IN WALINTUNE HUNDRET.

Warrington.

Rex Edwardus tenuit Walintune, cum 3 Bereuuichis. Ibi 1 hida.

Warrington church, dedicated to St. Elfin.

Ad ipsum manerium pertinebant 34 drengh, & totidem maneria habebant, in quibus erant 42 carucatæ terræ, & una hida & dimidia. Sanctus Elfin tenebat 1 carucatam terræ quietam de omni consuetudine præter geldum. Totum manerium cum hundreto reddebat regi de firmâ 15 libras, 2 solidis minùs. Modò sunt in dominio 2 carucatæ, & 8 homines cum 1 carucatâ.

Homines isti tenebant ibi terram, Rogerus 1 carucatam terræ, Tetbaldus 1 carucatam & dimidiam, Warinus 1 carucatam, Radulfus 5 carucatas, Willelmus 2 hidas & 4 carucatas terræ, Adelardus 1 hidam & dimidiam carucatam, Osmundus 1 carucatam terræ.

Valet hoc totum 4 libras & 10 solidos. Dominium valet 3 libras & 10 solidos.

Blackburne Hundred.

IN BLACHEBURNE HUNDRET.

Blackburne. Blackburne church. Walley.

Rex Edwardus tenuit BLACHEBURNE. Ibi 2 hidæ, & 2 carucatæ terræ. Ecclesia habebat 2 bovatas de hâc terrâ; & ecclesia sanctæ MARIÆ habebat in Wallei 2 carucatas terræ quietas ab omni consuetudine.

In eodem manerio silva 1 leuvâ longa & tantundem lata; & ibi erat aira accipitris.

Ad hoc manerium vel hundretum adjacebant 28 liberi homines, tenentes 5 hidas & dimidiam, & 40 carucatas terræ, pro 28 maneriis. Silva ibi 6 leuvis longa & 4 leuvis lata; & erant in supradictis consuetudinibus.

Huncot. Walton. Pendleton.

In eodem Hundreto habebat rex Edwardus Hunnicot de 2 carucatis terræ, & Waletune de 2 carucatis terræ, & Peniltune de dimidiâ hidâ.

3

Totum manerium cum hundreto reddebat regi de firmâ 32 libras & 2 solidos. Hanc terram totam dedit Rogerius Pictavensis Rogerio de Busli & Alberto Greslet; & ibi sunt tot homines qui habent 11 carucatas & dimidiam, quos ipsi concesserunt esse quietos usque ad 3 annos, & ideo non appreciantur modò.

N° II.

In Salford Hundret.

Salford Hundred.

Rex Edwardus tenuit Salford. Ibi 3 hidæ & 12 carucatæ terræ wastæ, & foresta 3 leuvis longa & tantundem lata, & ibi plures haiæ & aira accipitris. Salford.

Radeclive tenebat rex Edwardus pro manerio. Ibi 1 hida, & alia hida pertinens ad Salford. Ratcliff.

Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ & ecclesia Sancti Michaelis tenebant in Mamcestre unam carucatam terræ, quietam ab omni consuetudine præter geldum. Manchester.

Ad hoc Manerium vel Hundretum pertinebant 21 bereuuichæ, quas tenebant totidem taini pro totidem maneriis, in quibus erant 11 hidæ & dimidia, & 10 carucatæ terræ & dimidia.

Silvæ ibi 9 leuvis & dimidiâ longa & 5 leuvis & unâ quarentenâ lata.

Unus eorum Gamel, tenens 2 hidas in Recedham, habebat suas consuetudines quietas præter 6 has, furtum, heinfare, forestel, pacem regis infractam, terminum fractum a præposito stabilitum, pugnam post sacramentum factum remanentem. Hæc emendabat 40 solidis. Aliquæ harum terrarum erant quietæ ab omni consuetudine præter geldum, & aliquotæ a geldo sunt quietæ. Rochdale probably.

Totum manerium Salford cum Hundreto reddebat 37 libras & 4 solidos. Modò sunt in manerio in dominio 2 carucatæ & 8 servi & 2 villani cum 1 carucatâ. Valet 100 solidos hoc dominium.

De hâc terrâ hujus manerii tenent milites dono Rogerii Pictavensis, Nigellus 3 hidas & dimidiam carucatam terræ,

N° II.

Warinus 2 carucatas terræ, & alter Warinus 1 carucatam & dimidiam, Goiffridus 1 carucatam terræ, Gamel 2 carucatas terræ. In his sunt 3 taini, & 30 villani, & 9 bordarii, & presbyter, & 10 servi. Inter omnes habent 22 carucatas. Valet 7 libras.

Layland hundred.

In LAILAND Hundret.

Layland.

Rex Edwardus tenuit Lailand. Ibi 1 hida & 2 carucatæ terræ, silva 2 leuvis longa & unâ lata, & aira accipitris.

Ad hoc manerium pertinebant 12 carucatæ terræ, quas tenebant 12 homines liberi pro totidem maneriis. In his 6 hidæ & 8 carucatæ terræ.

Silvæ ibi 6 leuvis longæ & 3 leuvis & unâ quarentinâ lata.

Homines hujus manerii & de Salford non operabantur per consuetudinem ad aulam regis, neque metebant in augusto. Tantummodò 1 haiam in silvâ faciebant, & habebant sanguinis forisfacturam & feminæ passæ violentiam.

De aliis consuetudinibus aliorum superiorum maneriorum erant consortes.

Totum Manerium Lailand cum Hundreto reddebat de firmâ regi 19 libras & 18 solidos & 2 denarios.

De hâc terrâ hujus manerii tenet Girardus hidam & dimidiam, Robertus 3 carucatas terræ, Radulfus 2 carucatas terræ, Rogerus 2 carucatas terræ, Walterus 1 carucatam terræ. Ibi sunt 4 radmans, presbyter, & 14 villani, & 6 bordarii, & 2 bovarii. Inter omnes habent 8 carucatas. Silva [illegible] leuvis longa & 2 leuvis lata, & ibi [illegible] accipitrum. Valet totum 50 solidos. Ex parte est wasta.

Penwortham.

Rex Edwardus tenuit Penenverdant. Ibi 2 carucatæ terræ, & reddebant 10 denarios. Modò est ibi castellum, & 2 carucatæ sunt in dominio, & 6 burgenses, & 3 radmans, & 8 villani, & 4 bovarii. Inter omnes habent 4 carucatas. Ibi dimidia piscaria, silva, & airæ accipitrum, sicut tempore Regis Edwardi. Valet 3 libras.

In

In his 6 hundretis, Derbie, Newtone, Walintune, Blacheburne, Salford, & Lailand, ſunt 100 quater 20 & octo manerii. In quibus ſunt quater 20 hidæ geldabiles, unâ minùs. Tempore Regis Edwardi valebant 45 libras & 2 ſolidos & 2 denarios.

Quando Rogerius Pictavenſis de Rege recepit, valebat 120 libras. Modò tenet Rex, & habet in dominio 12 carucatas, & 9 milites feudum tenentes. Inter eos & eorum homines ſunt 115 carucatæ & 3 boves. Dominium quod tenuit Rogerius appreciatur 23 libris & 10 ſolidis. Quod dedit militibus 20 libris & 11 ſolidis appreciatur.

N° III.

The CHARTER of

MANCHESTER.

N. B. The original charter was secretly taken out of the Boroughreeve's chest about forty years ago, and destroyed. I was in hopes of recovering it for the town, by procuring an authentick copy from our publick offices. I therefore searched the records of the Tower, though with little expectation of meeting with it there, as it was merely a baronial charter. I had very sanguine hopes, however, of finding it in the Rolls Chapel, as Mr. Hollinworth (MS. p. 6) asserts it to have been confirmed by James the first, and the confirmation must have recited the original. And yet I was equally disappointed in both. The charter therefore is lost for ever, I suppose. And all the copies, I believe, have perished with the original. But an authenticated translation of it luckily fell into my hands, and so was rescued from immediate destruction. I found it inserted in an old Borough-reeve's book of accounts, which was kept by Mr. William Byrom Borough-reeve in 1657, and given me by his descendant the late Edward Byrom, Esq. The translation is evidently so literal and close, that to an historian it is equally as useful as the original. And it is probably the only transcript of the whole existing at present.

N° III.

A COPPY of the CHARTER of MANCHESTER translated by WILLIAM HEAWOOD Gent. Steward; when I. WM. BYROM was Bororeeve; per order of the Court-Leet Michaelmas 6th October 1657. *

ALL they that bee present and to come shall know, that I Thomas Grelle have given granted and by this my present Charter have confirmed to all my Burgesses of Manchester:

That is to say,

1. That all the burgesses shall pay of every burgadge twelve-pence by yeare for all service.

2. And if the burgreeve governour or ruler of the said towne, summon any burgess of any plaint and hee so summoned come not nor none for him at the day within the Laughmoott, hee shall forfeit to the said lord twelve-pence, and the said lord shall have his action upon him in the porttmoot.

3. If any burgess doe sue any burgess of any debt and hee knowledge the debt then shall the said governour or ruler assigne him a day (to wit the eighth) and if hee come not at the day hee shall pay to the lord twelve-pence for forfeiture of the day and hee shall pay the debt, and to the said governour or ruler eight pence.

4. And if any man make claime of any thing and shall not find suerties or pledges and afterwards would leave his claime hee shall bee without forfeiture.

5. Item, If any burgess in the borrough of the sunday or from noone of the saturday until munday [do hurt any person ‡]

* In another part of the book the order is inserted thus.

Michaelmas Leet 6th Oct. 1657.

This jury doth order that Mr. Wm. Byrom bororeeve for this yeare to come shall cause to be enterd a breviate in the townes-bookes faire written, all the deeds of the poores-land (by way of inventory) and all the other writings in the townes-chest, which shall bee delivered to him.

Mr. Wm. Heawood appears from other parts of the book to have been an attorney and the steward of the court-leet, and to have received a fee of 10s. 6d. for the translation.

‡ These words I have inserted. The sense requires them.

hee

N° III. hee ſhall forfeit twenty ſhillings. And if upon munday or any other day of the week [he] doe hurt any perſon hee ſhall forfeit to the lord twelve pence.

6. Item. If any burgeſs ſtrive with any man and with anger ſtrike without any effuſion of blood and afterwards may flee* to his owne houſe without any attachment of the ſaid governor or ruler or of his ſervants Hee ſhall bee free from any plaint of the ruler, and if hee can agree with the party of whom hee maketh the fray (well bee it †) but otherwiſe let him make his peace with the party by the councell of his frends and that without forfeiture of the governor or ruler. ‡

7. And if any man bee impleaded in the burrough of any plaint hee ſhall not anſwere neither to a burgeſs nor to a towneſman || unleſs in the porttmott except plainte pertaining to the king's crowne or to theft. §

8. Item. And if any man doe challenge any burgeſs of theft, the ſaid governour or ruler ſhall attach him for to anſwere at the lords-court and to ſtand to the judgement.

9. And if any man bee impleaded by his neighbour or by any other and follow the ſame three court-dayes, if hee have witnes of the ruler and his neighbours of the porttmott that his adverſary is in default at thoſe three dayes the ſaid deffendant ſhall make no anſwer unto him after of the ſame plaint.

* It ſhould have been, flees. The tranſlator was little converſant with the Latin language or his own.

† These words were incloſed in a parentheſis by the tranſlator, becauſe they were aſſuredly left in the original to be ſupplied by the context. And they are equally ſo left in the Salford charter.

‡ In the charter of Salford, which will be publiſhed entire in the next volume, the correſpondent article runs more intelligibly thus—If any burgeſs in the borough ſtrike or beat any proper burgeſs without effuſion of blood, per viſum burgenſium ſi pacem faciet [faciet] ſalvo jure noſtro &c.—

|| This word muſt have been villanus in the original. It is ſo in the Salford charter. And it ſhould have been rendered villain.

§ Salford charter ſays—If any be impleaded in the borough, let him not anſwer either a burgeſs or a villain but in his own portmanmote, namely, in a plea that belongs to the borough.

10. Alſo

10. Also the said burgesses shall follow to the lord's millne and his common oven and shall pay their customes to the said millne and oven as they ought and were wont to doe.

Item. The burgesses ought and may chuse a reeve of themselves whom they will and to remove the reeve.

12. Item. No man may bring his neighbour to any oath unles hee have suite of some claime.

13. Item. No man may receive any thing within the towne but by the view of the reeve.

14. Item. It shall bee lawfull to every man to sell or give his lands which is not of his inheritance if need bee to whom hee will except his heire will buy it; but the heire ought to bee the next to buy it.

15. Item. Every man may sell of his inheritance bee it more or less or all by the consent of his heire, and if peradventure the heir will not, notwithstanding if he fall in necessity it shall bee lawful for him to sell of his inheritance what age soever the heir bee.

16. Item. The reeve ought to let to every burgess and stander his stall in the market and the said reeve ought to receive for every standing a peny to the use of the said lord.

17. Item: If the burgess or stander will stand in the stalls of the market, they ought to give unto the said lord as much as a stranger, and if hee stand in his owne stall hee ought to give nothing to the said lord.

18. Item. Every burgess may nourish his hoggs of his owne bringing up in the lords woods except the forrest and parkes of the said lord, unto the time of pannadge and if they will at that time goe their way, it shall be lawfull for them without licence of the lord; and if they will tarry the time of that pannage they shall agree or recompence the said lord for their pannage.

19. Item. If any man bee impleaded before the day of the laughemoott and then cometh hee must answer and ought not to be essoined without amerciament, and if it bee the first time that hee bee impleaded hee may have the first day.

20. Item.

Nº III. 20. Item. The burgeſſes may arreſt men whether hee bee knight preiſt or clark for their debt if hee be found in the borough.

21. Item. If neceſſity fall that any ſell his burgage hee may take another of his neighbor, and every burgeſs may let his burgage to his neighbour by the ſight of his fellow-burgeſſes. And it ſhall bee lawfull to the ſaid burgeſſes to lett their owne proper cattell* to whom they will freely without licence of the ſaid lord.

22. Item. If the burgeſſes lend anything unto any towneſman† in the burrough and the day bee expired hee may take a gage of the ſaid towneſman†, and by his gage he ſhall certefy and deliver the gage upon ſurety unto the tearme of eight dayes and then they ſureties ſhall anſwere either the gage or money.

23. Item. If a burgeſs doe either buy or ſell to any man within the fee of the ſaid lord hee ſhall bee free of the toule.

24. And if any of any other ſhyre come the which ought to pay cuſtome, if hee goe away with the toll, and retaine it from the governour or ruler either his deputy, hee ſhall forfeit twelve ſhillings to the uſe of the lord and pay his toll.

25. And if any perſon doe lend any thing to another without witnes hee ſhall anſwere him nothing without witnes and if hee have witnes the party may deny it, and put it to the oathes of two men.

26. Hee that breaketh aſſize either of bread or ale hee ſhall forfeit twelve pence to the uſe of the lord.

27. Item. If any man hurt another in the borrough the governour or ruler ought to attach him, if hee may bee found without his houſe, by gage or by ſurety.

28. Item. Every man ought and may anſwere for his wife and his houſhould and the wife of every man may pay their farme to the reeve and follow any plaint or action for her huſband if hee peradventure bee abſent in another place.

* Chattels, Catalla. † Villain.

29. Item

N° III.

29. Item. If any townesman * shall sue burgesses for any thing the burgess is not bound to answere him except it bee at the sute of burgesses or of other lawful men.

30. Item. If a burgess have no heir hee may bequeath his burgage and cattell † when hee dieth to whom hee will, saveing only service of the lord.

31. Item. If any burgess dye his wife ought to remaine in the house and there to have necessaries as long as shee will bee without a husband, and the heir with her, and when shee will marrie shee shall depart, and the heire shall dwell there with the lord ‡.

32. Item. If any burgess shall dye his heire shall pay no other reliefe to the lord but some armes ||.

33. Item. If any burgess sell his burgage and will depart from the towne hee shall give to the lord foure pence and shall goe free where hee will.

34. Farthermore all playnts aforesaid shall bee determined before the steward by the enrollment of the said lord's clark.

And all the said liberties I the said THOMAS and my heires shall hold to the said burgesses and their heires for ever, saveing to mee and my heires reasonable talladge or taxes when the lord the king maketh tallage or taxeth his free burgesses through England;

And that this my gift and grant may bee ratifyed and established, to this my present writeing, I have caused my seale to bee sett; these being witnesses

Sir JOHN BYRON, RICH. BYRON } Knights.
HENRY of Trafford
RICHARD of Hillton
ADAM of Prestwich
ROGER of Pilkington
GEOFFREY of Chaderton
RICHARD of Moston
JOHN of Prestwich and others.

* Villain. † Chattels.

‡ In the Salford Charter—When the widow shall marry she shall depart freely without her dowry, and the heirs as lords shall remain in the houses.

|| No other relief, says Salford Charter, but his arms, namely, a sword, a bow, and a lance.

N° III. Dated at Manchester the fourteenth day of May in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and one 1301 and in the yeare of the raigne of king Edward sonne of king Henry the twenty ninth.

Mr. Hollingworth in his M. S. History of Manchester, p. 6, speaks thus of the charter. "Thomas Grelle granted to the "burgesses of Manchester that it should be liber burgus and "enjoy certaine priviledges.—See more in the charter. It "was confirmed by King James."

And a record in Kuerden's M. S. Quarto p. 52 (archives of Manchester library 18.4) says thus. Tho. West miles dominus de la Ware clamat se habere villam de Manchester fore liberum burgum, villam mercati, ac emendandum assizæ panis et cervisiæ ac puniendum vitellariorum de mercandisis suis contra assissam;—theoloneum tam quolibet die septimanæ quàm die mercati, ac stallagium in villâ—; libertates de infangthef, pacis fractæ, emendandum assizæ panis et cervisiæ fractæ, ac weif et stray, necnon puniendum de carnificibus, tunnatoribus, de mercandisis;—furcas, pillorium, et tumbrel, feriam per 3 dies in vigiliâ et in die et crastino Sti. Matthæi, et liberam warrenam.—

Nº IV.

A NUMBER of RECORDS.

(1)

This is Dr. KUERDEN's own account of himself, which is drawn up on a loose paper in the Quarto M. S.

Account concerning the AUTHOR of the History of LANCASHIRE.

HE was born in Lancashyre in Keurdon of an antiant family of Henry I. or King Stephen date, schooled at Leyland under on Mr. Sherburn wel known in schoole learning, after admitted into St. Mary Hall Oxon. at which time could have given a good account of school learning, but also in the mathematicks, and could have read a chapter in the Hebrew Bible or Psalms, stayd there till after Edghill battle, being admitted in 1638 a pensioner or commoner in that house under Dr. Sanders their principal, but afterwards driven downe, the wars suffering [no] return thither, of relief I transplanted myself to Cambridg, and there in 1642 in Emanuel Colledge commenced Batchelor of Arts, and there continued till 1646, Oxford being again at liberty, and ther in St. Mary Hall proceeded Master of Arts, and there became Vice-Principall and tutor to most of the young scholers for several years after, had thirty pupills generally, most gentlemen commoners, most sons to baronets knights and esquires, and one the son to the archbyshop of Armath in Irland, and in thos difficult times preserved the loyall integretty to our soveraigne lord the king; all of us supported by our own estates as commoners according to the custome of halls in

N° IV. Oxford, and being offered by the vice-chancler upon a relaps from other colledges denyed to be elected proctour in the university, not willing then to submitt to the present government, but continued in the study of physique. No publique acts or commencements for 14 yeares then past, but in 1651 as Mr. Rafe Bathurst then of Trinyty Colledge was elected Magister Replicans for the physique act, now the worthy president of Trinity Colledge Oxon. And act succeeding Dr. Thomas Clayton the regent publique professor in physique, observing my integrety of rule within St. Mary Hall, proposed me to be replicant in that act to all the inceptors in physique of that act, which was approved of a full convocation of doctors and maisters upon these questions 1. An datur medicamentum universale, affirmativè. 2. An amor phyltris conciliandus, negativè. 3. An imaginatio matris conducit ad fœtum efformandum, affirmativè. This office performed by me, by the statutes of the university, ipso facto without Steteris proximis comitiis capacitated me to be docter, and accordingly was registred in St. Mary Hall, and paid all dues ther accordingly; but considering what oaths were to be administered if consumated publiquely in the university in thos days, I demurred appearing ther to consumate the said degree of docter, and deferred that business till better times with loss of seniority until the happy restauration of K. Charles the 2d, and then upon the ninth of September 1661 I was sworn doctor, and on the 26th of March receiv'd testimonial under the publique seal of the university of the sayd degree. But a little after king Charles the second army was routed at Worcester, I left my charg and receaded into my native country and ther practised physic, and for diversion at spare hours applyd myself to antiquity; and being directed by my worthy frend Mr. Notrowe I perusd all the records in the Towr of London relating to the county of Lancaster, the Domesdaybook in the Tallyoffice, the records of Westminster, Chapel of Rolls, the Dutchy office at Gray's In, the Pelns, and many other offices, and at Lancaster what remained in the

the Chancery Court and the Comon Pleas, and other less publique courts within the county. Whilst my partner in the designe Mr. Christopher Townly, of Car Hall a worthy person wholy by his clerks by him appointed, with my assistance in directing them in breviations of records, and by his diligent and indefatigable industry, transcribed over into twenty-four great follios volumes, having obtained the perusal of most of the records belonging to the gentry of Lancashyre, and forty years labour, very nere 300,000 abstracts; having formerly agreed together with me to joyne in the impressure once made ready for that purpose in the charg thereof, or if either party dyed before impressure the surviver to have the others manuscripts to himself, which by his death have been a long time in my custody; who being formerly much incouraged in this designe by my worthy frend and patron the incomparable antiquary Sir William Dugdale, who did deputise me in some part of his visitation of the gentry of Lancashyre, as a deputy in his behalf and as marshall to him, to consumate and disclame publiquely at assyses at Lancaster all thos persons pretending to have coats of armes who could not have any interest to procure any title to the same; which I did accordingly, and ingrossed the same in all offices of record civil and ecclesiastical within our county of Lancaster. But one great reason which did retard my proceeding and many other to impressure of mine and'ther intended historys was by that incomparable history of his of Warwickshyre, being so wel and accuratly by him performed, which hath discouraged many others to undertake the like, not knowing how to produce a parallell to that of Warwickshyre.

P. 280.—1322. 15 Ed. II. Exten. Man. de Manchester. Ipsa verò curia de Manchester tenenda est de 3 septimanis in 3, ad quam Dominus de Childwall, Dominus ½ de Harewood, Dominus de Withington, Dominus de Pilkington et Undesworth, Dominus de Burnehill, Dominus de Rumworth et Lostock, Dominus de Lenton, Dominus de Ashton subter Limam, Dominus ½ de Harewood, et Dominus de Worthington debent sectam curiæ, et vocantur judices curiæ Man-

 chesteriæ

Nº IV. chesteriæ per consuetudinem ex antiquo, cum tol, them, infangetheif, outfangetheif; et in quâ quælibet transgressio super quam pax Domini et Balivorum infringitur potest placitari ad sectam Balivorum Domini prædicti et ad sectam partium: cujus perquisitæ in placitis finibus et amerciamentis—cum Halmotis de Barton Heton et Hamell Manchesteriæ valent per annum 100 sol. Et placitatur in eâdem curiâ secundùm consuetudinem juxta communem legem Angliæ.

Est etiam ibidem portmote burgi de Manchestere tenenda quater per ann., ad quod quilibot burgensis vel ejus filius primogenitus aut uxor ejus veniet quater annatim sine essoin aut summon; præfati burgi.

Et si necesse fuerit laghmot potest teneri inter quælibet portmote pro jure querelas querentium festinandi, et in quo portmot debent e more de assisâ panis et cerevisiæ fractâ fieri [inquisitio].

Et siquis burgensis deficiat quód non venit, vel alia transgress: erga dominum, ad 12 denarios et non ultra debet amerciari, nisi in hôc, quódsi quem vulneravit ab horâ diei sabbati nono usque diem lunæ dabit domino 20 sol. pro transgressione.

Et siquis burgensis vendat burgagium suum a villâ discedens, dabit domino 40 de certo fine, et post ejus decessum uxor tenebit burgagium mariti sui dum vivere voluerit sine marito.

Et dominus habebit arma [quibus] burgensis quilibet usus fuerit dum vixit, et non debet alibi placitare pro contracto facto intra dominium, nec alibi implacitari ni tantúm in causâ feloniæ, in quâ implacitabit et implacitabitur reus ab appellante in curiâ domini prædicti.

Et valent perquisitæ dictorum portmotorum cum laghmotes in finibus,—et hujus, 13s. 4d.

Est et ibidem forum tenendum quolibet die sabbati, et nundinæ tenendæ a vigiliâ St. Matthæi apostoli usque in crastinum ejusdem festi per 3 dies integros, quæ valent in teoloneo stallagio et hujusmodi 6l. 13s. 4d.

P. 279.

(2)

P. 279. Manchester—Ibi est molendinum Manchester currens per aquam de Irk valoris 10l., ad quod omnes burgenses et omnes tenentes de Manchester cum hamlettis de Ardwick Openshagh Curmshale Moston Nothurst Gothersw yk et Ancotes debent molare.—Molent ad 16 grana præter dominum de Moston qui hopperfree ad 20 granum.—Et est ibi quidam furnus communis juxta curiam Domini val. 6s. 8d. ad quem quilibet burgensis debet furnire de consuetudine.——Molendinum de Gorton currens per aquam de Gore-broke val. 40s., ad quod omnes tenentes de Gorton debent molare ad 16 granum. ——Apud Kuerdly quoddam molendinum currens per quendam rivulum &c. et quoddam molendinum vent val. 16s. 8d. ad quæ omnes tenentes domini de Kuerdly debent molare ad 16 grana.——Ad Barton molendinum de Barton currens per aquam de Irwell, val. per. an. 40s. ad quod tenentes domini ibidem molent ad 16 vas.——Apud Heton molendinum currens per Heit-mill brok val. per. an. 16s. 8d.—et hoc molendinum ante tempus dominæ de Heton solebat currere per Merse—et tunc valuit 40s. sed non valet tam pro defectu aquæ, et tamen ad ipsum debent omnes tenentes de Heton molare ad granum.

(3)

A S H T O N.

Albertus Grelle dedit Rog. filio Orm totam terram de Eston. Kuerden v. 2d. p. 282.—

In 5. H. VI. Thomas de la Ware gives to John de Asheton and his heirs for ever 1 rod of land parcel of the manour of Manchester in a certain field called Smithfield together with the church of Asheton.—The said John Asheton holds the manour of Asheton under Lyne of Richard de Kirkby Knight, by the

 payment

N° IV. payment of 1 d. and that Richard holds it of Thomas de la Ware. B. Musæum N°-2085 E. p. 410.

Will. de Marchia persona ecclesiæ de Manchester, ad quam capella de Asheton est annexa, factus est &c.—et Walt. de Langton persona de Manchester postea tenuit capellam de Ashton similiter (Kuerden vol. 2. p. 28).—In 48 H. III. Tho. de Grelle dedit P. de Grelle filio suo manerium de Manchester et Childwalle cum capellis de Asheton, Hale, et Garstan dictis ecclesiis pertinentibus (Ibid. p. 282).

(4)

From Mr. Hollingworth's MS.

P. 7. Anno 1313 John de la Ware knight—presented John Devorden to be rector of Manchester.——A survey taken in his time sayth, The wood of Aldport—joyned to the rectory of Manchester, saving that a place called Blenorchard or Wallegreenes was betweene them. The manourhouse stood in or neere to the place where the college now stands, and was called Baron's Court or Baron's Yerde, and the place was called Baron's Hull, as the neighboring banke now called Huntsbanke was then called Hunts hull; and the parsonage house was neere to a feeld called the parsonage in or neere the streete called the Deansgate.

Pope

N° IV.

Pope Nicholas's Valor Beneficiorum A. D. 1292.

Taken from the original in the Britiſh Muſæum, Cotton MS. Tiberius. C. X. f. 262—263.		Taken from the ſuppoſed copy in the Bodleian Library.	
Decanatus de Mamceſtre et de Blakeburn.		Decanatus de Mamceſtre et Blakeburn.	
Eccleſia de Mamceſtre	80m.	Eccleſia de Mamceſtre	80m.
Ecclis	30	Eccles	30
Prior de Lancaſtre percipit in eâdem	4	Prior Lancaſtre percipit in eâdem	4
Eccleſia de Preſtewich	28	Eccleſia de Preſtwyck	28
Bury	20	Burey	20
Middelton	20	Middelton	20
Rachedale	35	Rakedale	35
Aſton	15	Aſton	15
Flixton	7	Flixton	7
Blakeburn	50	Blakeburn cum capellâ	50
Walleye	100	Walleie	100
Decanatus de Werinton		Decanatus de Werinton	
Eccleſia de Werinton	20	Eccleſia de Werinton	20
Preſtcote	60	Preſtcote	60
Childwell	60	Childwell	60
Walton	66	Walton	66
Cheſton	40	Ceſton	40
Haleſhale	15	Haleſale	15
Ormſchurch	20	Ormſchirch	20
Hoyton	15	Hoyton	15
Wynewich	40	Wyneſwyk	40
Leahe	12	Leahe.	12
Wygan	50	Wygan	50
Decanatus de Laylond		Decanatus de Leyland	
Eccleſia de Stanedich	20	Eccleſia de Stanedich	20
Eccliſton	18	Eccleſton	18
Crofton	50	Crofton	50
Penwortham	30	Pentwortham	30
Layland	15	Leyland	15

N° IV. Here are some little variations in the two extracts, which shew the Bodleian Valor not to be what it has been hitherto supposed by all, a transcript of the taxation in 1292. The Valor of the Musæum is dated in the body of the work, and is certainly that of 1292 therefore. But, from the addition of a chapel to Blakeburne particularly, the Bodleian appears to be of a recenter date. And I make this observation the more readily, as the many collegiate cases in Oxford, that are determinable by Nicholas's taxation, are all adjudged by the Bodleian as an authentick copy of it, and are consequently referred to a standard that may sometimes prove injurious to individuals.

THE END OF BOOK THE SECOND.

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TABLE OF ERROURS.

P. 2. l. 9. for *records* read *memorials.*
P. 8. l. 28. for *it* read *the Roman departure.*
P. 14. l. 17. to *gravel* add this. *So the Roman walls of Garianonum, or Burgh Castle in Suffolk, were founded on a deep bed of chalk and lime, equally beaten and compacted, and covered with a layer of earth and sand.* *
P. 34. l. 19. for *semblage* read *semblance.*
P. 55. l. 18. to *war* add this, *and equally encouraged and piqued probably by the victories of Arthur,.*
P. 132. l. 3. for *fourth* read *third.*
P. 150. l. 19. for ꝼẏꞃꝺ-ƿiꞇe read ꝼẏꞃꝺ-piꞇe.
P. 157. l. 20-21. for *some in subjection to, and some for the use of*, read, *some for the use of, and all in subjection to,.*
P. 158. The Greek note should have this line at the beginning,

Σειρην χρυσειην εξ ουρανοθεν κρεμασαντες.
. . . .

And the translation these,

Let down our golden everlasting chain,
Whose strong embrace holds heav'n and earth and main.
. . . .

P. 193. l. 9-10. for *found on the demesnes of the crown only*, read, *found almost solely on the demesnes of the crown.*
P. 195. l. 31. for *diffuses* read *diffuse.*
P. 204. l. 2. for TOWN read PARISH.
P. 249. l. 3 from the bottom, for *one* read *bag of feathers.*
P. 291. last line, for *was a banker's* read *was derived from a banker's.*
P. 381. l. 11. to *parish-priest* add *of the Saxons.*
—The note. for *Coupelande Westm. et Furnesse Lanc.* read *Coupelandie et Furnesi. F. 236.*

* Ives's Garianonum p. 25, 1774.

